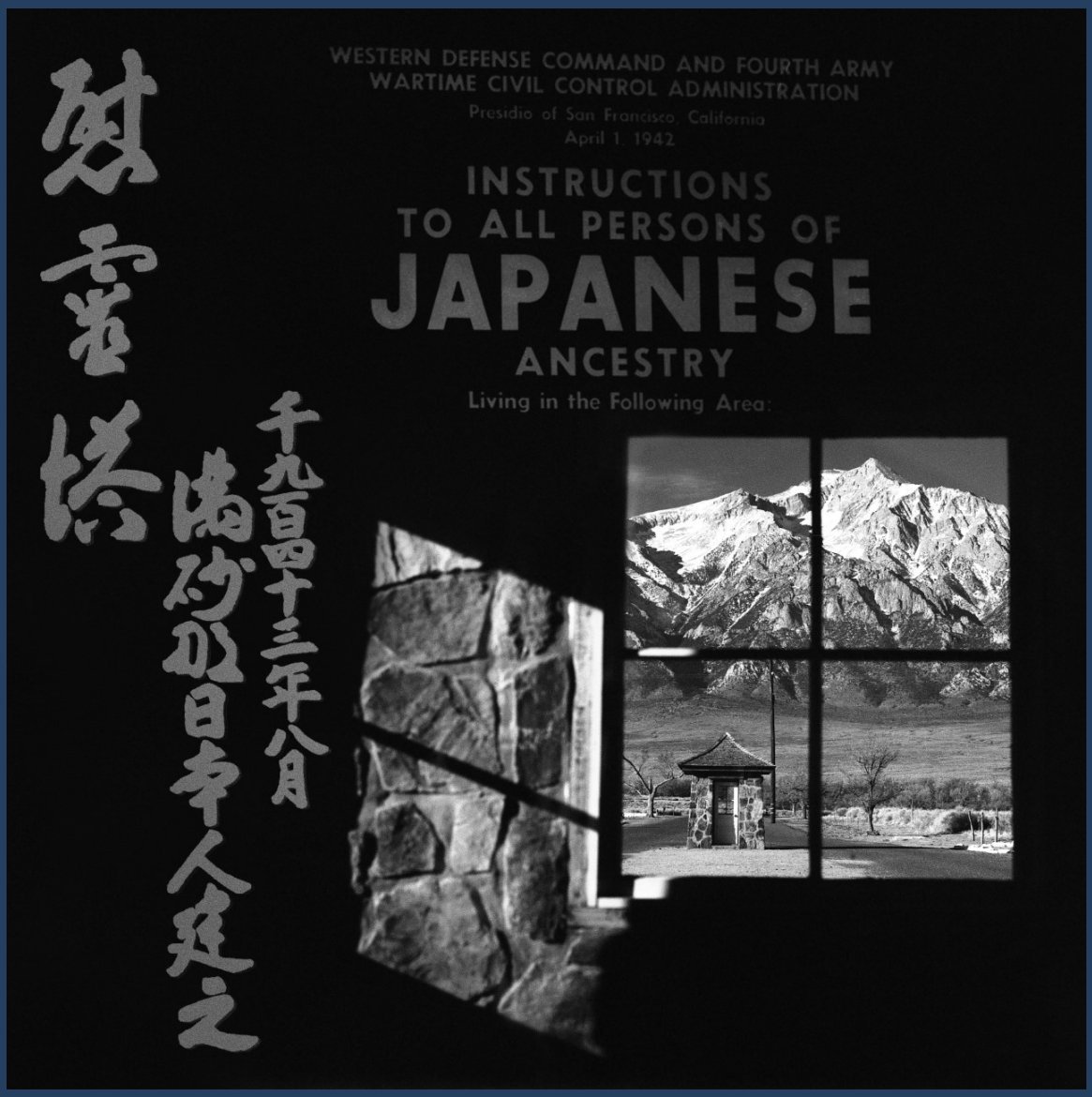
# THE WELEBAETHAN

## A Journal of History




Volume 48 (2021)

California State University, Fullerton
Department of History
Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society)

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*I REI TO [Soul Consoling Tower]*. Photo collage by Jeffrey Mark Leavitt (2021): on left, Japanese inscription on the 1943 cemetery monument at the "Manzanar War Relocation Center" in California (English translation: "Soul Consoling Tower of the Japanese in Manzanar, August 1943"), created from Jeffrey Mark Leavitt's photos; at the top, "San Francisco, California, Exclusion Order posted at First and Front Streets directing removal of persons of Japanese ancestry from the first San Francisco section to be effected by the evacuation," photo, April 11, 1942, Washington, D.C., National Archives, Record Group 210 (Records of the War Relocation Authority, 1941-1989), Central Photographic File of the War Relocation Authority (1942-1945), National Archives Identifier 536017, Local Identifier 210-G-A39; on right, Mount Williamson (California) through a sentry post window at Manzanar, photo by Jeffrey Mark Leavitt.
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First published in 1974, *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History* is named after Shirley A. Weleba (1930-1972), a faculty member in the Department of History at California State University, Fullerton. Weleba, a scholar of African history, had received her Ph.D. from the University of Southern California in 1969 for her dissertation "Trial by Jury in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1912."

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# *Editors' Preface*

> All men dream: but not equally. Those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity: but the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dreams with open eyes, to make it possible. – T. E. Lawrence (1888-1935)

It has been quite the year. As the world has changed considerably due to the COVID-19 pandemic, many of our dreams have been put on hold: we have been forced to be content with dreaming in the dark, waiting for the day when we can dream again with eyes wide open and see each other in the light of day rather than by the light of a screen. However, this year's *Welebaethan* is somewhat of an exception to these sentiments. It has been a special pleasure to work with a fantastic and dedicated team to put together a distinct and fascinating journal. Volume 48 (2021) of the *Welebaethan* could not have come at a more exceptional time. For better or worse, a fair number of the articles, editions, and oral histories in this issue have become ever so relevant in consequence of both domestic and global events. This journal highlights insightful works of interest to the field of history and the humanities from undergraduate and graduate scholars, produced at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). In addition, this year's *Welebaethan* features an article by Renee Jean, a CSUF alumna who is now a graduate scholar at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, which we hope will encourage others to take advantage of our journal's open submission guidelines.

Volume 48 includes eighteen essays which cover a range of distinct periods and subject matters. From an alleged ancient prophecy about the foundation of Kiev, via an examination of Faroese folk metal lyrics concerning the defense of a domestic culture, to a critique of the handling of collective memory at a Japanese American incarceration site through photography, our journal attests to diversity. This volume also features eight editions of unpublished documents and oral histories from CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC) as well as the Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), including correspondence from the American Revolutionary War; a nineteenth-century album of engravings, poems, and letters dedicated to one Jennie Farr; and transcriptions of interviews with Peter Bailey, a colleague of Malcolm X and member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), and Silvino Ramirez who experienced the 1947 *Mendez v. Westminster* case and the climate of segregation in Orange County, California. Lastly, this volume offers twenty-four thoughtful reviews of various media that touch upon historical inquiry, including books, films, online exhibitions, and games. The opinions communicated in these reviews do not necessarily reflect the viewpoints of the editors.

This year's publication of the *Welebaethan* could not have been accomplished without the steadfast dedication and aid of CSUF's faculty members in the History Department and the College of Humanities and Social Sciences. Professor Jochen Burgtorf, our faculty advisor, has offered us words of encouragement throughout the production process, and we commend him for his dedication to our editing

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efforts. This volume also benefited immensely from the generosity of our faculty readers, Professors Nancy Fitch, Aitana Guia, Stephen Neufeld, Stephen O'Connor, Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, and Philippe Zacaïr. Their efforts have honed the quality of this journal, and—what is more—they have made a lasting contribution to the professional development of each and every author with whom they have worked. We extend our special thanks to the Chair of CSUF's History Department, Professor Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, for her enthusiastic backing of the *Welebaethan*. Our profound appreciation also goes to Natalie Navar Garcia and Patrisia Prestinary, head archivists for COPH and UA&SC, respectively, for providing the materials for the editions. Finally, we owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Mariea Daniell Whittington, a distinguished alumna of the History Department, for her unwavering commitment to making our journal's online presence possible.

Lastly, we want to particularly thank and dedicate this volume to the late Nancy Fitch (1946-2020), Professor of History Emerita at CSUF, who was a dedicated advocate of the *Welebaethan* throughout her tenure at this institution—as Chair, professor, colleague, and kindhearted friend who, in her final weeks, was still reviewing works submitted to our journal. It is our wish that readers of past, present, and future volumes of the *Welebaethan* may sense Professor Fitch's lasting contribution and legacy in the development of this journal. We, the editors, hope that readers will appreciate and be engaged with this collaborative publication and become, as a result, "dreamers of the day."

Fullerton, June 27, 2021

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Michael Alex Conti

# *Saint Andrew's First-Century Prophecy of Division: The Founding of Kiev and the Idea of the Third Rome*

ABSTRACT: *Like the city of Rome, the first capital of the Rus', Kiev, has a legendary tale of its founding. Both the first and last official compilations of the Russian Primary Chronicle, the "Laurentian Text" and the "Nikonian Chronicle," claim that the founding of Kiev was prophesied by Saint Andrew in the first century while he was journeying to Rome via modern-day southern and northern Russia, centuries before the city was actually built. This article takes a closer look at the Christian and Romanized founding of Kiev, argues that the respective narratives were likely used to propagate the idea of Russia as the Third Rome, and asserts that the 1169 sack of Kiev by Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij as well as the city's 1240 Mongol occupation set the stage for the division among the modern-day descendants of the Rus'.*

KEYWORDS: *antiquity; medieval history; modern history; Rus'; Kiev; Saint Andrew; Vladimir the Great; Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij; Laurentian Text; Nikonian Chronicle*

## *Introduction*

Today, the city of Kiev on the Dnieper River serves as the capital of Ukraine, but a thousand years ago, it was the first capital of the Rus'. The date of the city's actual founding remains a topic of heated scholarly and public debate: most Ukrainians would probably point to the year 482, and thus, in 1982, the city commemorated the 1,500th anniversary of its initial establishment.[1] A sixteenth-century Russian historiographical compilation, which was later named the *Nikonian Chronicle*, dates Kiev's founding to around 600.[2] Archaeological evidence suggests that the area experienced a period without human occupation in the fifth century but was resettled in the sixth century.[3] Yet, regardless of when Kiev was founded, "medieval" and "early modern" historical narratives feature a rather perplexing episode according to which Saint Andrew prophesied the city's founding during a first-century visit to the region *en route* to Rome.[4] This is odd because, until the late tenth century, the Rus' were anything but Christian. To add to the confusion, these narratives of Kiev's founding also contain parallels to the mythical, pagan founding of Rome. Why, then, would medieval and early modern writers of

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[1] Taras Kuzio, "National Identity and History Writing in Ukraine," *Nationalities Papers* 34, no. 4 (2006): 407-427, here 419.

[2] *The Nikonian Chronicle: From the Beginning to the Year 1132,* trans. Serge A. Zenkovsky and Betty Jean Zenkovsky (Princeton: The Kingston Press Inc., 1984), 7.

[3] Johan Callmer, "The Archaeology of Kiev to the End of the Earliest Urban Phase," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 11, no. 3/4 (1987): 323-364, here 325.

[4] *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 53-54 (hereafter cited as *Laurentian Text*); *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 5. This article's artificial attribution of the fourteenth *Laurentian Text* as "medieval" and of the sixteenth-century *Nikonian Chronicle* as "early modern" is intended solely for the reader's chronological orientation: both contain versions of the Russian Primary Chronicle and are therefore intimately connected.

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Russian history insert this prophecy of Saint Andrew? This article critically analyzes the respective medieval and early modern texts, namely, the fourteenth-century *Laurentian Text* of the Russian Primary Chronicle and the sixteenth-century *Nikonian Chronicle*, as they pertain to the prophesying and founding of Kiev. It argues that these rather dubious narratives were intended to propagate the idea of Russia as the Third Rome. Lastly, it ties this information to the sack of Kiev by Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij, the Grand Prince of Vladimir-Suzdal, in 1169 and to the city's Mongol occupation in 1240 to show that these events set the stage for the division among the modern-day descendants of the Rus' and continue to have a geopolitical impact even in the twenty-first century.

*I. The Textual Tradition*

The *Laurentian Text* is the earliest surviving and dated compilation of the so-called Russian Primary Chronicle, a narrative which covers the history of the Rus' up until the early twelfth century. According to its colophon (i.e., a subscription at the end of a manuscript with information about the writer, the date of writing, and so forth), the *Laurentian Text* was "copied between January 14 and March 20, 1377, by the monk Lawrence (Lavrentiy) for Prince Dmitriy Konstantinovich of Suzdal,"[5] a historic Russian town located to the east of Moscow. The English translation of the *Laurentian Text* used in this article was published in 1953; at that time, the original fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Laurentian Text* (Ms. F.п.IV.2) was kept at the State Public Library in Leningrad, which is now the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg.[6] While the *Laurentian Text* is named for Lawrence, its 1377 copyist, the latter was not its author. The *Laurentian Text* is a version of the Russian Primary Chronicle which is generally attributed to Nestor, a monk of the Crypt Monastery in Kiev at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries.[7] However, the *Laurentian Text* shows little evidence of Nestor's authorship; in fact, while other manuscripts of the Russian Primary Chronicle, notably the fifteenth-century *Hypatian Codex*, specify Nestor as the author, the *Laurentian Text* does not.[8] Therefore, the author of the original *Laurentian Text* is unknown. What is known, according to the text's English translators, is that this unnamed author was "well educated and personally familiar with the course of political events from the later years of Yaroslav the Wise [Grand Prince of Kiev 1019-1054] through the first decade of the twelfth century."[9] While this unnamed author's original version of the *Laurentian Text* has not survived, its 1116 revision by Sylvester, Prior of St. Michael's monastery in the village of Vydubychi near Kiev, served as the basis for

[5] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 4.

[6] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 4.

[7] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 6.

[8] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 6.

[9] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 22.

the 1377 copy (and thus of the English translation used here):[10] thus, on the final page of the *Laurentian Text*, Sylvester makes himself known by stating: "In the hope of God's Grace, I, Sylvester, Prior of St. Michael's, wrote this Chronicle in the year 6624 (1116), during the Reign of Prince Vladimir in Kiev […] May whosoever reads this book remember me in his prayers."[11] According to Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, the translators of the *Laurentian Text*, Sylvester may have been using the text for "his personal use or for the information of his own monastic community."[12] The text reveals a significant bias in favor of Vladimir II Monomakh, Grand Prince of Kiev (1113-1125), as well as the rulers of Vladimir-Suzdal, a historic principality located to the east of Moscow.[13] This is not surprising since Sylvester wrote during the former's reign, and the *Laurentian Text* continues in Sylvester's tradition of writing and editing.[14] The bias in favor of the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal may be attributed to the fact that Lawrence, the 1377 copyist of the *Laurentian Text*, was working for the aforementioned Prince Dmitriy Konstantinovich of Suzdal.

We now turn from the medieval *Laurentian Text* to the early modern *Nikonian Chronicle*, the last official rendition of the Russian Primary Chronicle. The *Nikonian Chronicle* was compiled in the sixteenth century, "utilizing older manuscripts."[15] Work on the text commenced in the office of the Metropolitan of Moscow but was subsequently moved to the court of Ivan IV ("the Terrible"),[16] Grand Prince of Moscow (1533-1547) and later Tsar of all Rus' (1547-1584). According to its English translator, Serge A. Zenkovsky, the materials used to compile the *Nikonian Chronicle* were "ill-preserved and left the writers and editors with issues of missing or damaged pages and paragraphs, previous scribe errors, misspellings of names, and unclear annual entries."[17] There are several manuscripts of the *Nikonian Chronicle*, and most of them reside in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg. Determining the authorship of chronicles is complicated as some are named after the person who copied them (like the *Laurentian Text*), or after the place where they were written, or after their most significant owner. The *Nikonian Chronicle* belongs to this latter category as its first discovered manuscript once

[10] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 4.

[11] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 205. 6624 is the year *ab orbe condita*, i.e., from the foundation of the world.

[12] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 23.

[13] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 17.

[14] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 17-18.

[15] *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, ix. Concerning this translation, see also Donald Ostrowski, "What Makes a Translation Bad? Gripes of an End User," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 15, no. 3/4 (December 1991): 429-446.

[16] *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, xiii.

[17] *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, ix.

belonged to Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow and all Rus' (1652-1658/1666).[18] Whereas the purpose of the *Laurentian Text*, apart from its abovementioned bias, is unclear, the *Nikonian Chronicle* was edited by an ecclesiastical writer, likely the Metropolitan Daniel (before 1492-1547), with the intention of "glorifying the Russian church and providing greater prestige to the Metropolitan See of all Russia."[19] In Zenkovsky's assessment, this Metropolitan Daniel was "a 'professional' indefatigable moralist."[20] Nevertheless, from a historical standpoint, the *Nikonian Chronicle* is one of the more objective compilations.[21] With regard to the focus of this article, namely, Saint Andrew's prophesy and the founding of Kiev, the *Laurentian Text* and the *Nikonian Chronicle* are in full accord, which renders the individual biases in both texts of little consequence.

*II. The Prophecy and Founding Narratives*

According to both the *Laurentian Text* and *Nikonian Chronicle*, Kiev's establishment was prophesied in the first century by Saint Andrew, the holy apostle and brother of Saint Peter.[22] In the words of the *Laurentian Text*, "Andrew was teaching in Sinope [modern-day northern Turkey], eventually journeyed to the city of Kherson [approximately the area of modern-day Sevastopol], and decided that he wished to go to Rome when he learned that he was near the delta of the Dnieper River."[23] The account continues by stating that,

> [c]onceiving a desire to go to Rome, Andrew thus journeyed to the mouth of the Dnieper. Thence he ascended the river, and by chance he halted beneath the hills upon the shore. Upon arising in the morning, he observed to the disciples who were with him, "See ye these hills? So shall the favor of God shine upon them that on this spot a great city shall arise, and God shall erect many churches therein." He drew near the hills, and having blessed them, he set up a cross. After offering his prayer to God, he descended from the hill on which Kiev was subsequently built and continued his journey up the Dnieper.[24]

After supposedly following the river for over 1,400 kilometers or about 870 miles, "he then reached the Slavs at the point where Novgorod is now situated," where he noted their ways of bathing in an ancient version of a sauna, and how they lashed themselves until near death and then drenched themselves with cold water to be revived.[25] After observing these people for some time and traveling an astounding 2,880 kilometers or about 1,790 miles, "he went thence among the

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[18] *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, xxi.

[19] *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, xxvii-xxviii.

[20] *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, xxx-xxxi.

[21] *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, xxxi.

[22] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 54; *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 5.

[23] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 53-54. See also *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 5.

[24] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 54.

[25] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 54.

Varangians and came to Rome, where he recounted what he had learned and observed […] [and] when his hearers learned this fact, they marveled."[26] According to this narrative in the *Laurentian Text*, the first-century Slavs were a rugged but civilized people: after all, they bathed. The mentioning of their committed self-flagellation is remarkable. While this practice is known to have occurred in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, it was not widespread among people of pagan faiths. By pointing out that Saint Andrew was the one witnessing this self-flagellation, the text seems to imply that the Slavs were either already Christians or at least familiar with a practice commonly associated with one of the monotheistic faiths. Secondly, having Saint Andrew consecrate the eventual *locus* of Kiev would have added to a notion of legitimacy in the medieval Orthodox Christian principality of the Kievan Rus'. Thirdly, since the narrative has Saint Andrew journeying to modern-day Ukraine and Russia even before his arrival in the not-yet-Christian city of Rome in Italy, it strengthens the claim of the Rus' to legitimacy and even precedence. Lastly, the notion that the ancient Romans in Italy "marveled" when they heard Saint Andrew's account of the Slavic people undoubtedly would have been a major box to check for an aspiring empire like the medieval Kievan Rus': after all, it underscores that the inhabitants of the First Rome (in Italy) were already impressed with the people of the (future) Third Rome (i.e., the Rus') long before there was a Second Rome (i.e., Constantinople).

As for the actual founding of Kiev (presumably in the sixth century or thereabouts), both the *Laurentian Text* and the *Nikonian Chronicle* provide the names of the sibling founders as Kii, Shchok (Shchek in the *Laurentian Text*), Khoriv, and their sister Lybed.[27] Although they mention the sister, the texts focus on the three brothers who they gave their names to the various parts of Kiev: since Kii was the oldest, the city was named after him;[28] meanwhile, the city's hills of Shchekovytsia and Khoryvytsia (later the "castle hill") were named after Shchok and Khoriv, respectively. The account of the three brothers founding Kiev is noteworthy, as it reminds one of the tale of Romulus and Remus, the two brothers who founded Rome. Thus, this piece of the narrative adds to the idea that the Rus' were framing themselves as an empire worthy of Rome's legacy. While a city was named after one of the brothers in both cases, there were only two brothers and a case of fratricide in Rome; Kiev, on the other hand, was founded by three brothers who were acting in accord with one another and without bloodshed. Thus, Kiev—unlike Rome—was founded in accordance with the Sixth Commandment of the Judeo-Christian tradition: "Thou shalt not kill." In essence, the *Laurentian Text* and the *Nikonian Chronicle* portray the early Rus' as similar to the Romans but with

[26] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 54.

[27] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 54; *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 6.

[28] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 54; *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 6.

Christian morals and, thus, actually superior to the "original" Romans. Such a sacralized and Romanized version of the founding of Kiev seems both spectacular and authoritative. However, a critical analysis of the *Laurentian Text* and the *Nikonian Chronicle* in light of modern scholarship quickly reveals that we are dealing with a construct.

*III. Analysis*

To unravel Kiev's founding story, we note its overtly pro-Christian theme. Although the Rus' were adopting Orthodox Christianity by the time the Russian Primary Chronicle was compiled in the early twelfth century, this was a comparatively recent and still ongoing development. According to linguist Roman Jakobson, "the Christianization of the Slavs expanded gradually from the 8th until the 13th century, now and then provoking local pagan revolts."[29] This image of pagan revolts stands in stark contrast to the *Laurentian Text*'s description of Vladimir I ("the Great") (c. 958-1015), the Grand Prince of Kiev, gathering his subjects and bishops of Kherson around 987/988 to be baptized. According to the *Laurentian Text*, "Vladimir sent heralds throughout the whole city to proclaim that if any inhabitant, rich or poor, did not betake himself to the river, he would risk the Prince's displeasure."[30] The *Nikonian Chronicle* adds that the Metropolitan Michael of Kiev, who served as the carrier of this message, proclaimed to the Rus': "In case any of you do not go to the river to be baptized […] he will be the enemy of Christ God, and of us and there will be no mercy to him from us."[31] Both texts concur that the people responded with "great joy" and were baptized in numbers that could not be counted.[32] Thus, the same texts' suggestion that the Slavs, and by extension the Rus', might already have been Christians in the first century when Saint Andrew visited the region does not hold up: at best, they might have had a pro-Christian disposition.

Jakobson underscores that "the eradication of official state paganism in Kiev and Novgorod is documented in the Primary Russian Chronicle [which was] compiled around 1111."[33] As we have seen, both the *Laurentian Text* and the *Nikonian Chronicle* record the baptism of Grand Prince Vladimir I in Kherson as an event that occurred around 987/988.[34] Following his baptism, Vladimir sent his

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[29] Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings VII: Contributions to Comparative Mythology: Studies in Linguistics and Philology, 1972-1982*, ed. Stephen Rudy (New York: Mouton, 1985), 3.

[30] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 116-117.

[31] *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 108.

[32] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 116-117; *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 108.

[33] Jakobson, *Selected Writings VII,* 3.

[34] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 113; *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 102.

oldest son, Vysheslav, to Novgorod in 988 as that city's newly converted ruler.[35] It is clear from the *Laurentian Text* and the *Nikonian Chronicle* that paganism had been the norm until then. For example, the *Laurentian Text* mentions various dealings with "ignorant pagan tribes" who were used to bolster Prince Oleg of Novgorod's attack on the Byzantine Greeks between 904 and 907.[36] Even when recording events as late as 983, the *Laurentian Text* explicitly states: "for at this time, the Russes were ignorant pagans."[37] So, if the Rus' remained pagan until the late tenth century, what are the origins of the Christian prophesying and Romanized founding of Kiev? According to the translators' footnote in the *Laurentian Text*, "the legend of St. Andrew in Rus' developed in Kiev during the eleventh century and is referred to ca. 1075 in a letter of the [Byzantine] Emperor Michael VII Dukas [r. 1071-1078] to Prince Vsevold I Yaroslavich of Kiev."[38] Zenkovsky, the translator of the *Nikonian Chronicle*, reminds us that the early Christian historian Eusebius of Caesarea (265-339) wrote an account of Saint Andrew's mission in Scythia (modern-day southern Russia) and that Byzantine authors, as well as the author of the Russian Primary Chronicle, then built upon this account with information that was "by no means authentic."[39] By showing contempt or shame for the fact that Prince Oleg of Novgorod, and by extension the Rurikids, had still been pagans in the tenth century, the *Laurentian Text* suggests that the Rus' remained conflicted with regard to their identities well into the fourteenth century: repeating the story of the three brothers who had founded Kiev, a parallel to the pagan founding of Rome; referring to other tribes and themselves as "ignorant pagans;" and ultimately recording their conversion and baptism. In the tenth century, it was not unprecedented for formerly pagan cities to declare their legitimacy as Christian entities: both Cologne and Trier were claiming to own the staff of Saint Peter and used it during processions.[40] Yet, to state that Saint Andrew had traveled to an uninhabited area of Scythia in the first century, set up a cross, and prophesied the founding of Kiev is comparatively bold. Why would medieval and early modern writers of Russian history insert this into their narratives?

It appears that the Rus' viewed themselves as the heirs of the Orthodox Christian Roman Empire. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, the territorial remnants of the Roman Empire soon disintegrated.[41]

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[35] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 119; *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 107.

[36] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 64.

[37] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 96.

[38] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 224.

[39] *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 6.

[40] Cynthia Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?," *Numen* 57, no. 3/4 (2010): 284-316, here 285-287.

[41] Marshall Poe, "Moscow, the Third Rome: The Origins and Transformations of a 'Pivotal Moment'," *Jahrbucher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 49, no. 3 (2001): 412-429, here 415.

From the early sixteenth century on, the Rus' asserted themselves as the Third Rome. Although they were geographically removed from the Roman/Latin or Byzantine/Greek heritage of the Roman Empire, there is evidence to suggest that they had been portraying themselves as suitable heirs to the Roman Empire's legacy well before this period. As we have seen, the Rus' converted to Eastern Orthodox Christianity around 987/988 via the baptism of Grand Prince Vladimir I of Kiev and thus, in the words of Religious Studies scholar Brian Bennett, "brought themselves into the orbit of Byzantine civilization;"[42] after all, in the context of this conversion and baptism, Vladimir married Anna Porphyrogenita, the daughter of the Byzantine (and thus "Roman") Emperor Romanos II. And it did not take long for the Rus' to start their respective grandiose proclamations. Historian Marshall Poe reminds us that, as early as the eleventh century, the Metropolitan Ilarion of Kiev referred to Grand Prince Vladimir I of Kiev as the "new Constantine."[43] Both the *Laurentian Text* and the *Nikonian Chronicle* compare Vladimir I to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine in the context of their narrative concerning the former's passing from a grave illness in 1015. According to the *Laurentian Text*, Vladimir was "the new Constantine of mighty Rome who baptized himself and his subjects; for the Prince of Rus' imitated the acts of Constantine himself," and according to the *Nikonian Chronicle*, Vladimir was "like the new Constantine of Great Rome because he [Constantine], himself, became baptized, and baptized his people, and so did Prince Vladimir."[44]

This was apparently not a singular incident: Poe mentions that the Grand Prince Ivan Kalita of Moscow (1288-1341) was considered a "Constantine" in the fourteenth century;[45] however, since the *Laurentian Text* ends its recorded history in 1116, it does not contain this reference, and the *Nikonian Chronicle* does not call Ivan Kalita a "Constantine," whether during his lifetime or upon his death, in the same way both texts celebrate Vladimir I. Yet, there are Rus' princes who bear the name "Constantine," for example, the Grand Prince Konstantin Mikhailovich of Tver (1302-1345).[46] The logical conclusion that could be made here is that the Rus' were merely emulating the Romans by comparing their great leaders to those of Constantinople. This would seem probable, as historian Justyna Kroczak has pointed out that, by the eleventh century, Kiev had become the religious and intellectual center of the Rus' who had the ambition of "being equal to, yet

[42] Brian P. Bennett, "Divining History: Providential Interpretation in the "Primary Chronicle" of Kievan Rus'" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1999), 3.

[43] Poe, "Moscow," 414.

[44] *Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 124; *Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. Zenkovsky, 121.

[45] Poe, "Moscow," 414.

[46] *The Nikonian Chronicle: From the Year 1241 to 1381 (Volume Three),* trans. Serge A. Zenkovsky and Betty Jean Zenkovsky (Princeton: The Kingston Press Inc., 1986), 127.

independent of Constantinople."[47] Considering their relatively new Orthodox Christian faith, such comparisons would seem particularly agreeable. However, the fact that both the *Laurentian Text* and the *Nikonian Chronicle* insist on calling Vladimir I the "new Constantine;" the fact that Rus' princes of subsequent generations would bear the name "Konstantin;" and the fact that the Rus' would later proclaim themselves the Third Rome suggest that these comparisons have to be taken more seriously. Nineteenth-century Russian historians looked to and developed an imperial ideology based on the works of Filofei (Philotheus) of Pskov (1465–1542) who wrote "an epistle in 1523/24 that reads '[…] all Christian empires have come to an end and are gathered together in the singular empire of our sovereign […] and this is the Russian empire: because two Romes have fallen, and a third stands, and a fourth there shall not be'."[48] Although Poe argues that this idea was not popular among Russian elites in the sixteenth century and that comparisons to Roman emperors were "rhetorical flattery," the textual references to Vladimir I as the "new Constantine" and the onomastic evidence of Rus' princes bearing the name "Konstantin," taken together with Filofei of Pskov's pronouncement which established modern Russian imperial ideology,[49] point to a coherent trajectory.

Yet, in this modern imperial ideology Moscow, and not Kiev, features as the Third Rome. Filofei of Pskov, who was writing in modern-day western Russia (almost Estonia), viewed the Grand Prince Vasilii III of Moscow (1479-1533) as the single "tsar" of the Christians and protector of the "holy universal apostolic church" in Moscow.[50] If the Rus' were trying to portray themselves as the heirs of the Romans, why did Moscow "replace" Kiev? Would Kiev, based on the prophecy of Saint Andrew and its alleged founding by three brothers who remind us, albeit vaguely, of Romulus and Remus, not have been the better fit? The answer lies in Kiev's twelfth- and thirteenth-century history.

While Kiev's legendary founding would appear to predestine it as the capital of the Third Rome, it was sacked in 1169—a traumatic moment in its history. In the twelfth century, Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij (c. 1111-1174), the Grand Prince of Vladimir-Suzdal, broke from the Kievan tradition of ruling over the Rus'.[51] Historian Jaroslaw Pelenski explains that, Bogoljubskij set out to establish the "Metropolitanate of Vladimir" for which he sought the permission of Lukas

[47] Justyna Kroczak, "The Role of the Bible in the Formation of Philosophical Thought in Kievan Rus' (as Exemplified by Ilarion of Kiev, Kliment Smolatič, and Kirill of Turov)," *Studia Ceranea 6* (2016): 61-74, here 63.

[48] Poe, "Moscow," 416.

[49] Poe, "Moscow," 413.

[50] Poe, "Moscow," 415-416.

[51] Jaroslaw Pelenski, "The Sack of Kiev of 1169: Its Significance for the Succession to Kievan Rus'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 11, no. 3/4 (1987): 303-316, here 311.

Chrysoberges, the Orthodox Christian patriarch of Constantinople.[52] According to Pelenski, the patriarch firmly rejected Bogoljubskij's plan, and this decisive political defeat caused Bogoljubskij in 1169 to attack and sack Kiev, the traditional religious and political center of the Rus'. Bogoljubskij then proceeded to found the city of Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma as his new capital for the Rus'.[53] The 1169 sack of Kiev in favor of creating a new capital would certainly explain why Kiev did not advance to become the sixteenth-century capital of the Third Rome—that is, if Bogoljubskij and his descendants had maintained their power and established a lasting dynasty. However, in 1171 Gleb Yuryevich, the ruler whom Bogoljubskij had installed in Kiev, died, and a coalition formed to oppose the city's subordination by Bogoljubskij.[54] The latter soon formed his own coalition with twenty princes, amassed a huge army (estimated at the likely hyper-inflated number of 50,000 men), and marched south to retake Kiev.[55] Yet, Bogoljubskij was soundly defeated and was forced, once again, to come up with a plan to impose his rule over the city.[56] In 1175, Bogoljubskij was murdered by his own servants. This triggered a war of succession among his brothers and nephews, resulting in his dynasty's failure.[57] While Bogoljubskij had not succeeded in his plans against Kiev, the damage was done, and the Rus' had been divided. Kiev might have recovered from this blow, had it not been for the events of the thirteenth century.

The 1169 sack of Kiev and Bogoljubskij's decision to break away from Kievan dynastic traditions may have started the division that we see among the descendants of the Rus' today. Yet, despite efforts and actions to the contrary, Kiev remained their center of power for the time being. It was not until the Mongol occupation of the city in 1240 that the Rus' became isolated from Europe and shifted their center of power to the northeast.[58] From 1237 (the first year of the Mongol invasions) until 1480 (the official end of the "Tartar Yoke"), Rus' political authority resided with the Russian Orthodox Church in the territories of the Grand Principality of Muscovy.[59] This period not only saw the shift of the center of power away from Saint Andrew's prophesied city of Kiev, but also the disappearance of

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[52] Pelenski, "Sack of Kiev," 313.

[53] Pelenski, "Sack of Kiev," 312-313.

[54] Pelenski, "Sack of Kiev," 313-314.

[55] Pelenski, "Sack of Kiev," 314.

[56] Pelenski, "Sack of Kiev," 314.

[57] Tatiana Vilkul, "People and Boyars in the Old Russian Chronicles of the 11th-13th Centuries: Narrative Modelling of Social Identities," in *Imagined Communities: Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe*, ed. Andrzej Pleszczyński, Joanna Aleksandra Sobiesiak, Michał Tomaszek, and Przemysław Tyszka (Boston: Brill, 2018), 179–203, here 187.

[58] Christian Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 186.

[59] Sergei Magaril, "The Mythology of the 'Third Rome' in Russian Educated Society," *Russian Politics & Law* 50, no. 5 (2012): 7-34, here 9.

the term "Rus'" to denote a political entity in Europe.[60] To better understand this situation, one must note that the Kievan Rus' were not a unified "state" but, rather, a conglomerate of tribes who swore loyalty to their local territories and chiefs.[61] Therefore, any one of these tribes could claim to be the carrier of the Kievan Rus' legacy after a shift in political centers. Fast forward to the post-Soviet-era states in Eastern Europe, we see that the modern descendants of the Rus'—the Ukrainians, the Russians, and the Belarussians—all believed they needed to claim this legacy to establish their national identities.[62] Thus, the year 1240, when the Mongols conquered Kiev and the center of power shifted to Moscow, appears to be the point in history that drives the modern division of the descendants of the Rus'.

Today there are four prevailing narratives that tell the history of the Rus' legacy, namely, the Russophile, the Soviet, the Ukrainophile, and the Eastern Slavic "schools," respectively.[63] While all provide explanations with regard to the origins of the Rus' and statements as to who may rightfully claim their legacy, the two schools that are the most significant ones here are the Russophile and Ukrainophile perspectives. The predominant school is the nineteenth-century Russophile perspective, which posits that, after Kiev's fall to the Mongols in 1240, the legacy of the Rus' "moved to Vladimir-Suzdal, from there to Muscovy (Moscow), and in the eighteenth century to the Russian empire."[64] In addition, the Russophile school argues that Ukrainians only appeared in the mid-seventeenth century with the purpose to unite themselves with Russia. This framework fuels Russian imperialism, and it is used by many Western historians to explain the history of Russia.[65] Meanwhile and not surprisingly, the state of Ukraine favors a Ukrainophile perspective which claims that "Kyiv Rus' was the first Ukrainian kingdom, making Kiev the elder brother of Moscow," and it is on this basis that 1991-1992 handbooks on Ukrainian history "begin their historical surveys in Kyiv Rus' or even earlier in pre-Slavic cultures and states."[66] Although this Ukrainophile view might seem more credible from a historical standpoint, it has been denounced as nationalistic by both Russia and the West.[67] In truth, there is no way to determine a correct or more credible side in this debate as it is ultimately an argument about expressing national identity, which is a social construct. What is clear, though, is that Saint Andrew's prophesied city of Kiev is still a *locus* of contention and division today just as it was in the twelfth century.

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[60] Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe,* 186.

[61] Kuzio, "National Identity," 409.

[62] Kuzio, "National Identity," 407.

[63] Kuzio, "National Identity," 409.

[64] Kuzio, "National Identity," 409.

[65] Kuzio, "National Identity," 409.

[66] Kuzio, "National Identity," 412.

[67] Kuzio, "National Identity," 411.

*Conclusion*

So far, we have seen the rather confusing prophesy in the *Laurentian Text* and in the *Nikonian Chronicle* that portrays Kiev as both an Orthodox Christian and a Rome-like city. The evidence also indicates that, following the conversion of the Rus' in the late tenth century, Roman titles such as "new Constantine" were bestowed upon great leaders of the Rus', particularly Vladimir I, and that later princes bore the name "Konstantin." After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Russia was proclaimed as the Third Rome, and Moscow, a city with a (at that time) much less storied past than Kiev, came to be seen as the capital of the Third Rome. The idea for this transfer may have started after Bogoljubskij's subordination of Kiev in 1169, but it was more explicitly propagated in the modern era via the Russophile perspective which points to Kiev's occupation by the Mongols in 1240 as the endpoint for its claims to the Kievan Rus' legacy. However, relatively recent events in the twenty-first century suggest that Kiev is still the crucial city in claiming this legacy. In 2014, Vladimir Putin, the President of Russia, mobilized his military against Ukraine, seized the Crimean Peninsula for its warm water port, and promoted armed uprisings in the counties of Luhansk and Donetsk.[68] The narrative pushed by Putin is a continuation of the Russophile idea that Ukraine wishes to reunite with Russia. The Russian invasion of Ukrainian territory was a result of Ukraine's talks about joining the European Union.[69] Some might suggest that Putin is simply trying to reclaim the territories of the former Soviet Union and "right the wrongs that the West [has] committed against Russia."[70] Yet, the significance of Kiev, the capital of modern-day Ukraine, extends far beyond the twenty-first century, which suggests that these modern maneuvers may be attempts to complete what Bogoljubskij had started, while also claiming the legacy of the Rus' by subordinating Saint Andrew's legendary and prophesied city.

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[68] Tor Bukkvoll, "Why Putin Went to War: Ideology, Interests and Decision-Making in the Russian Use of Force in Crime and Donbas," *Contemporary Politics: Russia, the West, and the Ukraine Crisis* 22, no. 3 (2016): 267-282, here 267.

[69] Bukkvoll, "Why Putin Went to War," 268-269.

[70] Bukkvoll, "Why Putin Went to War," 268.

Edward Najjarine

# *Islam Meets Western Modernity: The Travels of Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (1801-1873) and Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966)*

ABSTRACT: *This article considers how childhood experiences, the religious climate, role models, and the sociopolitical atmosphere of the age shaped the attitudes of two Egyptian intellectuals and world travelers, Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (1801-1873) and Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966). Based on the comparison of Tahtawi's travel account and Qutb's various writings, it proposes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of personalities.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Egypt; France; U.S.; Rifa'a al-Tahtawi; Sayyid Qutb; travel narratives; personalities; Islam; Western modernity*

## *Introduction*

The French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) once remarked that Americans exist in "perpetual adoration" of themselves and that "only foreigners or experience can make certain truths reach [their] ears."[1] Traveling can be a perfect remedy to expand one's horizon, and Tocqueville's words extend well beyond Americans. Myriad individuals have traversed distant lands, and some of them—including Marco Polo, Ibn Battuta, and Mark Twain—have shared their observations in rich ethnographic accounts that have been cherished by later generations. In the age of modernity, travel narratives have become even more intriguing as they often highlight the head-on collision between the once frail West and other regions of the world. A case in point, the travel accounts of Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (1801-1873) and Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966), two Muslim thinkers of Egyptian background, reveal not just inter-civilizational differences but also differences in their respective thoughts. Tahtawi visited France in 1826 and returned to his native Egypt by 1831. As for Qutb, he journeyed to the United States in 1948 and returned to Egypt by 1950. Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach, this article demonstrates how factors like childhood experiences and the religious climate shaped Tahtawi's and Qutb's attitudes during their visits to the West, and how role models and the sociopolitical *Zeitgeist* of the age impacted these two Egyptian intellectuals. Their experiences reveal the different responses to modernity in the realm of Islamic thought—differences which would frame the wider Islamic discourse throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Rifa'a al-Tahtawi's travel account, *An Imam in Paris*,[2] covers every facet of his visit to France, from the streets he walked—via education—to gender interaction, and Daniel L. Newman's introduction to this primary source superbly contextualizes Tahtawi's text. In addition, Albert Hourani's classic study *Arabic*

[1] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* [1835], trans. Arthur Goldhammer, introduction by Olivier Zunz (New York: Library of America Paperback Classics, 2012), 345.

[2] Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi, *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in France by an Egyptian Cleric (1826-1831)*, trans. Daniel L. Newman (London: Saqi, 2011).

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*Thought in the Liberal Age* (1962)[3] sheds light on Tahtawi's ideas, as well as those of other Arab reformers during the "liberal age" (1789-1939). Turning to Sayyid Qutb, the essay "The America I Have Seen"[4] contains his observations of the United States, even though his account is not as prodigious as Tahtawi's. Qutb's *A Child from the Village*[5] and *Social Justice in Islam*[6] are also critical sources as they exhibit the role that Qutb's childhood played in forming his attitude toward the West. James Nolan's *What They Saw in America* (2016),[7] an ethnographic work *par excellence*, contextualizes Qutb's experiences and compares them to the narratives of other thinkers. The standard scholarly work on Qutb's mentor Hassan al-Banna and the latter's revivalist Egyptian movement (which Qutb joined in the 1950s), is Richard P. Mitchell's *The Society of Muslim Brothers* (1969).[8] As for general works, this article employs Eugene Rogan's *The Arabs* (2009),[9] which introduces a number of relevant historical primary sources. It also refers to sociologist Charles Selengut's *Sacred Fury* (2017)[10] for the various academic theories that attempt to explain religious violence, and to jurist Khaled Abou El Fadl's *The Great Theft* (2007)[11] for Islamic extremism, especially Wahhabi thought.

Methodologically, this article is informed by the assertion of the Renaissance polymath Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) that everything is inextricably connected and that one discipline cannot be grasped without having full knowledge of several others.[12] It takes an interdisciplinary perspective—drawing on the fields of history, psychosociology, political science, religious studies, and anthropology—to understand Tahtawi's and Qutb's mindsets and to suggest this methodological procedure for the study of other personalities. Its first part considers Tahtawi's and Qutb's early upbringing, their place of origin, and the religious atmosphere that surrounded them. This is followed by a discussion of the thinkers' role

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[3] Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1798-1939* (first published 1962; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[4] Sayyid Qutb, "The America I Have Seen," in *America in an Arab Mirror: Images of America in Arabic Travel Literature, 1668 to 9/11 and Beyond*, ed. Kamal Abdel-Malek and Mouna El Kahla, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 9-27.

[5] Sayyid Qutb, *A Child from the Village*, ed. and trans. John Calvert and William E. Shepard (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004).

[6] Sayyid Qutb, *Social Justice in Islam*, trans. John B. Hardie (New York: Octagon Books, 1980).

[7] James L. Nolan, Jr., *What They Saw in America: Alexis De Tocqueville, Max Weber, G. K. Chesterton, and Sayyid Qutb* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[8] Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (first published 1969; New York: ACLS History E-Book Project, 2005).

[9] Eugene Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* (first published 2009; London: Penguin Books, 2018).

[10] Charles Selengut, *Sacred Fury: Understanding Religious Violence*, 3rd ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

[11] Khaled Abou El Fadl, *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007).

[12] Waqas Ahmed, "The Mind of Leonardo da Vinci," *Philosophy Now* 134 (2019): 26-27.

models. The article's final part reflects on the respective sociopolitical undertones that molded Tahtawi's and Qutb's personalities. Both men were intellectuals from Egypt who traveled to the West for educational reasons—albeit to different destinations and in different centuries—and shared their insights.

*I. Childhood Experiences and Religious Climate*

In sociological discourse, parents, schools, and religious groups are considered "agents of socialization" which shape an individual's self-concept, values, and conduct.[13] The two Arab thinkers considered here were not immune from these agents and should thus be examined accordingly.

Rifa'a al-Tahtawi was born in 1801 in the city of Tahta in Upper Egypt to a well-respected family of *shouyoukh* (scholars) and *qudat* (judges). He was trained in the Islamic sciences, studied the Arabic language and theology, and eventually became an educator at Cairo's Al-Azhar University,[14] an institution that continues to train Muslim scholars today. Tahtawi became a scholarly celebrity: an expert on the *Hadiths*,[15] logic, rhetoric, poetry, and prosody,[16] his specializations reflected the multifaceted nature of the education provided by Al-Azhar University, one of Islam's oldest and most prestigious institutions of higher learning.

Born in 1906, just over a century after Tahtawi, in the village of Musha in Upper Egypt, Sayyid Qutb did not hail from a family of Muslim scholars, nor was he trained at an Islamic institution. While a lack of religious training does not necessarily produce a dangerous mind, dangerous minds are almost never literate in the Islamic sciences: the leaders of most Islamic movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Al-Qaeda, and ISIS have been engineers or doctors who have lacked religious training.[17] Commenting on Qutb and Maududi (1903-1979), another Islamist, legal scholar Khaled Abou El Fadl has noted that,

> [i]t is not surprising that neither Qutb nor Maududi were trained jurists, and their knowledge of the Islamic jurisprudential tradition was minimal […] Qutb imagined Islamic law to be a set of clear cut, inflexible, and rigid positive commands.[18]

Historian William Shepard underscores Abou El Fadl's assessment:

> He [Qutb] defines the *jahili* [ignorant and corrupt] society as "every other society than the Muslim society." *Jahili* societies may be anti-religious or religious in diverse ways […] Likewise, ethically, "There are no agrarian ethics and no industrial ethics […] There are no capitalist ethics or socialist ethics. There are only Islamic ethics and *jahili* ethics."[19]

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[13] Davita Silfen Glasberg and Deric Shannon, *Political Sociology: Oppression, Resistance, and the State* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 2011), 56.

[14] Rogan, *Arabs*, 85.

[15] *Hadiths* are the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.

[16] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 33.

[17] Abou El Fadl, *Great Theft*, 19.

[18] Abou El Fadl, *Great Theft*, 82-83.

[19] William E. Shepard, "Sayyid Qutb's Doctrine of 'Jahiliyya'," *International Journal of Middle*

According to Qutb, human society consists of the true faithful and those who live in a state of *jahiliyya* (ignorance and unbelief); it is therefore imperative for all Muslims to migrate to the realm of true Islam because failure to migrate will cause Muslims to become infidels.[20] If the realm of true Islam does not exist Qutb advises Muslims to isolate from the rest of society. According to Abou El Fadl:

> [Qutb suggests that] [a]fter withdrawing and forming their own community, it is incumbent upon Muslims to expend every effort at founding the true Islamic state. [Abou El Fadl points to] Qutb's willingness to declare Muslims to be apostates […] Qutb accused the vast majority of Muslims of being hypocrites and heretics.[21]

Commenting on some of Qutb's tendencies, his contemporary, the Egyptian thinker Hasan al-Hudaybi (1891-1973), asserted that the habit of excommunicating was incongruent with Islamic tradition, and that Muslims had not all sunk into a state of pre-Islamic ignorance but had remained Muslims even if they had become somewhat Westernized. Describing the whole Islamic world as "ignorant" and stating that Islam did not exist in the modern period was a convoluted charge which alienated many of Qutb's contemporaries, including his mentor Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949). Hudaybi emphasized that sovereignty rested with the people, since a theocratic system was alien to Islamic theology, and that a comprehensive utopian state with the divine will as its only sovereign would be impossible.[22] Ali Gomaa, the former *mufti*[23]of Egypt, describes in televised interviews that Qutb never attended Friday congregational prayer since he considered Egypt an abode of unbelief and held that Islamic society had not existed for centuries.[24] Gomaa is a graduate of Al-Azhar University where Qutb is considered a heretic.[25] Qutb's *démodé* antithetical labels of *dar al-kufr* (abode of unbelief) and *dar al-Islam* (abode of Islam) had already been rejected by a number of medieval jurists who had affirmed that the abode of Islam need not be under Muslim ownership. To many premodern jurists—particularly the Hanafi school of the Persian scholar Al-Sarakhsi (d. 1090)—the abode of Islam is the entity where Muslims are secure and can practice their religion.[26] Thus, contrary to Qutb's assertions, Muslims need not withdraw from society, even if Islamic rule is not applied, but can exist in any

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*East Studies* 35, no. 4 (2003): 521-545, here 525.

[20] Abou El Fadl, *Great Theft*, 83.

[21] Abou El Fadl, *Great Theft*, 82-83.

[22] Abou El Fadl, *Great Theft*, 84.

[23] A *Mufti* is a Muslim jurist entitled to issue expert opinions on Islamic law.

[24] Ali Gomaa, "[Sayyid Qutb did not pray on Fridays because believed to be in a land of unbelief]," *YouTube* video [Arabic], 3:12, May 11, 2017; CBC Egypt, "[Ali Gomaa: Sayyid Qutb was the one who invented that Muslim countries are lands of infidelity]," *YouTube* video [Arabic], 1:33, March 30, 2015.

[25] Gilles Kepel, *The Prophet and Pharaoh: Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, trans. Jon Rothschild (London: Al Saqi, 1985), 58.

[26] Tariq Ramadan, *To Be a European Muslim: A Study of Islamic Sources in the European Context* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1999), 125.

realm where their freedom of religion is safeguarded. According to the Muslim scholar Al-Shawkani (1759–1839), "[a] territory can be considered *dar al-Islam*, even if it is not under Muslim rule, as long as a Muslim can reside there in safety and freely fulfil his religious obligations."[27] While prevalent among some medieval theologians and constructed to make sense of their period's geopolitical realities in which war—in contrast to today—was the default position and peace the exception,[28] Qutb's dualistic labels were anachronistic in his own age and beyond. Furthermore, the concepts of the abode of Islam and the abode of unbelief are not found in the *Qur'an* or the *Hadiths*.

With regard to warfare, Qutb called on Muslims to oust the secular regimes of their societies and replace them with divine governance according to the *Shariah*. His worldview called for a vanguard of true Muslims to implement God's law. In Qutb's writings, one discerns frustration with the rhetoric of defensive *jihad*. To Qutb, *jihad* is purely expansionist and an instrument against all forces that might limit the Muslims; thus, to him, it is only through *jihad* that the Islamic community can realize justice and freedom. In Qutb's own words,

> [s]ome enemies of Islam may consider it expedient not to take any action against Islam, if Islam leaves them alone in their geographical boundaries […] But Islam cannot agree to this unless they submit to its authority.[29]

Qutb's theology of power departs radically from the majority of classical medieval Islamic jurists: while Qutb considered the enemies' non-Islamic faith as the *casus belli*, most medieval jurists viewed the enemies' aggression—not their religion *per se*—as the *casus belli*. The Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali schools of jurisprudence all linked *jihad* to the persecution of Muslims.[30] For times of war, these jurists and even the Shafi'i school (which backed offensive *jihad*) affirmed that the environment and non-combatants should be spared.[31]

All this underscores the important role that religious climate plays in the development of an individual's mindset. Qutb's binary and simplistic approach to Islam, based on his lack of religious training, paved the way for his misaligned outlook toward the United States and, by extension, the West which Qutb saw as

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[27] Quoted in Magomed Gizbulaev, "Legal Discourses on *Hijra* in the Caucasus after the Fall of the Caucasus Imamate: al-Risala al-Sharifa by the Dagestani Scholar 'Abd al-Rahman al-Thughuri," in *Political Quietism in Islam: Sunni and Shi'i Practice and Thought*, ed. Saud al-Sarhan (first published 2019; London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2020), 145-170, here 152.

[28] Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, "Upholding International Legality against Islamic and American Jihad," in *Worlds in Collison: Terror and the Future of Global Order*, ed. Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (London: Palgrave, 2002), 162-171, here 166.

[29] Quoted in Ahmed Al-Dawoody, *The Islamic Law of War: Justifications and Regulations* (New York: Palgrave, 2011), 75.

[30] Khaled Abou El Fadl, "Islam and Theology of Power," *Middle East Report* 221 (2001): 28-33, here 29.

[31] John L. Esposito, *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 32.

an abode of ignorance and corruption in opposition to his imagined society of the true faithful. Qutb's attitude toward the West might have developed differently had he pursued a religious path like Tahtawi. Qutb's black-and-white mindset contributed to his sense of aloofness and alienation during his stay in the United States, yet he saw this very attitude as a hallmark of true Islamic belief.[32]

There is a scholarly consensus that Qutb's upbringing and lack of Islamic training contributed to his future distaste of the United States. In the words of historian John Calvert, "Qutb viewed the United States not with fresh eyes but rather through the tinted spectacles of a man long captive to a particular view of the world."[33] Adiel Suarez Murias agrees with Calvert:

> While many believe Qutb's time in America drastically influenced and fueled his anti-Western resentment and distrust, these sentiments were firmly in place before Qutb's journey. He took the trip alone, however, experiencing America as a lone Muslim surrounded by non-Muslim strangers.[34]

Anthropologist James Toth adds that Qutb's visit to the United States made him hate Western civilization even more than had been the case before his visit.[35]

Tahtawi, on the other hand, did not subscribe to such polarized discourse. As the recipient of several *ijazahs*,[36] as a lecturer at Al-Azhar University, and as an Islamic theologian *par excellence*, Tahtawi was much more nuanced with regard to Islam. In fact, his religious training appears to have given him a *raison d'être* for his travels: he utilized several *Hadiths*[37] to show the permissibility of travel in the pursuit of knowledge even to a land of polytheism. Tahtawi stated: "There is no harm in traveling to a place where a person's faith is not in danger, particularly if it involves an advantage of this kind."[38]

According to Tahtawi, the Prophet Muhammad himself had declared the acquisition of "knowledge by which one benefits"[39] permissible, and Tahtawi cited the body of Muslim scholars to validate the importance of science, stating that, "[t]here is a consensus among religious authorities that next to the Book [i.e.,

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[32] Adnan A. Musallam, *From Secularism to Jihad: Sayyid Qutb and the Foundations of Radical Islamism* (first published 2005; Westport: Praeger, 2010), 121.

[33] John Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism* (first published 2010; London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd, 2018), 143.

[34] Adiel, Suarez-Murias, "'Jihad Is the Way and Death for the Sake of Allah Is Our Highest Aspiration': A Narrative Analysis of Sayyid Qutb's *Milestones*" (master's thesis, Wake Forest University, 2013), 3.

[35] James Toth, *Sayyid Qutb: The Life and Legacy of a Radical Islamic Intellectual* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 68.

[36] *Ijazah* is a certificate which authorizes its recipient to pass on a specific text, usually issued by an authorized teacher to a student.

[37] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 109.

[38] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 109-110.

[39] Indira Falk Gesink, "Islamic Reformation: A History of *Madrasa* Reform and Legal Change in Egypt," *Comparative Education Review* 50, no. 3 (2006): 325-345.

the *Qur'an*] and *Hadith*, science is the best and the most important of all things."[40] Tahtawi argued against the dichotomy between religious and non-religious subjects, affirming that legal scholars—in accordance with the precepts of Islam—ought to study history, administrative techniques, military arts, and economics to benefit themselves. In addition, he considered it *halal* (good) for laws to change according to circumstances. As Hourani affirms, Tahtawi, "[h]imself well versed in the religious law, a Shafi'i by legal rite, […] believed it was necessary to adapt the *Shariah* to new circumstances and that it was legitimate to do so."[41] Tahtawi viewed it as imperative that there be a partnership between the *ulama* (Muslim preachers), scientists, and rulers. As Hourani explains, "[t]he traditional idea of a partnership between ruler and *ulama* has been brought up to date, and the idea of the *ulama* reinterpreted in terms of Saint Simon's 'priesthood' of scientists."[42]

Tahtawi also recognized that public opinion played a pivotal role in the modern age—unlike the past when government had been a secret activity. He realized that the modern age had to be rooted in "good relations between rulers and ruled" and that a universal political education had to be furnished.[43] Unlike Qutb, whose primitive religious views led him to a strictly binary distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, Tahtawi stressed the Islamic protection of the *dhimmi*,[44] affirming that these should be allowed full religious freedom and that it was legitimate for Muslims to be in their company.[45] Such attitudes were the driving force behind Tahtawi's perception of France, and he utilized the examples of Muhammad and his companions at every turn.[46] Meanwhile, Qutb lacked Tahtawi's scholarly depth and religious knowledge; in fact, his trip to the United States was arranged by the Egyptian and American governments to facilitate a higher level of moderation in his views.[47]

Tahtawi emphasized that, in his assessment, Westerners fit into the category of the refined, cultured, and civilized who had reached the peak of urbanization. Meanwhile, he applied the category of the wild savages to Blacks and the category of the uncivilized barbarians to the Arabs of the desert.[48] Prior to his trip to France, Tahtawi had on several occasions visited Cairo's *Institut d'Égypte*, where the European sciences were propagated, and it was there that he made the acquaintance of Frenchmen who had been hired by the Egyptian ruler in 1824 to

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[40] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 98.

[41] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 75.

[42] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 76. Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) was a French scholar of the Enlightenment.

[43] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 76.

[44] *Dhimmi* denotes the protected status of non-Muslims under Islamic rule.

[45] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 80.

[46] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 73.

[47] Makki Al Tahir, "Qutb and Three Unpublished Letters," *Al Hilal* (October 1986): 120-130.

[48] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 102-104.

train the viceroy's army.[49] Tahtawi was not just an expert on Islamic scholarship; he was also familiar with the Western philosophical tradition. According to Hourani,

> [Tahtawi] read books on ancient history, Greek mythology, geography, arithmetic, and logic; a life of Napoleon, some French poetry, including Racine, Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son, […] Voltaire, Condillac, Rousseau's social contract, and the main works of Montesquieu.[50]

Referring to linguist Myriam Salama-Carr, Jenna Allen points to Tahtawi's nuance and objectivity—factors which molded his attitude during his travels:

> [Tahtawi] negotiates conflicting discourses of modernity and tradition through his use of parallels between French and Islamic civilizations to connect and familiarize the other's values and experiences […] the imam describes the Seine in comparison to the Nile, and the different types of Parisian roads in comparison to Cairene roads.[51]

Hourani claims that Tahtawi was the first writer to articulate the notion of an "Egyptian nation" and who rooted this concept in Islamic precepts.[52] Thus, in a way, Tahtawi's attitude toward France was the product of a dialogue between Islamic and Western thoughts.

While their respective religious background is one factor that explains Tahtawi's and Qutb's attitudes toward the West, their families and places of birth need to be considered as well because the latter also serve as "agents of socialization." Tahtawi's childhood, unlike Qutb's, was a relatively carefree one: his family was showered with respect and enjoyed considerable standing in the community since reputable scholars filled its ranks.[53] Indeed, Tahtawi was proud of his prestigious ancestry and referenced it on numerous occasions.[54] Qutb's childhood, on the other hand, was wrought by problems: his family was forced to sell some of their land due to economic woes. In addition, Qutb witnessed the abuse of fellow villagers—an experience which resonated with him throughout his life.[55] Qutb's difficult childhood pushed his mother to encourage him to become part of the *effendi*[56] class to increase his family's prestige and financial status.

These biographical details explain why Tahtawi and Qutb approached their travels differently. The trauma of seeing peasants in his village abused led Qutb to write a book on *Social Justice in Islam*. With social justice as one of his highest concerns, Qutb found this trait utterly lacking in America; to him, the United States

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[49] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 34.

[50] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 69.

[51] Jenna Allen, "Negotiating Modernity: An Imam in Paris" (master's thesis, University of Colorado, 2013), 3.

[52] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 69.

[53] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 30.

[54] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 30.

[55] Nolan, *What They Saw in America*, 165.

[56] *Effendi* is a title of respect for someone of high education or social status.

were saturated with toxic individualism and cut-throat capitalism, a far cry from the communal ethos of his fellow villagers. To Qutb, this toxic individualism was exemplified by Americans rarely leaving their yards to interact with others and by individual gardens reflecting their owners' selfish, utilitarian, and noncommunal attitudes. Meanwhile, Qutb viewed his own village as utopian:

> The largest agricultural holding was not more than two hundred *faddans* [about 207 acres], and there was hardly an individual or family that did not have a piece of land, whether large or small. The distribution of land diminished the class differences and created a condition of personal pride in the relationships between people.[57]

The treatment of Native Americans and Blacks also angered Qutb,[58] including what he saw as America's obsessive concern with profit in the markets.[59] With his "agrarian distributist" mentality, Qutb did not embrace a society he saw as materialistic. Interestingly enough, Qutb himself was subjected to racism during his stay in the United States as people falsely assumed him to be African American.[60] To Qutb, America's racism was even uglier than that of the Nazis.[61]

There is an additional aspect that explains Qutb's future outlook on the United States, and it also pertains to his village of Musha. After moving away from Musha, Qutb eventually became both a member of the *effendi* class and familiar with Western theory, yet he was still chained by his village experiences. Qutb recalled how he was moved by the plight of his fellow villagers, including their joy when they worked the land:

> When the men are in the fields they can forget their sorrows. The bright sunlight fills their souls and brightens them, and the sprouting of the seeds in the black earth causes dim hopes to grow in their souls even though in their profound simplicity they cannot perceive them.[62]

Toth notes that Qutb was by no means a cosmopolitan: he continued to idolize the local and traditional wisdom of the peasant villager as someone to follow rather than dismiss.[63] Considering Qutb's reverence for his village, it becomes clear why he disliked the United States so much. In contrast to his native Egypt, Qutb saw in America an indifference to nature[64] as well as a lack of contemplation and a high level of discontent.[65] Yet, it can be argued that Qutb was himself discontented. To utilize sociologist Peter Berger's terminology, Qutb was in a sense homeless in the

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[57] Qutb, *Child from the Village*, 115.

[58] William E. Shepard, *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism: A Translation and Critical Analysis of "Social Justice in Islam"* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 59.

[59] Shepard, *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism*, 350.

[60] Nolan, *What They Saw in America*, 186.

[61] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb*, 154.

[62] Qutb, *Child from the Village*, 131.

[63] Toth, *Sayyid Qutb*, 52.

[64] Nolan, *What They Saw in America*, 166.

[65] Musallam, *From Secularism to Jihad*, 117.

cosmos and yearning to restore divine meaning.[66] Due to his disenchantment with modernity, Qutb's heart could not be alleviated by bureaucratic efficiency and rationality, since he observed in all societies an absence of God's law.

Qutb was, of course, not alone as someone molded by his environment. Carrying on his shoulders a vast Islamic tradition, Tahtawi looked at France as a realm of unbelief and at the French as Christians in name only, and he complained about the role of religion in French society, noting that "[a]nother of their bad customs is their claim that the intellect of their philosophers and physicists is greater and more perceptive than that of prophets."[67] Tahtawi's travel account criticizes the way French men were slaves to women,[68] the casual interaction between the sexes, and the small degree of chastity exhibited by women.[69] Tahtawi pointed out that the French were not charitable[70] and that they spent too much time on personal pleasures instead of praying during their free time.[71] Similar to Qutb's assertion of discontent among Americans, Tahtawi viewed the French as fickle and frivolous.[72] Unlike Qutb, however, Tahtawi acknowledged many rather positive traits, such as the French's curiosity, their passion for all things new, and their enthusiasm for change;[73] he also admired their work ethic, dignity, keeping of promises, sincerity, honesty, and gratitude.[74]

The difference in attitude between Tahtawi and Qutb may also be explained by the socioeconomic structures of the United States, which, in many ways, contradicted the precepts of the Islamic tradition. More so than France, the United States idolize the individual and prioritize boundless profit seeking,[75] whereas Islam rejects the cult of the individual and the pursuit of excessive wealth. Qutb even linked Americans' obsession with the dollar to their mocking treatment of the subject of death.[76] This is why the French thinker Gustave de Beaumont (1802-1866) had criticized the American farmer for merely utilizing his land as an industrial material, treating his cottage akin to a factory, and why the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) had complained about the absolute individualism of American farmers' economics and their attitude as

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[66] Peter L. Berger, *Facing Up to Modernity: Excursions in Society, Politics, and Religion* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

[67] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 180.

[68] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 177.

[69] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 178.

[70] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 175.

[71] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 177.

[72] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 174.

[73] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 174.

[74] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 176.

[75] Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to Americas National Identity* (first published 2004; New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 67-69.

[76] Nolan, *What They Saw in America*, 177.

businessmen.[77] With regard to the Americans' indifference toward nature, Qutb cited Alexis de Tocqueville who, incidentally, was Tahtawi's contemporary and had made similar remarks.[78] Qutb noticed this capitalist ethos even in American churches and criticized American religious institutions for using entertainment to draw people.[79] According to Qutb,

> [i]f the church is a place of worship in the entire Christian world, in America it is for everything but worship. You will find it difficult to differentiate between it and any other place. They go to church for carousal and enjoyment, or as they call it in their language "fun."[80]

Violence in sports, on the whole, is more commonly associated with America than France, and Qutb saw American football as a pure gladiatorial exhibition, feeding on the raw, primitive impulses of the fans and players. He also complained about Americans' "agitated herd mentality,"[81] which raises the question whether such a condition is peculiar to the American ethos: Alexis de Tocqueville, the English author G. K. Chesterton (1874-1936), and the Lebanese American scholar Philip K. Hitti (1886-1978) all made similar remarks.[82] Both Tocqueville and Chesterton pointed to America's tyranny of majority and conformist tendencies which, in their view, failed to truly safeguard the freedom of opinion.[83]

While Qutb viewed culture in American society as primitive—be it music (jazz), art, or film (with its focus on cowboys or policemen), Tahtawi saw culture in French society as sophisticated. To Tahtawi, the high-level culture of the French not merely extended to the arts but to the French themselves whom he found friendly and tolerant even toward strangers. While Tahtawi—like Qutb—disagreed with the performance of gender roles in the West, Tahtawi did regard French women as nice and amiable company. Furthermore, in contrast to Qutb's assertion that Americans are not considerate, Tahtawi saw the very opposite in France: "The basic principle with the French is that everything is done for the sake of beauty and elegance, rather than for [excessive] ornamentation, the outward show of wealth or vainglory."[84] Tahtawi's statement stands in sharp contrast to

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[77] Gustave de Beaumont, *Marie or, Slavery in the United States* [1835], trans. Barbara Chapman (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), 64; Peter Ghosh, "Max Weber on 'The Rural Community': A Critical Edition of the English Text," *History of European Ideas* 31, no. 3 (2005): 327–366.

[78] *Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont in America: Their Friendship and Their Travels*, ed. Olivier Zunz, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 411.

[79] American churches as businesses and outlets for leisure have also been discussed by other scholars; see, for example, Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business* (first published 1985; London: Methuen, 2007), 121.

[80] Qutb, "America I Have Seen," 19.

[81] Sayyid Qutb, "Hama'im fi New York" ["Pigeons in New York"], *al-Kitab* (Cairo), Sana 4, no. 10 (December 1949): 666-667.

[82] Nolan, *What They Saw in America*, 173.

[83] Nolan, *What They Saw in America*, 181.

[84] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 218.

Qutb's description of Americans as people of arrogance and insincerity. Finally, Tahtawi—unlike Qutb—praised the politics of the country he visited, including its freedom of expression, access to the press, the equality of all its citizens before the law, and their capability to attain any office.[85] He also expressed his sympathy for the July 1830 Revolution in France, affirming the view that the people had the right to set aside a monarch if their rights were not preserved.[86] In the words of Eugene Rogan: "The reformist cleric [i.e., Tahtawi] was captivated by the way the French constitution promoted the rights of common citizens rather than reinforcing the dominance of elites."[87] Yet, it would be too simplistic to attribute Qutb's cynical outlook during his trip solely to America's particular ethos. That his perspective was vastly different from Tahtawi's ultimately resulted from the fact that he and Tahtawi experienced different childhoods, faced different religious climates, and lived in very different historical periods.

*II. Role Models*

Another agent of socialization that is fundamental to an individual's development is the charismatic leader. Weber alludes to this type of leader whose authority derives from his charisma.[88] To understand Tahtawi and Qutb, one must understand role models that shaped them.

When reading Tahtawi's travel account, one can clearly see a person entranced by the positivist realm—something that is absent from Qutb's narrative. What, then, accounts for Tahtawi's enthusiasm for the sciences, which Qutb does not seem to share? The answer lies in the personality of the distinguished Egyptian scholar Shaykh Hassan al-Attar (1776–1835). Attar was more than just an educator to Tahtawi: he was his mentor and friend. It was ultimately Attar who helped Tahtawi go on his educational mission to France—a mission sponsored by the viceroy of Egypt, Muhammad Ali (1769-1849).[89] Attar bridged the Islamic and "secular" sciences, instilling in his student a love for poetry as well as geography, history, astronomy, and medicine.[90] Thus, Tahtawi was simultaneously permeated by religious, literary, and scientific influences which would shape his outlook on the West—an advantage he had over Qutb. Tahtawi also shared Attar's opinions with regard to Islamic reformation. As Newman affirms,

> [Attar] was one of the few *ulama* to establish contact with members of the Institut d'Égypte, and was invited to witness their experiments […] his close intercourse with French scholars

[85] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 194-213.

[86] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 194-213. See Rogan, *Arabs*, 87-88.

[87] Rogan, *Arabs*, 87.

[88] See Max Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Writings*, ed. Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

[89] William Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 5th ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2013), 86.

[90] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 32.

> aroused his interest in the modern European sciences and raised the awareness of their importance to the development of his own country.[91]

Based on his early encounter with Attar, Tahtawi came to approach the West not as the "other" but as a partner in a dialogue: the West had originally benefitted from the Islamic world, and now the Islamic world had to borrow from the West—from what had originally been hers. Attar also bequeathed to Tahtawi the art of nuance, arguing that the answers for the advancement of the Muslims lay not in blindly copying the Europeans but in taking the things which might benefit Muslim societies and rediscover the treasury of Islamic culture and science.[92] According to Newman,

> [Tahtawi] was very much part of a traditional Islamic scholarly tradition, as his literary output clearly shows, and it is therefore difficult to see that he could have conceived of "progress" as being rooted in anything other than divine law.[93]

The other thing Attar passed on to Tahtawi was interaction with Europeans. As Newman notes, Attar referred to the French as a "peaceful people" who are violent only toward those who make war on them.[94] This may explain Tahtawi's cautious celebration of the West, a characteristic that mirrored Attar's celebratory style. Articulating Tahtawi's vision, historian John Livingston writes:

> Tahtawi appears to see an Egypt remade in the image of an Islamic Enlightenment, wherein religion forms a legal and constitutional framework which limits and gives moral guidance to the power of a benevolent despot, and science acts as the intellectual and moral driving force creating cultural renewal.[95]

Qutb's role models were of a different kind, and his perception of the United States and the West derived from these role models. His secular influences certainly included Carl Schmitt (1888-1985), a German political theorist and member of the Nazi Party,[96] and initially also the Egyptian polymath Abbas Mahmoud al-Aqqad (1889-1964). Qutb was also familiar with Wahhabism,[97] a very conservative branch of Islam.[98] In a sense, all these influences resurfaced when he visited the United States. While of a secular bent, Aqqad and the Diwan

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[91] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 35.

[92] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 35.

[93] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 36.

[94] Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 35.

[95] John W. Livingston, "Western Science and Educational Reform in the Thought of Shaykh Rifa'a al-Tahtawi," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 4 (1996): 543-564, here 552.

[96] Roxanne L. Euben, *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism: A Work of Comparative Political Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 199, 181; Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Islam and Modernities* (London: Verso, 1993), 77-101; Ahmad S. Moussalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Ideological and Political Discourse of Sayyid Quṭb* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1993).

[97] Abou El Fadl, *Great Theft*, 82.

[98] On Wahhabism, see Abou El Fadl, *Great Theft*, 47.

poetry school with their subjective, romantic, and aesthetic characteristics[99] impacted Qutb because Aqqad's romantic outlook made sense of the personal alienation that was suffocating Qutb during and after his university days. Indeed, in Qutb one detects a man of utter discontent who does not feel quite at home. Qutb's inner unease partially resulted from his transition from his rural origins in Musha to the city of Cairo. In the absence of the social network to which one is accustomed, sustaining one's "self" becomes difficult. The rural comfort and home from which Qutb became disconnected was embodied in the figure of his mother.[100]

Meanwhile, Tahtawi was also influenced by Muhammad Ali to whom he referred as the second Macedonian.[101] The viceroy monopolized the wealth of Egypt, used revenue to establish a bureaucratic state, and created the first peasant mass army in the Near East. Yet, it was Muhammad Ali's embrace of Westernization that left its mark on Tahtawi. Like Attar, Muhammad Ali drew on European ideas and technology, and he embarked on one of the earliest industrialization enterprises outside of the European continent. He also Europeanized the army, dispatched education missions to the capitals of Europe, and created a translation bureau.[102] According to Hourani,

> [Tahtawi] sees in Muhammad Ali and his successors the legitimate heirs of the Pharaohs, trying to revive the glories of Egypt by following the same principles; they too have given equality to all, subjects and foreigners alike.[103]

It is evident that Tahtawi's perception of France, which is—on the whole—more appreciative of the West, owes much to his role mode Muhammad Ali.

In Qutb's case, the political role models who shaped his sentiments toward the United States were, yet again, of a different kind and included none other than Hassan al-Banna, the founder of the Society of Muslim Brothers (otherwise known as the Muslim Brotherhood). Living in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century, Banna was troubled by the presence of Christian and Bahai missionaries, by the elite circles of theosophy, and by secular trends in his own country. Even at the Egyptian University, Banna sensed the presence of atheism, which to him was as disturbing as the nightclubs that filled Cairo's entertainment districts. Banna hoped to see a response from Egypt's scholars; yet all he saw was quietism.[104] This is why the literary critic Muhammad Mustafa Badawi describes the decade of the 1930s as one colored by existential angst and disillusionment.[105] The Society of

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[99] Toth, *Sayyid Qutb*, 20.

[100] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb*, 66.

[101] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 73.

[102] Rogan, *Arabs*, 67-68, 85, 88.

[103] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 81.

[104] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb*, 81.

[105] Muhammad Mustafa Badawi, *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 128.

Muslim Brothers, which Qutb embraced after the 1930s, engaged in a process called displacement and splitting. According to psychiatrist John E. Mack, groups like these direct their anger and frustration at their enemies while claiming purity and goodness for themselves.[106] Banna's movement should be understood in this context. Qutb's role model advocated for a united Islamic front against Western imperial forces[107] and for the Islamization of society instead of an Islam relegated to the private sphere.[108] This attracted Qutb who saw in the America he visited a country bent on crushing the doctrinal, ethical, and practical facets of Islam:[109]

> Islam is the real force that resists the force of the materialistic thought worshipped equally in Europe, America, Russia, and China […] [Islam] contains the universal, complete, and harmonious conception concerning existence and life [… ] that gives life a spiritual basis.[110]

Banna shaped Qutb's attitude in yet another fundamental way, namely, through his obsession with Nazism and his belief that enemies—Jews and non-Jews—must be fought to gain victory.[111] Qutb came to share this sentiment.[112] Both he and Banna were obsessed with the notion of struggle and change, yet lacked a clear perspective for the moment when power would be fully attained by their followers. Neither Qutb nor fascist theorists like Schmitt actually envisioned what a stable and functioning order would look like once all internal and external wars would be finished.[113] Both fascists and radical Islamists like Qutb envision cultures as monolithic, static entities; in other words, the world is dualistic: "us" against "them." According to Mack, such a mindset is a defense mechanism which enables individuals to see their problems as residing within their enemies, thereby giving purpose to their discontent. The language of violence is seen as a redeeming force by both fascists and militant Islamists alike, and symbolic empowerment is very much at play.[114] Qutb and Schmitt—as well as the Italian scholar Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) and the French philosopher Georges Sorel (1847-1922)—emphasized the non-rational and inspirational undertones of these worldviews.[115] In addition, Qutb's fascist connection should be viewed in the wider context of an anti-

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[106] See Selengut, *Sacred Fury*, 72.

[107] Tommy Larsson, "The Islamist Ideology of Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb: A Comparative Analysis" (master's thesis, University of Oslo, 2017).

[108] Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 242.

[109] Quoted in Shepard, *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism*, 287.

[110] See Shepard, *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism*, 350.

[111] Tony Duheaume, "ANALYSIS: The Nazi Roots of Muslim Brotherhood," *Al Arabiya News* [English], June 27, 2018 (updated May 20, 2020).

[112] Micah Halpern, "Islamic Extremism and White Nationalism Both Salute Nazism: Groups' Core Philosophies Directly Borrow from Hitler's," *Observer*, August 21, 2017.

[113] Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (first published 1991; London: Routledge, 2016), 39.

[114] Vamik D. Volkan, *Cyprus-War and Adaptation: A Psychoanalytic History of Two Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1979), ix-xxi.

[115] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb*, 213.

Westernism that was generally dominated by German-language theorists like the poet Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926), the philosopher and Nazi-supporter Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), and the author Ernst Jünger (1895-1998).

Finally, Qutb's Islamist debt to secular personalities includes Alexis Carrel (1873-1944), a French medical scientist who was sympathetic to fascism. Qutb's article in *Majallat al-Shu'un al-Ijtima'iyya* shows his infatuation with Carrel[116] whom he saw as a paragon of anti-Westernism. Qutb agreed with Carrel that life is, in essence, a work of art which cannot be reduced to its parts.[117] Carrel's distinction between spiritual and material components appealed to Qutb as well. Both stood against an increasingly modern and materialistic Western culture, and both rejected the Enlightenment which, in their view, had plunged people into spiritually dead networks of control and discipline. To them, rather than encouraging communalism and compassion, Western modernity had produced utilitarianism and toxic individualism, and was obsessed with the machine at the expense of the soul.[118] Their views are, of course, part of the greater neo-Romantic war against the manifestations of industrialization.

*III. The Sociopolitical Atmosphere*

Lastly, one factor that explains Tahtawi's and Qutb's difference in attitudes is the respective sociopolitical climate they experienced. Western colonialism was simply more pronounced during Qutb's time, including Westernization in the ranks of the Egyptian masses. Banna, the founder of the Society of Muslim Brothers, agreed that such Westernization was rampant and stated: "We are weary of this life of humiliation and restriction. They [Muslims and Arabs] are not more than mere hirelings belonging to foreigners."[119] During Qutb's time, Egypt also witnessed aggressive forms of proselytism:

> Egyptians across religious divides often experienced missionary seduction, attempts to divert one from her truth into Protestantism, as an attack (ta'n) on the collective body that, despite its limited success, caused moral injury on the communal level.[120]

During Tahtawi's time, on the other hand, Westernization was still at an earlier stage and was not yet reaching the general populace. This point is reinforced by Tahtawi's contemporary and fellow theologian Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti (1753-1825). Jabarti's account reveals the extent to which the Egyptian masses were unaware of Westernization and modernization during the Napoleonic invasion of their country (1798-1801). According to him, Egyptians displayed ignorance and

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[116] Sayyid Qutb, "Fi Mustaqbal Amal wa Furas: Muhayya'a li-Istiqlal," *Majallat al-Shu'un al-Ijtima'iyya* 4 (January 1943): 30-32, here 31.

[117] See Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb*, 91.

[118] Qutb, "Fi Mustaqbal Amal," 30–31.

[119] Quoted in Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 5.

[120] Jeffrey Culang, "Liberal Translations: Secular Concepts, Law, and Religion in Colonial Egypt" (PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 2017), 26.

bewilderment toward the French's scientific experiments: "They [i.e., the French] had strange things in [the institute], devices and apparatus achieving results which minds like ours cannot comprehend."[121] Many Muslims present during these experiments wondered whether French scientists could make it so that Egyptians would be in Morocco and Egypt at the same time, yet others saw the experiments as a form of alchemy.[122] According to Hourani, Tahtawi lived during a happy interlude of history where religious tensions between the Abrahamic religions were relaxed and had not yet been displaced by the new turmoil between East and West. In Hourani's words: "In his [i.e., [Tahtawi's] thought, there is no sense of Europe's being a political danger. France and Europe stood not for political power and expansion but for science and material progress."[123]

The Enlightenment's notion of progress likely shaped Tahtawi's outlook, as he had faith that technological innovations would eventually lead to humanity coming together and living in peace.[124] By Qutb's time, however, Western colonialism was felt more intensely. Qutb's contemporary Banna spoke about the political and social confusion that had befallen Egypt and how he and his friends had been moved to tears as students in Cairo.[125] Banna was also distraught by the luxurious homes of the British in Egypt and the miserable hovels of the Egyptian masses.[126] According to British author Karen Armstrong, "[t]he parties engaged in fruitless and vociferous debate and were still manipulated by the British […] The British kept a firm hand on the economy and public utilities."[127]

Meanwhile, during Tahtawi's lifetime, Islam was more firmly rooted in Egypt. Just a few years before Tahtawi's birth, even Napoleon had played the Islamic card and claimed his allegiance to the Islamic tradition and to Muhammad. One century later, Banna and Qutb witnessed the spreading of Western ideas on a large scale in newspapers, journals, and magazines that were anti-Islamic in tone.[128] Banna was particularly concerned with Egyptians turning away from the mosque[129]—an institution traditionally considered inseparable from the life of a Muslim. Clearly, during Qutb's and Banna's period, a noticeable segment of the population was beginning to partake in a life of secularism and Westernization:

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[121] *'Abd al-Rahman Al Jabarti's History of Egypt*, ed. Thomas Philipp, Moshe Perlmann, and Guido Schwald, 4 vols. and Guie (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994). 3:2.

[122] J. G. Alger, "Napoleon in Egypt," *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art* 68, no. 6 (December 1898): 750-760, here 756.

[123] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 81.

[124] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 81.

[125] Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 4-5.

[126] Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 242.

[127] Karen Armstrong, *The Battle for God* (first published 2000; New York: Harper Perennial, 2004), 219.

[128] Armstrong, *Battle for God*, 219.

[129] Armstrong, *Battle for God*, 219.

> They had access to European-style modern social clubs, urban private social spaces, horse racing, schools, casinos, resorts and other tourist destinations with alcohol, mixed-gender dance halls, and swimming pools, as well as Western music and dress codes and fashion.[130]

That these educated Egyptian elites posed a problem is underscored by historian Tommy Larsson: "[Banna] found himself incomprehensibly against the educated Egyptian elite in the country who blindly enfolded Western values to a considerable extent."[131] Thus, society in Egypt and, by extension, other Arab countries was gradually changing under the influence of European powers. Recognizing the extent of this secularization, Qutb remarked:

> When humanity closes the windows to faith in religion, faith in art, and faith in spiritual values altogether, there remains no outlet for its energy to be expended except in the realm of applied science and labor, or to be dissipated in sexual pleasure.[132]

Qutb's attitude was rooted in the deep concern that the entire world might eventually become like the United States.[133] According to scholar Fernando Reese,

> [l]ooking back at Egypt, Qutb seemed to fear that what he saw as the banality of the religious environments in the United States could transform the religious life of Muslim societies as well.[134]

Watching Muslims copying Westerners, Qutb diagnosed a defeated mentality in the Muslim *ummah* (community). Psychologically, Qutb was dealing with the phenomenon of cognitive dissonance—a phenomenon described by the American psychologist Leon Festinger whereby two beliefs are dissonant with each other if they do not fit together.[135] In Qutb's Egypt, religion was no longer in the "public square"—to use theologian Richard Neuhaus's term[136]—but it was merely in the personal realm, solely tied to leisurely activities and life-cycle events. Secularism, self-expression, and individualism had diminished the once pivotal role of religion and relegated personalities like Qutb to a place of a cognitive minority. As Selengut affirms, "intellectual and government elites look down upon the cognitive minority religions, consider them primitive, even irrational, and ignore

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[130] Mohammad Salama and Rachel Friedman, "Locating the Secular in Sayyid Qutb," *The Arab Studies Journal* 20, no. 1 (2012): 104-131, here 113.

[131] Larsson, "Islamist Ideology," 21.

[132] Qutb, "America I Have Seen," 14.

[133] Jamaludin Noordin Ibrahim, "The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb" (master's thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1988), 142.

[134] Fernando Rees, "Clash of Constructed Perceptions: A Frame Analysis of Sayyid Qutb and Samuel Huntington" (master's thesis, The American University of Paris, 2011).

[135] Leon Festinger, Henry Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group That Predicted the Destruction of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), 25.

[136] Richard John Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984).

or deny their beliefs."[137] As we have seen, Berger and Festinger emphasize the human desire for an established social network to cultivate one's sense of self and preserve one's concept of reality. Selengut's statement concerning the intellectual and government elites reinforces Larsson's observation with regard to Qutb's position toward the educated Egyptian elites whom he mistrusted. Reacting to the cognitive dissonance, Qutb adopted a militant approach. Tahtawi, meanwhile, opted for reinterpretation: he negotiated or, as theorists call it, "cognitively bargained" with modernity.[138] Unlike Qutb, Tahtawi had not experienced the abuse of villagers, nor do we get the impression that he considered himself a cognitive minority; this enabled him to develop a much more objective and appreciative attitude.

There is another way to assess Qutb's outrage, namely, via the parameters of Freudian and Girardian theories. According to Sigmund Freud, religion—while an illusory thing—provides humans with *mythos* (i.e., a narrative) that serves to reduce their innate aggression; without this *mythos,* aggression might spill badly into society. René Girard also discussed the place of rituals and myths in religions:

> For Girard, religious institutions are critical to the wellbeing of society because religion functions to defuse the anger and aggression that inevitably develop among people by providing rituals that serve as an outlet for real anger and fury.[139]

Yet, when myths and rituals are challenged by the secular, modern Western world, the worst may happen, and "actual" rather than symbolical scapegoating may occur. In Girardian terms, Qutb's hostility to the United States and the West in general can be explained as a product of "mimetic desire," namely, the desire to take on the idealized attributes of the "other"—in this case the powerful and dominating West. During Tahtawi's lifetime, myths and rituals were not yet under siege; hence, violence—from a Girardian perspective—was contained.

There are additional reasons why Qutb's attitude toward the United States was bleaker than Tahtawi's perception of France. Firstly, the issue of Zionism was nonexistent during Tahtawi's time. However, when Qutb came to the United States, his view of the country was already compromised due to America's support for Zionist ideas.[140] Secondly, communism was unknown during Tahtawi's time. Qutb, on the other hand, viewed both the communist and the capitalist blocs as real threats.[141] Finally, Qutb's trauma of witnessing the abuse of villagers shaped his future resentment and darker outlook at the West in general.[142]

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[137] Selengut, *Sacred Fury*, 54.

[138] Peter L. Berger, "Some Sociological Comments on Theological Education," *Perspective: A Journal of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary* 2 (Summer 1968): 127-138.

[139] Selengut, *Sacred Fury*, 41-44; René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* [1972], trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 143-168.

[140] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb*, 121.

[141] Shepard, *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism*, 350.

[142] Qutb, *Child from the Village.*

*Conclusion*

Childhood experiences and religious climate shaped both Rifa'a al-Tahtawi's and Sayyid Qutb's attitudes. The former's attitude was largely a product of his relatively carefree childhood and thorough religious training, while Qutb's mindset was formed by his—at times—traumatic childhood and lack of religious training. More fundamentally, Qutb's attitude may be explained by the role models who influenced him, including Aqqad, Banna, and Schmitt. Tahtawi, on the other hand, was inspired by role models like Attar who combined Islamic and Western scholarship as well as science, and Muhammad Ali who encouraged the exposure to Western ideas. As for the sociopolitical atmosphere of their times, this article has highlighted the immense gap between Tahtawi's and Qutb's respective experiences with colonialism. Tahtawi's Egypt was not yet ruled by the British, and Westernization was not yet prevalent among the masses. Qutb, however, had to reckon with British rule, Zionism, and communism, and he found his fellow Egyptians, on all levels of society, much more vulnerable to secularization.

Future research on Tahtawi and Qutb may consider the effect of colonialism on religious institutions and assess the scope of Westernization in Egypt during Tahtawi's and Qutb's respective careers. More research is also needed to understand the connection between religious illiteracy and dualistic, militant mindsets. Guided by Leonardo da Vinci's notion of universal interconnectedness, this article has sought to demonstrate its findings by combining historical, psychological, sociological, anthropological, religious, and political approaches. By engaging in "system thinking" with its principles of "connectedness, relationships, and context,"[143] scholars are certainly better equipped to study complex questions such as the ones raised here.

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[143] Ahmed, "Mind of Leonardo da Vinci," 26-27.

Christopher Dean Robbins

# *Leaping Devils, Mutated Swine, and Deadly Doubles: Dark Folklore in Early Victorian England (1830s-1870s)*

ABSTRACT: *This essay examines the discourse on supernatural occurrences and folklore during Britain's Victorian period. It analyzes an 1838 article, an 1859 editorial, and Princess Marie Liechtenstein's 1874 semi-autobiographical work "Holland House" to explore the phenomena of Spring-Heeled Jack, the mutated black swine of the London sewers, and doppelgängers. It argues that these seemingly bizarre aspects of Victorian myth were the direct result of anxieties stemming from modernization and urbanization.*

KEYWORDS: *British history; nineteenth century; Victorian era; London; folklore; myths; supernatural; Holland House; Spring-Heeled Jack; doppelgängers*

## *Introduction*

On October 7, 1837, a young woman by the name of Mary Stevens was walking to Lavender Hill in south London when she was attacked by a mysterious humanoid entity. According to Stevens, it leapt at her from a nearby alley and proceeded to rip off her clothing; instead of hands, however, it possessed claws which Stevens described as "cold and clammy as those of a corpse."[1] This figure came to be known as Spring-Heeled Jack, and reports of his attacks soon spread across London and the rest of Britain. As bizarre as these reports may seem, Spring-Heeled Jack was hardly the only oddity of his time. Throughout the Victorian era, it seems as though every manner of supernatural creature was emerging to terrorize the unsuspecting masses. Stories abound of evil doppelgängers, who served as omens of death to all who saw them, and of giant, mutated black swine, who roamed London's sewers, killing both children and homeless adults.[2]

Urban legends such as these developed during a truly pressing time for London's citizens. Modernization and urbanization had skyrocketed the city's population to well over one million, and the fears and anxieties associated with these changes took dark and sinister forms. Contemporary publications in both *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*, as well as the 1874 work *Holland House*, a book written by Princess Marie Liechtenstein (1850-1878), spread the tales of these beasts and apparitions to the larger public, compounding the latter's already growing fears. These specific sources were selected for this analytical essay due to their connection to the Victorians' multiple anxieties.

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[1] See Karl Bell, *The Legend of Spring-Heeled Jack: Victorian Urban Folklore and Popular Cultures* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 2-3. The account is based on "Lord Mayor of London Sir John Cowan's Letter to the Public Concerning Spring-Heeled Jack," *The Times*, January 8, 1838.

[2] For the black swine of the sewers, see "A Most Heinous Crime, Black Swine of the Sewers Blamed for Illegitimate Child's Death," *The Daily Telegraph*, October 10, 1859. For information on doppelgängers in the Victorian era, particularly their role as death omens, see Princess Marie Liechtenstein (Marie Fox), *Holland House* (first published 1874; London: Macmillan and Co., 1875).

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The grime and rot found in the underbellies of large cities like London became the perfect breeding ground for fears of violence and death to manifest themselves in the Victorian psyche in the form of demons, mutated animals, and other supernatural creatures. Additionally, the fear of being lost or replaced in the endless crowds of those seeking better lives in London and similarly large cities became a very real threat. Using period texts, this essay sets out to present and interpret how Victorian writers reported these stories (giving credence to supernatural occurrences and thus spreading fear among the populace); it identifies and analyzes the factual origins of these urban legends; and it shows that they represented people's fears in a rapidly modernizing city of London.

*I. Source Criticism*

All three of the documents explored in this essay are textual. The sources focusing on Spring-Heeled Jack and the black swine of the sewers come in the form of an article and an editorial in *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*, respectively; they can be accessed via these newspapers' digital archives. Meanwhile, *Holland House* (1874) is Princess Marie Liechtenstein's firsthand account about her life in the titular home and about her experiences with unexplained supernatural phenomena, mainly her encounter with her own doppelgänger.[3] Liechtenstein's work was re-published several times; the edition used here was printed in 1875.

The 1838 *Times* article on Spring-Heeled Jack takes up nearly half a page, while the 1859 *Daily Telegraph* editorial dedicated to the black swine of the sewers only occupies a space of about 5 x 5 inches.[4] *Holland House*, on the other hand, is an exquisite volume, bound in burgundy leather with a ribbed spine and gold lettering and ornamentation on the front and back covers. The book contains a portrait of Princess Marie Lichtenstein on the first page and features eleven lithographs and eighty-eight wood-cut prints throughout the text. It is nine inches in height, six inches in width, and a total of 390 pages in length.[5]

The authorship of the article and the editorial is not as evident at first glance as it is in the case of *Holland House*. The article on Spring-Heeled Jack actually represents the printed version of a letter that the Lord Mayor of London, Sir John Cowan (1774-1842), sent to the public concerning the sightings of the mysterious apparition. Sir John Cowan served as the Lord Mayor of London from 1837 until 1838 and was the first elected official to address the sightings.[6] There is some debate as to whether he truly wished to have the matter investigated or simply

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[3] Arthur Conan Doyle, *The History of Spiritualism*, Vol. I (London: Cassell and Company, 1926), 88-89. This work is a compilation of articles, firsthand accounts, and letters relating to Spiritualism and the sightings of ghosts or apparitions. Marie Fox's encounter with her own doppelgänger is documented here as an encounter with a possibly malevolent entity.

[4] "Lord Mayor of London," *The Times*, January 8, 1838; "Most Heinous Crime," *The Daily Telegraph*, October 10, 1859.

[5] Liechtenstein, *Holland House*.

[6] Bell, *Legend of Spring-Heeled Jack*, 32.

wanted to quell rumors that Spring-Heeled Jack was attacking women all around London.[7] In *The Unexplained: Great Mysteries of the 20th Century* (1994), Jenny Randles, a self-described ufologist and former director of investigations for the British UFO Research Association, argues that Spring-Heeled Jack served as an example of mass hysteria which was encouraged by the recognition of such an entity by high-ranking lawmakers.[8] Due to the frequency of sightings and the demeanor of those claiming to have been attacked, officials of the Victorian era would have disagreed with such a theory, as the available evidence and witness testimony pointed toward an actual physical presence.[9]

The author of the editorial on the black swine remains anonymous, and it has been argued that he or she created the beast as a metaphor for the practice of child abandonment which was occurring as a result of pregnancies outside of wedlock, particularly among the elites of London society.[10]

All three of the sources used in this essay were composed with the general public as the intended audience. The article on Spring-Heeled Jack was penned as an address to the public; the editorial on the black swine was written as a warning to the public about the darker aspects of society and the dangers of the London sewer system; and *Holland House* was created to give the general readership an idea of what it was like to grow up in a big house from the perspective of the nobility.[11] The article on Spring-Heeled Jack and the editorial on the black swine would have circulated widely, however, their subject matters were eventually eclipsed by the infamous Jack the Ripper. Neither received the same level of attention as the Ripper murders several decades later (1888-1891); as a result, they have faded into obscurity alongside earlier urban legends and sightings of apparitions like the Hammersmith Ghost sightings of 1803 and 1804.[12]

The reception of these sources was mixed. The 1838 article on Spring-Heeled Jack stirred the public into a paranoid frenzy, with dozens of individuals—mostly women—claiming to have encountered him. This, in turn, resulted in a massive spike in sightings that lasted from 1838 until the final sighting in 1904.[13] The impact of the 1859 editorial on the black swine of the sewers remains difficult to trace. It seems that only one major newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, printed the story, but the urban legend of the black swine does resurface in several biographies

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[7] Bell, *Legend of Spring-Heeled Jack*, 35-36.

[8] Jenny Randles, *The Unexplained: Great Mysteries of the 20th Century* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 1994), 41-44.

[9] Bell, *Legend of Spring-Heeled Jack*, 76-78.

[10] Thomas Boyle, *Black Swine in the Sewers of Hampstead: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Sensationalism* (first published 1989; London: Penguin Books, 1990), 55.

[11] Liechtenstein, *Holland House*, 12-14.

[12] See "The Hammersmith Ghosts," in *Kirby's Wonderful and Scientific Museum: or Magazine of Remarkable Characters*, Vol. II (London: Barnard and Sultzer, 1804), 65–79.

[13] Bell, *Legend of Spring-Heeled Jack*, 88.

and autobiographies of the period.[14] *Holland House* (1874) remained popular enough throughout the Victorian era to merit additional printings of the text, with scholars and filmmakers of the twenty-first century utilizing the work when attempting to analyze or create stories about nobles or the supernatural in Victorian life.[15]

*II. Leaping Devils, Mutated Swine, and Deadly Doubles*

Featuring a letter from Sir John Cowan, the Lord Mayor of London, the 1838 article on Spring-Heeled Jack starts with the reassuring message to the citizens of Britain's capital that the fiend would be brought to justice, should he dare to make an attack in the city proper.[16] The Lord Mayor's letter is the reply to an anonymous citizen who had sent a letter to the Lord Mayor, asking whether anything could be done about the reports of women—and several men—that they had been attacked at night by a mysterious figure. The Lord Mayor theorized that the person who had addressed the initial letter to him must have been one of the victims of Spring-Heeled Jack, and he encouraged victims to come forward so that more could be learned about the strange encounters with this entity.[17] The Lord Mayor's letter is the first instance of "Spring-Heeled Jack" being used to label the assailant. Despite the assurance that the culprit would be caught, the Lord Mayor made no mention of the authorities investigating any respective sightings in the countryside.

The 1859 editorial on the mutated black swine allegedly living in the London sewer system is rather short in length and description. Tales of large, mutated animals living in the sewers of London and other major cities were common during this period, with rodents and swine in particular being most frequently reported. The 1859 editorial remains unique, however, because one of these supposed mutated creatures was "responsible" for a terrible crime.[18] The writer claims that an aristocrat in Hampstead had fathered an illegitimate child with one of his servant girls. Once she had given birth, the father ordered her to abandon the child in the sewers where it was eaten alive by a gigantic, mutated black swine. According to the editorial, only a single piece of clothing remained.

*Holland House* tells the story of a massive Kensington estate and its art collection from the perspective of its author. Princess Marie Henriette Adélaïde of Liechtenstein (1850-1878), also known as Mary Fox, was an English writer who had been adopted by Henry Fox, 4th Baron Holland (1802-1859), an English nobleman who had no children of his own. Marie was raised as an aristocrat in the high society of the Victorian era and, in 1872, married Prince Aloys (Louis) of

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[14] Jacob Middleton, *Spirits of an Industrial Age: Ghost Impersonation, Spring-Heeled Jack, and Victorian Society* (Scotts Valley: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2014), 56-57.

[15] Jan Bondeson, *Strange Victoriana: Tales of the Curious, the Weird, and the Uncanny from Our Victorian Ancestors* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2016), 102.

[16] "Lord Mayor of London," *The Times*, January 8, 1838.

[17] "Lord Mayor of London," *The Times*, January 8, 1838.

[18] Boyle, *Black Swine*, 67.

Liechtenstein (1846-1920); the couple had four children. Marie's legacy as a writer is based on her work on Holland House and its significant art collection.[19]

The titular house (Holland House), sometimes referred to as Cope Castle, is a sprawling estate located in Kensington, London. Originally constructed in 1605 by Sir Walter Cope (c.1553-1614), the estate passed through several prominent families in the course of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.[20] Unfortunately, the grandeur of the estate from Marie Liechtenstein's time has been lost as a result of bombings which destroyed all but a few sections of the home during World War II; fortunately, the home's immense library remained relatively undamaged.[21] At its peak of prominence, Holland House was hosting meetings of artists and prominent political leaders.

Marie Liechtenstein tells readers of her life growing up in the large home and of the expectations that her adopted father, Henry Fox, had of her.[22] While the work offers a glimpse into the upper echelons of Victorian society, there are a few sections which talk about the supernatural phenomena associated with the manor. Marie Lichtenstein claims to have encountered her own doppelgänger one night, while traveling down the darkened corridors of the manor near its library.[23] According to her account, Marie and her double simply stared at each other for several moments until her double disappeared.[24] During the Victorian era, the idea of encountering one's doppelgänger was seen as an omen of death.[25] Marie had already established herself as a respected writer by the time of the book's publication, so her account has been taken more seriously than others. Because Holland House itself serves as the book's main character, when reading about this strange encounter, readers can interpret it as the house issuing a warning to Marie, thus reflecting the era's growing social and supernatural fears.[26]

*III. Analysis*

The cultural and psychological landscape of Victorian London was one of change and fear. As modernization and urbanization took hold, Londoners were forced to come to terms with the fact that the city they had once known was gone. London was one of the first cities to reach a population of one million during this period,

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[19] Fiona MacCarthy, *Last Curtsey: The End of the Debutantes* (London: Faber & Faber, 2006), 101-103.

[20] See Linda Kelly, *Holland House: A History of London's Most Celebrated Salon* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013).

[21] MacCarthy, *Last Curtsey*, 68.

[22] Liechtenstein, *Holland House*, 33-36.

[23] Liechtenstein, *Holland House*, 98.

[24] Liechtenstein, *Holland House*, 100.

[25] Jennifer Bann, "Ghostly Hands and Ghostly Agency: The Changing Figure of the Nineteenth-Century Specter," *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 4 (2009): 663-685, here 671-672.

[26] Liechtenstein, *Holland House*, 107-108.

and, as a result, anxieties and fears manifested themselves all across society.[27] The emergence of figures like Spring-Heeled Jack has been explained by scholars as representing societal fears about assaults from foreigners and strangers, particularly against women.[28] The initial description of the figure as a humanoid creature with cold, deadly claws made the imagination of Victorian readers run wild. The article in *The Times* was the first of many, setting a trend in sensational tales of the supernatural and inexplicable in the Victorian press. As the decades of sightings continued, Spring-Heeled Jack took root in the period's popular culture and became a boogeyman who would kidnap or torment those children who misbehaved or disrespected their parents.[29]

Victorian Literature soon attempted to give Jack an origin story to explain his actions, with some accounts identifying him as a harmless prankster and others declaring him to be a ghost or demon.[30] As a representation of societal anxieties with regard to assault and violence, Jack occupied an important cultural niche as a creature to fear at night on London's streets, but this niche was quickly crowded with tales of ghosts haunting famous thoroughfares and the much more tangible threat posed by the murderous Jack the Ripper in the late 1880s.[31]

Due to the environment of rot and disease that sewers brought to the Victorian mind, the mutated black swine of the sewers can be seen as a metaphor for two issues which plagued the psychology and culture of the Victorian era, namely, the abandonment of children and the fears associated with pollution and modern sewer systems. Children born out of wedlock could pose serious threats to aristocrats and political leaders due to the scandals associated with the underlying premarital or extramarital affairs.[32] The anonymous author of the editorial seems to have been desperate to expose an injustice and unspeakable practice, namely, child abandonment. Historian Thomas Boyle has argued that the black swine was created as a metaphor for this practice—a way to explain the disappearance and death of these children.[33] The identity of the aristocrat whose actions inspired the creature's creation remains unknown, though Boyle presumes the individual must have held an exceptionally high social rank as the editorial used to criticize him was published anonymously in *The Daily Telegraph*, a major London newspaper.[34]

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[27] Jennifer Westwood, *Lore of the Land: A Guide to England's Legends from Spring-Heeled Jack to the Witches of Warboys* (first published 2005; London: Penguin Books, 2006), 9-12.

[28] Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 51-52.

[29] Middleton, *Spirits of an Industrial Age*, 61.

[30] William J. Dotson, "Sacred Conspiracies: Spiritualist and Occult Politics in Britain, 1843-1916" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005), 37.

[31] Dotson, "Sacred Conspiracies," 77-78.

[32] Boyle, *Black Swine*, 210-211.

[33] Boyle, *Black Swine*, 212.

[34] Boyle, *Black Swine*, 203.

Sewers were seen as places of danger and mystery across Europe. Historian Matthew Gandy discusses the mythological aspect of sewers for Parisians during the late Victorian era and states that they were seen as locations for the city's seedy criminals and other undesirables to gather.[35] Sewers, like cemeteries, were considered part of the so-called "urban uncanny"—an aspect of the city that appeared to pose threats or held a frightening sense of mystery which hindered exploration and often resulted in misinformation or urban legends.[36] Victorians subscribed to the concept of environmental degeneration—the idea that the pollution of an environment could lead to a decay of one's intellectual faculties.[37] For an already tense Victorian audience, the idea of a ferocious man-eating beast hiding deep in the city's complex sewer system made sense, as it externalized child abandonment in the form of a creature that could be avoided as long as one did not stray too far from the beaten path.[38] Better to face an externalized foe in the form of a mutated creature than to look internally at the harsh cruelties of those members of society who were expected to lead by example.[39]

The concept of the doppelgänger (or "fetch") had existed long before Marie Liechtenstein put pen to paper. Early examples include the ancient Egyptian concept of "ka" or the idea of a spirit identical to one's own (including all memories and experiences), but gossip and literature of the Victorian era transformed the concept into something much more sinister.[40] Instead of simply being an uncanny phenomenon, doppelgängers took the form of omens of death.[41] The idea arose that—if one encountered one's own doppelgänger—it meant one only had a few days to live before the doppelgänger would take one's place.[42] Scholars appear divided on why this shift occurred. Some have argued that this change resulted from societal and cultural fears of losing personal and social identity as the population size of London and other European capitals began to skyrocket.[43] Others have offered a far more simple solution, namely, that Victorians were obsessed with death and the macabre.[44] Regardless of the interpretation, the impact of *Holland House* was considerable, and Marie

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[35] Matthew Gandy, "The Paris Sewers and the Rationalization of Urban Space," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24, no. 1 (1999): 23-44, here 24.

[36] Boyle, *Black Swine*, 144.

[37] Clare Echterling, "Degeneration and the Environment in Victorian and Edwardian Fiction" (PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 2018), 5.

[38] Boyle, *Black Swine*, 210-212.

[39] Boyle, *Black Swine*, 219-220.

[40] Westwood, *Lore of the Land*, 48.

[41] Westwood, *Lore of the Land*, 55-57.

[42] Westwood, *Lore of the Land*, 57-58.

[43] Bell, *Legend of Spring-Heeled Jack*, 72.

[44] Bondeson, *Strange Victoriana*, 112-113.

Liechtenstein is generally credited as a major contributor to doppelgänger literature by including her own encounter in her work.[45]

*Conclusion*

By examining cultural and psychological aspects of Victorian society through the urban legends of Spring-Heeled Jack, the black swine of the sewers, and the concept of doppelgängers, this essay has shown how these dark tales impacted the psyche of Victorians who were living through a period of mass urbanization and modernization. The citizens of London and its surrounding towns were anxious about assaults, crime, death omens, and pollution. As a result, folklore emerged that involved entities and apparitions associated with these problems. Stories of humanoid creatures assaulting unsuspecting Londoners and giant mutated animals dwelling in the sewers kept newspapers in business and citizens in a state of paralyzing fear. The story of a doppelgänger in Holland House—a famed beacon of culture and art—only added to society's unease. Popular culture in the twenty-first century continues to be fascinated with these urban legends, and future scholarship should study why this is the case. While there are various popular histories on urban legends of the Victorian period, a definitive scholarly synthesis on the topic has yet to be written. Perhaps the topic is too broad, given the wide range of legends from this period. Whatever the case may be, urbanization and modernization created monsters, and whether these are real or metaphorical remains in the eyes of the beholder.

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[45] Bondeson, *Strange Victoriana*, 133.

Michaela Malneritch

# *A Morbid Remembrance?*
# *The Purpose of Nineteenth-Century Victorian Death Portraits*

ABSTRACT: *Nineteenth-century Victorians used the evolving convenience of photography to domesticize death portraiture, which, in turn, proved to be a useful tool in their mourning practices. This essay examines individual, family, and hidden mother death portraits from The Thanatos Archive. Death portraiture may be considered morbid, but to the Victorians this practice created an everlasting memory of a loved one, an opportunity to capture one last family photo, and an outlet for mourning.*

KEYWORDS: *U.S. history; nineteenth century; Victorian era; death; family; memory; death practices; death portraits; photography; daguerreotypes*

## *Introduction*

Imagine a time when the only photo you owned of your child and spouse would be their death portrait. During the Victorian era, post-mortem photography was a common phenomenon, much like school pictures today. In fact, ever since the birth of photography in 1839 and well until the 1920s, post-mortem portraits were used as a medium of mourning and remembrance. When photography was still in its early days and rather expensive, the Victorians rarely made use of it more than once or twice during their lives. Photos were typically taken on the occasion of two major life events, namely, marriage and death. In *Figure 1 (Together in Death)*, a post-mortem portrait taken in 1854, we see a young woman holding a newborn tightly in her arms. Both seem to be sleeping peacefully but, in actuality, they are deceased. The most jarring aspect of this portrait may well be why it was taken in the first place. A man who had just lost the two most important people in his life—his wife and child—had likely commissioned it. He had become a widower, and he had lost his role as a father. The portrait certainly engenders sadness and perhaps regret, but it was commissioned regardless of the sorrowful emotions it evokes. For their practice of commissioning and taking post-mortem portraits, the Victorians have been charged with a fascination with death. However, such an accusation is misplaced, because Victorian post-mortem portraits have nothing to do with any such twisted obsession with death.[1] The Victorians engaged in this practice because it was the most accurate way to capture the likeness of their deceased loved ones before the latter would be buried and, yes, decompose. Thus, for the Victorians, post-mortem photography was simply a method of

[1] Lyn Hunter, "A Victorian Obsession with Death: Fetishistic Rituals Helped Survivors Cope with Loss of Loved Ones," article on a lecture by Dr. Carol T. Christ (University of California, Berkeley) on March 21, 2000, *The Berkeleyan* 28, no. 27 (April 5-11, 2000). On the topics addressed in this essay, see also Stanley B. Burns, *Sleeping Beauty: Memorial Photography in America* (Altadena: Twelvetrees Press, 1990); Audrey Linkman, *Photography and Death* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012); Elizabeth Paris, "Suspension of Grief (and Disbelief): The Evolution of Postmortem Photography in Nineteenth-Century America" (master's thesis, University of Texas at San Antonio, 2015).

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remembrance. In cases like *Figure 1*, the post-mortem photograph may have been a widower's only opportunity to obtain a portrait of his wife and child.

*Figure 1: "Together in Death" (1854). Image Courtesy of The Thanatos Archive. Used by Permission (The Thanatos Archive).*

Although death is inevitable, it is a subject largely avoided in modern society. It is seen as distant, something that should only be addressed when it happens, and an uncomfortable reminder of mortality. Today, death occurs behind closed doors. Scenes of dying are frequently confined to hospitals, and the preparation of bodies for burial is in the hands of professionals. Death has become the least domestic affair, but this was quite the opposite for the Americans and Europeans of the nineteenth century. According to Jacqueline Bunge and Sue Henger, "[f]or the Victorians, the Angel of death was always close, he lurked in the slums, spreading typhoid and scarlet fever and stalked the battlefields of the Civil War, riding the bullets that blew young men to bits."[2] For them, death was not a distant concept, it was present, a reality, and not the mere abstraction it is to us today.[3]

[2] Jacqueline Bunge and Sue Henger, eds., *Beyond the Dark Veil: Post-Mortem and Mourning Photography from the Thanatos Archive* (Fullerton, CA: Prolong Press LTD, 2014), 143.

[3] Bunge and Henger, *Beyond the Dark Veil*, 7.

Yet, just because the experience and understanding of death and related practices have changed over time, this does not imply that Victorian practices were morbid.

In the Victorian era, post-mortem photography was an expression of mourning, not an example of fascination with death. Photography was simply a new tool in the toolbox of the Victorian grieving process. When photography entered the scene, the average life expectancy for both men and women was thirty-five years.[4] Thus, the Victorians' concept of old age was half of what it is today. Well into the twentieth century, people died in their homes, making it a prime location for post-mortem photography. Death was no stranger to the Victorians.[5] Their desire to make death portraits was a socially accepted and appropriate behavior supported by the culture of their time. One could publicly display these photographs without fear of being viewed as pathological.[6]

In the 1840s, death portraits were still considered a luxury, but photography soon evolved into a less exclusive commodity. Eventually, middle-class and upper-class Victorians were able to commission death portraits without breaking the bank. Based on the clothing and backgrounds of most post-mortem photographs, the custom appears to have predominant among the middle class.[7] The Victorians had a heightened sense of themselves and of the importance of life; therefore, they sought to preserve memorable life events. Indeed, they did not just preserve memory by means of death portraiture, they also devoted themselves to the construction and endowment of museums and other public memorials, and the American Civil War afforded them with a large-scale opportunity to memorialize individuals, locations, and events. According to Jay Ruby's work *Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America* (1995), the nineteenth century belonged to the middle class when it came to mourning and remembrance.[8]

Post-mortem photography was primarily practiced by Americans and by the English, and it encompassed people of many ethnicities. Although death portraiture was primarily used by Caucasians, there is evidence of its use for other ethnicities. For example, a post-mortem photograph taken around 1900 in Amherst, Massachusetts, features the head and shoulders of a young African American woman.[9] Her death portrait is rather extraordinary both with regard to its subject and design. The portrait is vignetted, the woman is shown at a ninety-degree angle, and one almost gets the impression that the woman is alive. Such

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[4] Bunge and Henger, *Beyond the Dark Veil*, 28.

[5] Robert Hirsch, *Seizing the Light: A Social History of Photography* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 33.

[6] Jay Ruby, *Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 188.

[7] Ruby, *Secure the Shadow*, 51.

[8] Ruby, *Secure the Shadow,* 61.

[9] "Vignetted Post-Mortem Photograph of an Unidentified African American Woman," Amherst, Massachusetts, ca. 1880-1909, gelatin silver print, Penn State University Libraries, Jay Ruby Collection on the Photographic Representation of Death, call number 1757, box 1.

design choices were clearly intentional and provide an insight into how her relatives wanted to remember her. Death portraits could be composed exactly in accordance with the wishes of the deceased's family, and customization was the norm rather than the exception

*I. A Family Affair*

Death portraits were both private and familial. The Victorians' death customs revolved around domestic scenes and spaces,[10] and post-mortem photography brought families together both inside and outside of the frame. In fact, the deceased were not always the only ones featured in these death portraits. It was a common practice for family members to participate by posing with a deceased loved one. For example, *Figure 2 (Three Sisters)*, a post-mortem portrait taken in 1857, shows two young girls with the body of their recently deceased sister.

*Figure 2: "Three Sisters" (1857). Image Courtesy of The Thanatos Archive. Used by Permission (The Thanatos Archive).*

The oldest sister, pictured in the middle, looks directly ahead. Her gaze conveys a sense of melancholy, and she lightly supports her head by leaning it on her left hand. She wears a black mourning dress and a large cross around her neck. Her younger living sister is pictured on the left. She, too, looks directly ahead, but she supports her chin by leaning it on her right fist and appears more composed, even assertive. Her dress with its polka dots matches her gaze which is slightly less depressed than her sister's. The deceased sister, perhaps the youngest child, is lying in front with her head on a pillow on the right, and she looks as if she has just fallen asleep. Her arms are placed upon her upper body, her polka-dotted dress seems to match the dress of her living sister (on the left), and she is covered

[10] Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Random House, 2008), 9.

by an ornate blanket. The two living sisters appear to be seated behind their deceased sibling's death bed, although there is no visible furniture, leading to the assumption that this portrait was taken in a studio. It is unclear what may have been going through the living sisters' heads. Perhaps their respective facial expressions are caused by the need to pose alongside their dead sister, or by the attempt to remain composed at a time of sincere grief, or perhaps by the effort to keep still to allow for the camera's long exposure time. At its inception in 1839, the daguerreotype necessitated an exposure time of about twenty minutes, but by 1841 this had been shortened to between thirty and ninety seconds.[11] Whether twenty minutes or two minutes, having to pose with a lifeless loved one must have been an absolutely heart-wrenching experience. Though distressing, these family portraits were a response to the hardship of losing a loved one. Posing for a short while with a deceased family member ensured a family portrait that would last for generations—much like the costly painted family portraits of the past.

*Figure 3: "The Kramschusters" (1890). Image Courtesy of The Thanatos Archive. Used by Permission (The Thanatos Archive).*

Most Victorians died in their homes, surrounded by family. After their final breath, their body was prepared and laid out in the family parlor until the day of the funeral. Relatives and family friends would "visit" the deceased before the burial. The display of the body in the parlor afforded family and friends one last opportunity to memorialize the family as it had been—before death had subtracted a family member. Funerals brought extended families together one last time before one of them would be gone forever.

[11] Charles H. Gibbs-Smith, "Foreword," in Helmut Gernsheim, *Masterpieces of Victorian Photography* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1951), 95.

In *Figure 3 (The Kramschusters)*, a death portrait taken in 1890, ten members of a family pose with a deceased boy in the middle. Everyone's facial expression is somber, and all look directly at the camera—with the exception of the lady wearing glasses who is seated in front on the left, likely the boy's mother, who appears too saddened to look directly at the camera. Next to her is an empty chair which may have been intentionally placed there and left vacant as the seat of the deceased boy. Sitting for a death portrait was not just an opportunity for family members to gather and perhaps even conduct business outside of the frame,[12] it provided a chance for the entire family to grieve together. Thus, a post-mortem photograph like *Figure 3* gave the family a visual memento not just of the deceased but of each other as well.

*II. Hidden Mothers*

One particular genre of post-mortem photography that has garnered a lot of attention is the so-called "Hidden Mother" portrait. "Hidden Mother" portraits are similar to family death portraits in that they include both the living and the dead, but what is special about these portraits is that the living is partially obscured. They were labeled "Hidden Mother" portraits because they include a glimpse of a figure who—for the most part—was not in the frame, namely the deceased child's mother. An example is *Figure 4 (Hidden Mother)*, taken in 1890.

*Figure 4: "Hidden Mother" (1890). Image Courtesy of The Thanatos Archive. Used by Permission (The Thanatos Archive).*

*Figure 4* is the post-mortem photograph of a little girl who appears to be leaning against a draped black cloth. Her right foot seems slightly lifted off the ground,

[12] Ruby, *Secure the Shadow*, 97.

her eyes are closed, her chin is resting on her chest, and she is holding flowers in her hands. At first glance, it looks like she is leaning against the black sheet, but upon closer inspection one notices that there is someone under the black sheet propping her up. At the base of the young girl's feet, on the right, there is the skirt of a black dress, and the leg of a chair, on the right, is partly covered by the large black cloth. The person thus supporting this deceased little girl is either her mother or a close female relative. In post-mortem photography, it was a common practice for a mother to be holding her deceased child and for both to be fully visible. However, parents who chose to be "hidden" probably selected this artistic technique to make their child's death portrait appear more unique and "lifelike." Images like *Figure 4* represent the attempts of mothers to show their children just as they had looked before they had passed away. Moreover, the girl in *Figure 4* is intentionally pictured outside, as if she had just walked through a garden and picked some fresh flowers. The photograph was staged by the mother—and the photographer—to memorialize the little girl as engaged in typical daytime activities rather than asleep in her bed.

*Figure 5: "Woman with Dead Son 1" (1862). Image Courtesy of The Thanatos Archive. Used by Permission (The Thanatos Archive).*

While the mother is difficult to spot in *Figure 4*, mothers in other "Hidden Mother" portraits can be more easily identified. In *Figure 5 (Woman with Dead Son 1)*, a death portrait taken in 1862, we see an infant standing on a chair and being held by an arm that is visible at the bottom of the infant's dress. It is reasonably safe to assume that the arm belongs to the infant's mother. The child is wearing a plaid dress, suggesting at first glance that we are dealing with a little girl. However, from the early modern period until the Victorian age, a dress-type outfit or gown was the customary garment for all children—for practical reasons: dress-type outfits were easy to put on and take off (both by parents and eventually

the children themselves), and they facilitated both the changing of diapers and eventually toilet training; thus, boys wore dress-type outfits for the first years of their lives until their "breeching," namely, when they were granted their first pair of breeches. At the bottom left of *Figure 5*, one can see a child looking up. The child's head is barely visible, but the viewer can see the hair, the right ear, and the right cheek. This may have been an attempt by the mother to capture one last family portrait of her two children, but it is unusual for the living child's face to be hidden. Perhaps the latter was helping the mother prop up the deceased infant, but the rationale why this second child is in the portrait ultimately remains unknown. There is a second image of the same mother and deceased child: *Figure 6 (Woman with Dead Son 2)* shows the mother prepping and adjusting her son's body. This particular image may have not been taken intentionally, but it affords viewers a rare glimpse into the preparations that went into the taking of a death portrait. Most importantly, *Figure 6* shows the loving relationship between a mother and her deceased son as she arranges him precisely as she wants him to be remembered. Although this must have been difficult for her, it was an activity she chose to engage in to aid her in the grieving process.

*Figure 6: "Woman with Dead Son 2" (1862). Image Courtesy of The Thanatos Archive. Used by Permission (The Thanatos Archive).*

Unfortunately, due to the lack of advanced medicine and prenatal care, most death portraits taken during the Victorian era were those of children. However, while these post-mortem portraits of children exist in great numbers, parents had their own unique ways of mourning and memorializing their children. Whether it was by placing them on a bed or by holding them up in front of a large black sheet, death portraits of children are prime examples of how grieving parents used photography to perpetuate their children's visual memory.

*Conclusion*

Post-mortem photography afforded deceased Victorians a semblance of immortality because it was a new way to "cheat death." Although it was by no means the first coping mechanism developed and used to accommodate death in society, the new Daguerreian portrait facilitated the comparatively fast and convenient creation of an image to be left for posterity. It gave comfort to the living because they could continue to "see" their loved ones after death. Even those who had not found the opportunity during their lifetime to have their portraits taken could be memorialized in death. During an era when death came early for many, it seemed only natural for the Victorians to take advantage of a new opportunity like photography to preserve the visual memory of their loved ones. In post-mortem photography, the deceased were not just physically present: they could be "eternally" present in the form of a portrait. Therefore, this practice had nothing to do with some twisted fascination with death; rather, it represents an effort to keep the memory of the dead alive. Photography offered nineteenth-century mourners a new and unique way to keep close those who had shared their past. In a letter to the English author Mary Russell Mitford (1787-1855), Elizabeth Barrett reacts to a post-mortem daguerreotype as follows: "I would rather have such a memorial of one I dearly loved, than the noblest artist's work ever produced."[13]

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[13] Quoted in Ruby, *Secure the Shadow*, 49.

Diana Chang

# *Rebranding Chile: Nineteenth-Century Modernization Efforts and Their Consequences*

ABSTRACT: *This article explores the nation formation of nineteenth-century Chile. Using period writings, maps, drawings, and photographs in conjunction with recent scholarship, it examines Chile's modernization efforts and their effects on the country's national identity. Adapting European standards of modernity, Chile rebranded its nation's image by modernizing its cities while maintaining cultural elements that were uniquely Chilean.*

KEYWORDS: *Latin American history; nineteenth century; Chile; national identity; modernization; Europe; cities; Santiago; Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna; costumbrismo*

## *Introduction*

In the late nineteenth century, Latin American countries revisited the interpretations of their national identities and their countries' places in an expanding global economy. Following the boom of European industrialization, countries like Chile strove to transform their societies to imitate Europe's growing world powers. The modernization of Chilean cities shaped the country's national identity in its effort to attract foreign investors. This did not just alter the physical attributes of cities but also the social aspects of Chilean culture. Additionally, with its state-building, Chile addressed the unresolved debate between the country's "European" definition of civilization and its definition of barbarism.

## *I. Chile's Global Economic Relationships*

Chile carefully shaped its identity to establish an economic advantage in the global market. In the late nineteenth century, Latin American countries shifted production to meet the demands of a budding capitalist economy. In addition to competing with production in neighboring countries, Chile also had to contend with production overseas. To meet this challenge, Chile formed alliances with European nations, and the multiple European businesses established in Chile attest to the country's collaboration with foreign investors.

In 1883, Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna (1831-1886), an urban planner for Chile's capital city of Santiago, emphasized: "Chile must of necessity ultimately become an industrial nation like England, Switzerland, and the German provinces […] The Argentine Republic, New Zealand, Austria and California are competing with the same agricultural products, and already usurp Chile's former supremacy."[1] As competition between countries was growing, Chile recognized that, in order to become a modern nation, it had to develop its industry. Since such a development depended on financial support from investors, Chile needed to cultivate a reputation for stability and promise. By the 1870s, Chile's economic constancy

[1] Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, *Chile* (Philadelphia: Times Printing House, 1883), 38.

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attracted British commercial investments.[2] These investments underscored the reliability of Chile's economy and further supported its foreign relationships.

Chile's collaboration with foreign countries allowed it to benefit not just financially. For industrial modernization in the port city of Valparaíso, Chile relied on British expertise:[3] British technicians advanced the development and manufacturing process, resulting in the rapid modernization of Chile's nitrate industry.[4] A photograph from the collection of American journalist Frank G. Carpenter (1855-1924) depicts the modernity of a Chilean nitrate production plant.[5] The quantity of vats illustrates the size and complexity of the operation, and the railroad tracks centered in the photograph highlight the importance of modern transportation and speak to the efficiency of Chile's nitrate production.

While many British companies managed businesses in Chile, Chilean investors, too, played an active role in the development of their own industries, and the collaboration between British and Chilean entrepreneurs was profitable for both countries. Chile redesigned its production to suit Britain's needs to guarantee economic security. Over time, Chilean and British investments in transportation facilities and production equipment helped modernize the nation's industrial infrastructure.[6] Chileans encouraged British enterprises because British investment offered stability during an era of increasing global competition.

Though Chile's accelerated industrialization was largely due to foreign investment and expertise, Chile invited and promoted such foreign engagement. The successes of foreign enterprises became the successes of Chile, but Chile's economy also developed a dependency on the economies of its foreign investors.

*II. Modern Infrastructure*

Chile looked to European cities as models of modernity and aspired to emulate the latter's physical attributes of "advanced" civilizations. These attributes included the systematic layout of streets, the efficient movement of traffic, designs of waterways to supply cities with drinking water and sewage drains to promote sanitation, and abundant displays of monuments to celebrate the nation's history.

General city plans mimicked the orderliness of European cities. For Santiago, this order is evident in a lithograph of a plane-sketch of the city in 1863.[7]

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[2] William Edmundson, *A History of the British Presence in Chile: From Bloody Mary to Charles Darwin and the Decline of British Influence* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 140, e-book.

[3] Edmundson, *History of the British Presence in Chile*, 144.

[4] Edmundson, *History of the British Presence in Chile*, 137.

[5] "Nitrate Plant, Chile," Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Frank and Frances Carpenter Collection, LOT 11356-19.

[6] Charles G. Pregger-Roman, "Nineteenth-Century Chile: A Case Study: Subordination, the Class Process, and the Relative Autonomy of States," *Latin American Perspectives* 18, no. 1 (1991): 113-135, here 117.

[7] "Plano-croquis de la ciudad de Santiago de Chile, 1863," *El Mercurio*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Memoria Chilena.

Neighborhoods were well organized, and there was fluidity in the city's structure. Streets were neatly arranged in a gridded layout which resembled—and actually exceeded—that of London according to an 1845 illustrated map of the British capital.[8] This arrangement of Chile's streets was a physical representation of the order and control wielded by the country's government. It also reflected rational planning, thus conveying the kind of stability and permanence sought by investors. In 1912, Julio Pérez Canto (1867-1953), the Consul General of the Chilean Embassy in London, wrote: "The general plan of Santiago is very regular, and for the most part the streets are straight and broad."[9] Canto clearly approved of Santiago's layout and streets as evidence of the city's modernity.

Urban progress was also determined by the width of streets. According to language scholar Christopher Conway, "[n]ineteenth-century European ideas about urban planning were a product of capitalism."[10] Wide streets allowed for seamless mobility, and an orchestrated design of movement indicated maximized efficiency in the transportation of products. An 1854 colored drawing of the *Paseo de la Cañada*, a boulevard in Santiago, provides an example.[11] Lined with trees and canals on either side, the *Paseo de la Cañada* exhibited both the beauty and practicality of a modern thoroughfare, and it accommodated a myriad of activities, including walking, horseback riding, and playing with dogs. This lively sketch of a day in the lives of Santiago's residents suggests a healthy and active economy.

The canals along the *Paseo de la Cañada* also represented an important concern in increasingly populated cities. According to the European standard, health and hygiene were indicative of an enlightened nation. City planning for sanitation was crucial for the well-being of residents, and Chile proved its capability by incorporating a complex water system. In Santiago, Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna was responsible for numerous projects that reshaped the city's image to conform to those European cities that Vicuña Mackenna admired. Among his ambitious plans, Vicuña Mackenna proposed the diversion of Santiago's Mapocho River since this body of water, which traversed the city, flooded regularly and was too polluted to provide drinking water.[12] Water diversion would also alleviate sewage management.[12] Although this project was only completed after his tenure as city planner, Vicuña Mackenna's vision of diverting the Mapocho River effectively transformed, unified, sanitized, and modernized Santiago.

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[8] "Rock's Illustrated Map of London, 1845," Boston Public Library, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Digital Commonwealth, Massachusetts Collections Online.

[9] Julio Perez Canto, *Chile: An Account of Its Wealth and Progress*, with an introduction by Robert P. Porter (Chicago and New York: Rand McNally, 1912), 177.

[10] Christopher Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America: A Cultural History* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2015), 26.

[11] Claudio Gay, *Atlas de la historia física y política de Chile*, Vol. 1 (Paris: E. Thunot, 1854), 52.

[12] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 28.

City parks also improved the health of residents and demonstrated Santiago's sophistication. Thus, the *Paseo de Santa Lucia*, adjacent to Santiago's historic center, was another project designed by Vicuña Mackenna. The construction of this park in 1872 embraced European architecture. Contemporary images of the *Paseo de Santa Lucia* feature buildings, columns, and statues that embody the spirit of European aesthetics.[13] Overlooking the city, the *Paseo de Santa Lucia* was home to "an outdoor theater, a restaurant, ample patios and terraces, and pathways through gardens."[14] Vicuña Mackenna's planning proved that Chile could not just meet the expectations of a modern city but surpass them as well.

Any modern city would be incomplete without visible testaments to its greatness, and an example for this is Santiago's 1859 equestrian statue of José de San Martín (1778–1850), considered the "liberator" of Chile, Argentina, and Peru from the Spanish Empire. Evidence of its cities' progress, Chile's urban monuments attested to the country's long history and symbolized the nation's strength. While gazing upon a monument, "a citizen could experience a sense of belonging to a historical community."[15] Chile's monuments embodied a sense of shared memory which had the ability to foster pride in Chileans, unite an imagined community, and fortify the nation's progressive trajectory. Monuments celebrated heroes and commemorated victories. They were the embodiment of the carefully curated versions of history that were promoted to be remembered and revered. Devised for both Chileans and foreigners, monuments contributed to the construction and definition of Chile's national identity.

By aligning its design standards to those of European cities, Chilean cities proved their country's unlimited potential. Straight, wide streets compelled investors to think of order and efficiency. Modern water and sewer systems, as well as urban parks, persuaded visitors to perceive Chile as healthy and scientifically advanced. And monuments pushed for the country's recognition as a well-established nation. In all these, Chile defined itself for the gaze of foreigners.

*III. Socio-Cultural Behavior*

The demands of modernity extended to the social conditioning of Chilean society. Cities had to look modern and behave in modern ways. Citizens of a progressive nation were expected to show proper education, exhibit a respectable appearance, and conduct themselves in accordance with appropriate socio-cultural behavior. Adherence to these standards implied a measure of conformity to what was believed to be the more refined set of social norms of European societies.

Chile's education system confirmed the perceived superiority of European standards of education. According to Gertrude Yeager, the Venezuelan humanist

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[13] Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, *Album del Santa Lucia: Colección de las principales vistas monumentos, jardines, estatuas i obras de arte de este paseo: Dedicado a la Municipalidad de Santiago por su actual presidente B. Vicuña Mackenna* (Santiago de Chile: Libreria del Mercurio, 1874), 81.

[14] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 29.

[15] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 30.

scholar Andrés Bello (1781-1865), inaugural rector of the "Universidad de Chile" (established in 1842), "served as a guiding spirit of the *estado docente* [i.e., the "teaching state"] system."[16] Based on his life in England between 1810 and 1829, Bello's knowledge of Britain's public education shaped Chile's educational operations. The desire for foreign faculty and school supplies affirmed the belief in European superiority, and the Instituto Nacional oversaw the selection of both curriculum and personnel.[17] As Yeager informs us, "Instituto rectors soon concluded that the recruitment of talented faculty, particularly the foreign faculty thought essential to its science programs, depended on the existence of modern […] equipment […] Most of these supplies were ordered from foreign sources."[18] Schools trained students to use European equipment, follow a European curriculum, and adhere to the instruction of their European teachers. Thus, the entire educational infrastructure laid the foundation for reconfiguring a new identity for a new generations of Chileans.

Training in proper behavior began in public schools. Schools all over Latin America introduced students to the authoritative work on behavior, namely, the 1853 *Compendio del manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* ("Compendium of the Manual of Civility and Good Manners"), written by the Venezuelan educator and music teacher Manuel Antonio Carreño (1812-1874), in the form of an abbreviated version for children.[19] This manual served as a rulebook for the desired etiquette in both private and public settings. The attention devoted to proper social conduct is evident from the book's popularity: it was reprinted and distributed in multiple countries, and such uniformity of instruction engendered a uniformity of manners. In essence, training youth to behave appropriately ensured a future generation that would represent its nation's civility.

Dedication to high standards of personal hygiene was fundamental to a respectable public appearance because it promoted science, and science had established a direct link between hygiene and health. Though bathing occurred only once a week, there was a strict routine of washing "hands, feet, faces, necks, eyes, and ears with basins of water and towels."[20] All parts of the body that were exposed were subjected to meticulous cleaning in order to be properly presentable. Dental care was also required. An appearance of cleanliness demanded careful consideration: keeping clothes clean was especially necessary since most people did not have multiple sets of clothes. The collaboration of health practitioners and

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[16] Gertrude M. Yeager, "Elite Education in Nineteenth-Century Chile," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 71, no. 1 (1991): 73-105, here 79.

[17] Yeager, "Elite Education in Nineteenth-Century Chile," 80.

[18] Yeager, "Elite Education in Nineteenth-Century Chile," 87.

[19] See Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 96.

[20] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 97.

state law enforcement led to the development of regulations, laws, and policing.[21] Just as the modern city was expected to be a pillar of health, so was the expectation of hygiene and health extended to its citizens.

The complexities of proper social behavior in public were defined by appropriate responses to a variety of circumstances. Nonviolent and non-confrontational behavior promoted civility. In the event of a conflict, an aggressive response from a *macho gaucho* ("male cowboy") would not be acceptable and most likely frowned upon. The preference for maintaining composure signified a shift in societal inclinations. The compliance of proper social cues also asserted social standing. According to Conway, the "*urbanidad* (refinement)"[22] of the members of high society—literally a behavior appropriate for city-living—could be equated with theatricality. Social interaction and posturing was a performance by "civilized" individuals for others to take note. The simple act of walking down a street provides an example for the required negotiation of movement. When two individuals of different social standing met, certain factors would determine who needed to proceed, step aside, or even step off the sidewalk.[23] Careful, conscientious action supported the notion of an orderly and controlled society.

No stage would be complete without its actors. Much like Chilean cities exemplified the adoption of European aesthetics, Chileans themselves had to assimilate to European ways of thinking and behaving. Only well-groomed, well-behaved, and well-educated individuals were considered respectable, civilized, and proper representatives of their country's respectability and civility. The success of the nation depended on Chile's willingness to conform to European ideals of modernity.

*IV. The "Outsiders"*

The modernization of Chilean cities inspired developments toward national progress, but these innovations were not to be enjoyed by everyone. Vicuña Mackenna designed the *Camino de la Cintura* (i.e., the beltline road) as a divider between Santiago's center and the outskirts of the city.[24] This physical barrier removed the city's slums—symbols of barbarism—from the kind of civil society that Chile wanted its capital of Santiago to represent. The lack of progress, hygiene, and order in those urban spaces known as *conventillos* (tenements) raised concerns about the barbarism still present in the nation's cities.[25] Blame was assigned and possible solutions were offered in the name of progress.

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[21] Juan Mansilla Sepúlveda, Claudia Huaiquián Billeke, Jaime Díaz Córdova, Mario Pellón Arcaya, Germán Moreno Leiva, Juan Guillermo Estay Sepúlveda, and Leónidas Arias Poblete, "Protomedicatos y lazaretos como instituciones de control de la higiene pública en Chile entre 1879 y 1920," *Medwave: Revista biomédica revisada por pares* 20, no. 2 (2020): e7841.

[22] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 95.

[23] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 98.

[24] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 28-29.

[25] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 34-35.

If the infrastructure in Chile's cities increasingly conveyed a sense of progress, such progress was not to be found in the slums. There, narrow, unpaved, and irregular streets took the place of wide, orderly boulevards. Overcrowded slums housed many in "straw dwellings called ranchos."[26] Poorly planned, these parts of town lacked basic resources such as adequate sewage and trash collection systems. Residents found themselves living in a state of primitive backwardness despite their close proximity to the newly renovated, progressive parts of the city. Unsurprisingly, slums became breeding grounds for various diseases.

According to Conway, "[t]hroughout Spanish America, […] infectious diseases, as well as smallpox, scarlet fever, and dysentery, sowed panic among people and resulted in city improvements in sewage removal and waterworks."[27] Diseases affected all members of society regardless of status and pressured cities to address inadequate hygienic practices in the slums. Fear led to the conclusion that social evils were responsible for pervasive diseases. Some believed that crime, gambling, and alcoholism could simply be cured by practicing hygiene.[28] This irrational simplification of problems refused to acknowledge social inequalities and silenced the voices of the marginalized members of Chile's society.

Chilean society also blamed people living in their midst for the barbarism of slums. Vicuña Mackenna indicated that the slums located south of Santiago were "primarily populated by Africans, mulattoes, and mestizos."[29] Leading Chileans did not want these people to participate in the formation of their country's modern national identity. Along with the poor and people of other ethnic origins, women were condemned as "biologically inferior." In the case of prostitution, society faulted women as contributors to social problems and responsible for the spread of diseases: "Policymakers […] drew from gender to explain […] that women were prone to prostitution because of innate tendencies […] vanity, materialism, and naivete."[30] The refusal to acknowledge the social problems behind prostitution stands in contradiction to a society that was otherwise quick to embrace progress.

Widespread racism served to justify the ill-treatment of marginalized people and caused Chileans to espouse the belief that the nation could not progress without an influx of European immigrants. Many people believed in the mental inferiority of natives. In the words of Fredrick B. Pike, "[a] prominent army general contended […] that southern Chile was doomed unless Indian influence was eradicated by European immigration. A noted intellectual […] [observed that] national progress was unlikely unless a veritable flood of white immigration

[26] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 33.

[27] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 34.

[28] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 36.

[29] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 32.

[30] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 40.

descended upon the entire country."[31] Such beliefs were indicative of a general animosity toward the country's Indigenous population. Chileans held the Indigenous responsible for their nation's backwardness and sought a means to purify the impurity of Indigenous blood. The solution was the encouragement of immigration from European countries. According to William Edmundson, "[b]etween 1883 and 1901, around 36,000 European immigrants came to Chile."[32] This immigration boom served as a catalyst for the rise of European businesses. In Coronel, a port city south of Concepción, "the names over the shops—German, Italian, Spanish, and English—indicated a cosmopolitan population."[33] These businesses firmly rooted Europeans in local communities, and a European presence soon permeated Chilean society. To bring about national progress, marriage to Europeans offered another solution. In a study tracking Chilean and Argentinian families, "there were a few cases of third-generation members marrying into European nobility […] [and] a bond was formed between the groups of families and their European economic partners."[34] Such unions between Europeans and Chileans enhanced the latter's social status, promoted the desired "purification," and embraced a more European type of civility.

Exacerbated by the concern over the nation's economic future, Chile's long history of racism and mistreatment condoned the villainization of women, Indigenous, Africans, and poor population groups. Cities in Chile illustrated the contradiction between civilization and barbarism. When redesigning these cities, considerations for the living conditions of those who allegedly did not belong to the nation's identity were set aside. In discussions concerning social problems, those believed to be inherently inferior found themselves accused. Chileans viewed these groups of people as dangerous and barbaric, and deemed it necessary to restrict and control them. Opening the country to European immigrants was an easier solution than addressing the social inequalities at home.

*V. Chilean Identity*

While Chile made a great effort to redesign itself as a recognizably "European" civilization, it also sought acknowledgement by holding on to some defining features of Chilean heritage. Chileans noted that there were aspects of their land and culture that Europe lacked. This distinction between themselves and foreigners became a source of pride for Chileans.

Above all, Chile was defined by its unique culture. *Costumbrismo*, the pictorial representation of local people and places, celebrated the country's cultural

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[31] Fredrick B. Pike, "Aspects of Class Relations in Chile, 1850-1960," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 43, no. 1 (1963): 14-33, here 31.

[32] Edmundson, *History of the British Presence in Chile*, 104.

[33] Edmundson, *History of the British Presence in Chile*, 126.

[34] Diana Balmori and Robert Oppenheimer, "Family Clusters: Generational Nucleation in Nineteenth-Century Argentina and Chile," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21, no. 2 (1979): 231-261, here 241.

distinctiveness.[35] Nineteenth-century novels by Chilean authors incorporated local settings into their stories to inspire and promote local customs and values.[36] The integration of provincial spaces celebrated familiarity and enhanced the nation's pride. Chileans were also proud of what their land had to offer. In 1875, Chile hosted the Universal Exhibition of Latin America,[37] which provided a platform to showcase Chilean products.[38] This and other exhibitions served as declarations of progress, both in the achievements made in the production of raw materials and in the cultivation of an advanced civilization.

The ordinary and extraordinary distinguished Chileans from foreigners. Illustrations of daily life, *cuadros de costumbres* ("scenes of customs"), featured routine trades typical to Latin America such as the *aguador* or water carrier.[39] Sculptures also depicted local clothing styles and mannerisms.[40] Similar to the incorporation of local settings into national narratives, *cuadros de costumbres* highlighted common people, thereby applauding the familiar. Literary histories catalogued and advertised the nation's accomplishments. Listings of the country's elite professions were comparable to public monuments in that they were designed to be seen by the nation and by others.[41] The production of literary histories marked "a surge of patriotic fervor associated with the ever more intense participation of Latin America in the international market."[42] This body of work was created to extol Latin America's achievements and to proclaim Latin America's ascent to the world stage.

Although there were many adaptations to European standards of refinement, Chileans were proud of factors that were inherently Chilean. Their land and their people were unique to their culture. Yet, while this version of national identity was a source of pride, it was also carefully constructed with a European audience in mind. To retain its marketability, Chile needed to appear both familiar and exotic.

*Conclusion*

Chile's economic standing in a changing world economy required foreign investment. During the late nineteenth century, Chile depended on European

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[35] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 149.

[36] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 61.

[37] Beatriz Gonzalez-Stephan, "Showcases of Consumption: Historical Panoramas and Universal Expositions," in *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* ed. Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 225-238, here 231.

[38] Gonzalez-Stephan, "Showcases of Consumption," 230.

[39] Conway, *Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*, 57-58.

[40] See, for example, a nineteenth-century figure, University of British Columbia, Museum of Anthropology, Blanca and Ricardo Muratorio Collection, object number 2738/64.

[41] Gonzalez-Stephan, "Showcases of Consumption," 234.

[42] Gonzalez-Stephan, "Showcases of Consumption," 231.

nations to remain competitive. This dependency promoted a reliance on European paradigms to determine the guidelines of modernizing Chilean cities—both physically and socially. Chile redesigned its economy, urban infrastructures, hygienic regulations, social behaviors, and education in accordance with European models. The process of modernization ultimately revealed who and what mattered to the nation. This was evident in the physical composition of cities, both in their well-planned "civilized" sectors and their blatantly neglected slums. Modernity also manifested itself in differences of appearance, belief, and behavior between citizens deemed civilized and those deemed "barbaric."

Chile's national identity was a product of European influence and edited for the sake of European investment. Recognizing the reasons for this conforming to European pressures provides a better understanding of Chile's development in the late nineteenth century and informs our perception of Chile's standing in the global economy today.

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Luca Azuma

# *Cooking the Books and Frying the Economy: The Discounted Impacts of the Panic of 1866 in the United Kingdom*

ABSTRACT: *This article studies the misinterpretations of nineteenth-century economist Walter Bagehot's analysis of financial systems following the financial crisis of 1866 in the United Kingdom and attempts to clarify the meaning of Bagehot's work. It begins with context of the crisis, otherwise known as the Panic of 1866, following the story of Overend, Gurney & Co., the bank at the center of the crisis analyzed by Bagehot in his 1873 work "Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market." It argues that Bagehot, contrary to scholarship stating otherwise, did not condone free lending regardless of circumstance in times of financial crisis, but only suggested lending on the basis of acceptable collateral for the central bank.*

KEYWORDS: *European history; nineteenth century; United Kingdom; Panic of 1866; financial crisis; central banking; Bank of England; Walter Bagehot; Overend, Gurney & Co.; lender-of-last-resort principle*

## *Introduction*

Only a small percentage of the Earth's population has ever heard or cares about the name Walter Bagehot (1826-1877). Fewer still are aware of an event known as the Panic of 1866, an economic crisis in industrializing England. This obscurity has had governments driving their financial institutions without a map, and many economic crises later, the powerful tools that a knowledge of Walter Bagehot and the Panic of 1866 could provide still gather cobwebs in the basement of economic history. Widely considered the founder of the "lender-of-last-resort" principle in central banking, the nineteenth-century economist Walter Bagehot emerges as the focus of most studies on the Panic, but his work has been subject to interpretations that do not accurately reflect his intentions with regard to financial policy in times of economic crisis. This article first sets the stage for Bagehot's work by outlining the causes of the Panic of 1866, which featured rapidly developing technology, novel and complex financial instruments, and a woefully inadequate regulatory system. It then shows how the writings of Bagehot, the great assessor of the panic, have been interpreted and, in many cases, misunderstood.

## *I. The Crisis*

In order to better comprehend Bagehot's work, one must first review the Panic of 1866. Economic conditions in the late nineteenth century were strikingly similar to those in the early decades of the twenty-first century. Swiftly evolving technology, increasingly complex financial instruments, and the unpreparedness of central banks to deal with their evolving financial system featured prominently both during the Panic of 1866 and the 2008 financial crisis. In addition, following the Panic of 1866, a number of serious economic policy questions emerged that dealt with technological advancements in industrializing England. At the time, England operated on the gold standard, meaning the currency was pegged to the value of gold. This tactic prevented rapid inflation but also limited the number of notes the

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Bank of England could issue, as too many notes would effectively push the pound off the gold standard as established by the Bank Charter Act of 1844.[1] This presented a major problem at the time of the crisis, for the Bank of England soon realized that the scope of the financial system was larger than they had first thought and that their reserves were inadequate to deal with the lack of confidence that was permeating the market.

To better understand the state of the English economy at this time, economist Walt W. Rostow's model for Western economic development is useful. While it has not remained without its critics, this model's broad descriptive framework sketches the progression of Western capitalist economies in a way that is devoid of excessive jargon. Rostow defines the thriving capitalist economy as "the period when a society has effectively applied the range of [then] modern technology to the bulk of its resources."[2] For England, this period ranged from the 1850s to the 1930s,[3] meaning that—by 1866—the English economy had already dwelled in this stage for over a decade; indeed, Rostow notes that the economy had attained a state of near-technological maturity by this point in time.[4]

To keep up with this technological expansion, the economic and financial systems, too, had become increasingly complex. England, at this time, already operated within the parameters of the discount house system, which was to take them all the way to the end of the twentieth century.[5] Thus, the Bank of England dealt with discount houses exclusively instead of dealing cash directly to most commercial banks. Founded in 1800, Overend, Gurney & Co. (henceforth shortened to "Overend Gurney") was a discount house and a consumer bank. They conducted money market transactions with the Bank of England, facilitated deals, bought or sold bills of exchange, and held deposits for individual consumers. Overend Gurney played a central role in the economy through its primary business of providing cash for short-term loans so that businesses could meet their everyday needs, while the bulk of their value was tied up in investments that could not be liquidated quickly.[6]

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[1] Bank Charter Act 1844 (United Kingdom). Shortly afterwards, the great English economist William Stanley Jevons (1835-1882) called for taking the pound off the gold standard entirely, but of this even Walter Bagehot was skeptical. See Walter Bagehot, "A New Standard of Value," *The Economist,* November 20, 1875.

[2] Walt W. Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth," *The Economic History Review*, second series, 12, no. 1 (1959): 1-16, here 8.

[3] Rostow, "Stages of Economic Growth," 8, 11.

[4] Rostow, "Stages of Economic Growth," 10: "[I]n the sixty years before the First World War, Britain had moved, in terms of income levels, from being a relatively poor mature society to being a relatively rich, mature society."

[5] Jill Treanor, "Old Mutual Eyes Gerrard: £540m on the Table for UK's Last Discount House," *The Guardian,* January 14, 2000. Bills of exchange and discount houses are still operating in today's world economies, for example in India.

[6] For context, see *Investopedia*, s.v. "Discount House;" *Britannica*, s.v. "Central Bank."

Overend Gurney had been struggling financially for some time before May 9, 1866—the day this once venerable institution began to collapse. They turned to the Bank of England for assistance, only to be turned away because they could not provide any decent collateral.[7] This led to a wave of panic, not just from businesses relying on Overend Gurney's loans but also from consumers, for this was before the time of deposit guarantees,[8] worsening Overend Gurney's liquidity crunch.[9] The following afternoon, the bank failed entirely, causing suspicion of further failures of other financial institutions to spread amongst the public.[10] The Bank of England's decision not to lend to Overend Gurney continues to be controversial to this day, for while some regard this choice merely as standard practice,[11] others see a conflict of interest. At the time, the Bank of England served not only as a central bank for the country but also as a private-sector institution, leading Walter Bagehot in his post-crisis work, *Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market* (1873), to remark on the conflict of interest this created:

> The directors of the Bank are […] trustees for the public […] and it would naturally be expected either that they distinctly recognized this duty and engaged to perform it, or that their own self-interest was so strong in the matter that no engagement was needed. But […] many of them would scarcely acknowledge it, and some altogether deny it.[12]

Bagehot was not the only one to see the potential problems in a central bank being asked to keep its competitors afloat. Modern-day financial historians Rhiannon Sowerbutts, Marco Schneebalg, and Florence Hubert have noted a prior spat between Overend Gurney and the Bank of England: in 1860, Overend Gurney had retaliated against the Bank of England when it unexpectedly raised interest rates

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[7] Rhiannon Sowerbutts, Marco Schneebalg, and Florence Hubert, "The Demise of Overend Gurney," *Bank of England, Quarterly Bulletin*, Q2, July 5, 2016.

[8] Deposit guarantees are government-backed assurances that a certain amount of an individual's money is insured in a regular bank account. In the United States, this is exemplified by Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) insurance, typically up to $250,000 per person. They are designed so that, if a bank fails, consumers will not panic and attempt to withdraw their money from their bank and worsen the bank's situation and the financial system in general.

[9] Liquidity refers to how much money a bank has in useable cash ("cash on hand"). For example, if a bank holds $2 trillion in deposits, this usually does not mean that they have $2 trillion available to give out to customers. Most deposits are tied up in investments, loans, or the like. Hence, liquidity refers to the money the bank has "liquid" or ready to give out to account holders.

[10] John Lewis, "Unto Us a Lender of Last Resort Is Born: Overend Gurney Goes Bust in 1866," *Bank Underground* (blog), December 21, 2016.

[11] Marc Flandreau and Stefano Ugolini, "The Crisis of 1866," Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Working Paper No. 10/2014, 1-19, here 10-11. John Lewis also appears to see this as ordinary practice; see Lewis, "Unto Us a Lender of Last Resort Is Born."

[12] Walter Bagehot, *Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market* (first published 1873; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1896), 36-37. Bagehot is considered the father of last-resort lending by central banks and is regularly cited, to this day, in numerous business and financial circulars.

and collaborated with other banks in an attempt to cause a run on the Bank of England.[13] Thus, while the Bank of England certainly had cause to reject Overend Gurney in 1866 and rendered a decision in accordance with common practice, the mere fact that there was the shadow of a doubt as to their motivations highlighted a serious moral hazard in the English financial system, and this would remain an issue until the Bank of England's nationalization in 1946.[14] It was not until this point in the mid-twentieth century that the Bank of England no longer had any conflict of interest in its role as a central bank and lender to other financial institutions in times of need.

Bagehot, the once editor-in-chief of the still-extant weekly newspaper *The Economist* (established 1843), candidly described and assessed the state of central banking and the lending system at large, reviewing the success of last-resort lending while recognizing the precariousness of English fiscal and monetary policy at the time. In his work, Bagehot offers an insightful description of the effects of bad credit, explaining that smaller dealers rely on "time and brains" to make profits; in their precarious position, these risk-takers living on the edge of profitability ask banks for loans, but this kind of business "always fears that he may be the person on whom current suspicion will fasten."[15] Thus, banks prop up the operations of smaller businesses who have their money tied up in assets that have a higher potential for return than on-demand cash.[16] When one such bank fails, so does everyone who relies on them.

Stephanos Theodoros Xenos (1821-1894), an executive of the Greek and Oriental Steam and Navigation Company and a Lombard Street titan, offered the perspective of a businessman during the crisis, lamenting in his 1869 memoir, *Depredations; or, Overend, Gurney, and Co., and the Greek and Oriental Steam Navigation Company,* that "you could no longer distinguish the good shares and bills of exchange from the bad, because many of these worthless concerns were under the covers of the names of noble dukes, earls […] and eminent insolvent merchants and bankers" such as Overend Gurney.[17] In times of such uncertainty,

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[13] Sowerbutts, Schneebalg, and Hubert, "Demise of Overend Gurney." Before deposit guarantees existed, when word spread that a bank was failing, depositors ran to the bank and stood in line to withdraw all their money, hoping to do so before the bank ran out of funds to pay them all back for the money they kept there. Hence the event is known as a "run" on the bank.

[14] Bank of England, "Our History." Moral hazard is a term used in the economics and finance world to refer to a conflict of interest. Here, the conflict was that a central bank—tasked with saving the economy and having the power to do so—was being asked to save its competitors from bankruptcy, even though the failure of other financial institutions benefited the Bank of England.

[15] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 52.

[16] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 32: "They do not waste capital and lose profit by keeping [money] idle" (the same issue central banks always have in requiring banks to keep a reserve).

[17] Reminiscent of Lehman Brothers and Bear Stearns in 2007. Stephanos Theodoros Xenos, *Depredations: or, Overend, Gurney, and Co., and the Greek and Oriental Steam Navigation Company* (London: published by the author, 1869), 335. The owner of a fleet of ships and a newspaper in Greece, Xenos felt so strongly about his treatment at the hands of Overend, Gurney & Co. that he

banks are more hesitant to lend, knowing that they may not receive repayment of funds loaned out, creating a crunch for funds as all scramble to solidify their position atop mountains of cash. Thus, these smaller businesses, who rely on short-term loans to fund their daily obligations, often must default, freezing the economic system and creating losses, unemployment, and so forth.

The spreading Panic of 1866 required an immediate solution, otherwise the entire economy would topple like a row of dominoes. Thus, the Bank of England immediately began lending operations, choosing those with appropriate collateral to receive emergency loans at a penal interest rate (higher than usual loan rates). The money-printing restriction imposed by the Bank Charter Act of 1844 loomed larger and larger as the crisis continued and the Bank of England continued to lend. The bank depleted its reserves to a point at which this institution at the center of the entire world economy had but three million pounds left in liquid form.[18] There was only one solution, namely, to break the law, and that they did, but, of course, with permission. At the last moment, Parliament temporarily suspended the Bank Charter Act, allowing the Bank of England to issue notes off the gold standard, and while the bank never utilized these funds, "the suspension of the Bank Charter Act had the desired effect of restoring confidence in the money market,"[19] making the actual use of the funds unnecessary.[20] It is doubtful that the Bank of England could have survived without this lawful suspension; in fact, it had relied on the suspension of the Act twice before, in 1847 and 1857, a fact which led Bagehot to remark that "in none of these years could the Banking Department of the Bank of England have survived if the law had not been broken,"[21] all but proving that, while it was effective in lowering inflation, the Act's adherence to the gold standard was a dangerous obstacle in times of crisis.

The Panic of 1866 was especially serious because it caught the Bank of England unprepared. Crises are usually unexpected, but the severity of the crash was exacerbated by its unprecedented scale. Writing in retrospect, Bagehot observed that "there was never so much borrowed money collected in the world as is now collected in London […] in a panic some [lenders] […] do ask for some of it. If any large fraction of that money really was demanded, our banking system and our industrial system too would be in great danger."[22] Bagehot further noted the scale of the danger, remarking, "there is no country at present, and there never was […]

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self-published a nearly four-hundred-page book on life in corporate England in the nineteenth century that exposed the workings of Overend, Gurney & Co.

[18] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 29.

[19] Sowerbutts, Schneebalg, and Hubert, "Demise of Overend Gurney."

[20] In the context of the 2008 financial crisis, this was the kind of result U.S. Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson had hoped for when he asked Congress for "unspecified" authorities.

[21] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 29.

[22] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 17.

before, in which the ratio of the cash reserve to the bank deposits was so small"[23] and that "the collection of these immense sums in one place and in few hands is perfectly new."[24] Bagehot showed an uncommonly clear recognition that the modern capitalist system was built on a foundation of "ghost money" which relies on a mixture of confidence and speculation to keep running. This interpretation of macroeconomics was ahead of its time and was precisely what drove Bagehot to advocate for the innovative lender-of-last-resort principle.

However, the drama was not yet over. A heated debate arose in the years after the crisis that still aggravates lawmakers to this day, namely, the argument over corporate responsibility. In an unprecedented move, the management of Overend Gurney were brought to court by shareholders for their mismanagement of the company, and a parliamentary debate ensued over the level of responsibility the government shared in prosecuting the bank and protecting individual investors.

With Overend Gurney and select other discount houses providing the bedrock for the system, business and financial instruments continued to develop thanks to the "recognition that technological advances had produced opportunities of scale that could only be obtained by forming much larger businesses."[25] The invention of the Limited Liability Company (abbreviated "LLC" or "Ltd.") in the latter half of the nineteenth century[26] coincided with this recognition, as "[t]he greater amounts of capital that this implied required the involvement, and support, of investors who, generally, had limited or little understanding of the businesses they were financing."[27] Thus, requiring the protection offered by becoming an LLC,[28] this new world of intricate legal agreements and maze of financial instruments understandably created an uncertainty as to the safety and efficacy of such instruments, which has been demonstrated by Paul Barnes and Ron Firman in their paper on the effect of Overend Gurney's collapse on the use of the LLC in England. They report that "Victorian entrepreneurs and investors" not only found it difficult to establish companies due to their inexperience with this new financial instrument,[29] but that the irresponsible conduct of the directors of Overend Gurney cast a pall upon the instrument in general—even though the instrument

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[23] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 18.

[24] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 20.

[25] Paul A. Barnes and Ron J. Firman, "Difficulties in Establishing a Limited Liability Company in Great Britain during the 1860s and the Role of Financial Information: A Case History," *Financial History Review* 8, no. 2 (October 2001): 143-161, here 146.

[26] Barnes and Firman, "Difficulties in Establishing a Limited Liability Company," 143.

[27] Barnes and Firman, "Difficulties in Establishing a Limited Liability Company," 146.

[28] An LLC protects—to a certain extent—the owner's personal assets by forming a separate legal entity in the LLC. If consumers feel wronged by the company, they can only sue the LLC, not the person who owns the LLC, for their assets. Prior to the emergence of the LLC, owners carried a much higher legal risk. In addition, the forming of an LLC also resulted in different taxation.

[29] Barnes and Firman, "Difficulties in Establishing a Limited Liability Company," 159-160.

itself was perfectly fine, which caused hesitancy and a noticeable dip in LLC formations in England in the years immediately following 1866.[30]

The lawyers of Overend Gurney had no such uncertainties regarding the legal jargon surrounding the status of the LLC. Shortly before the panic, before their situation was known to the general public or even to the government, the bank had been "losing at the rate of $500,000 per year,"[31] quite possibly more. Due to primitive accounting methods, "cooking the books" was a more expeditious way of balancing finances in the nineteenth century than it is in the age of computers. We may never know the extent of Overend Gurney's insolvency, though Xenos estimated that the bank, as far back as 1863, was insolvent to the tune of at least three million pounds.[32] The tactic of hiding insolvency in order to convert to an LLC and then pass losses on to shareholders was apparently popular in the nineteenth century. According to Xenos, Lombard Street witnessed a "[paroxysm] of turning insolvent businesses into 'limited companies'"[33] during his time.

It remained to be seen, however, whether this irresponsibility constituted criminality or merely bad faith. In 1869, after the crisis had subsided and Overend Gurney's conversion to an LLC become public knowledge, a lawsuit was filed against Overend Gurney for shifting responsibility for their actions to shareholders when, in fact, they had already been insolvent. The prosecution ran out of money and reached out for government assistance, sparking a series of debates in Parliament as to whether the government ought to take part in the prosecution. Consumer defenses were scant at this time, and these debates represented milestones in their slow emergence in law. One parliamentarian commented that, should the government fail to join the prosecution, "it might be truly said that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor," pointing out that "in most other countries there was a public prosecutor" for exactly these circumstances.[34] On the other side of the argument, another member of Parliament though it a great irony that "those who went into this concern hoping to make large gains, but who made instead great losses, were to come to that House and ask them to supply the funds of the country to carry on a prosecution."[35]

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[30] Barnes and Firman, "Difficulties in Establishing a Limited Liability Company," 143-144, citing H. A. Shannon, "The Limited Companies of 1866-1883," *The Economic History Review* 4, no. 3 (October 1933): 290-316.

[31] Supplement to *The Bankers' Magazine: Journal of the Money Market, and Commercial Digest* 30 (1870): 3; from the trial of Overend Gurney, day 1.

[32] Xenos, *Depredations,* 215. This figure is corroborated by the "Committee of the Defence Association" who calculated the insolvency at $3,423,868: Overend, Gurney, & Co., Ltd., *Report of the Committee of the Defence Association: Truth is Stranger Than Fiction* (London: Standidge, 1867), 28. This source needs further investigation, as no record of the nature of this group or its activities has been found; its report, however, is exhaustive to a fault.

[33] Xenos, *Depredations,* 335.

[34] United Kingdom, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., vol. 197 (1869).

[35] United Kingdom, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates,* 3d ser., vol. 197 (1869).

Parliament ultimately decided against taking action,[36] and—in yet another conflict of interest—the solicitor general was allowed to take as his private clients the defendants of the case (i.e., Overend Gurney) and represent them in court.[37]

The plaintiff, a certain Mr. Adam Thom, then put forth what amounts to an early complaint of "crony capitalism"—described by Guillermo Rosas as "cozy, nontransparent relations between politicians and entrepreneurs"[38]—by lambasting the prime minister and cabinet for "ducking aside from the vindication of truth and justice."[39] That the solicitor general was allowed to take on a private client while in office is problematic all by itself, but the decision to defend high-profile clients whom he might have been called upon to prosecute reeks of crony capitalism. While there is no definitive proof of wrongdoing, the interaction's "nontransparent" and "cozy" nature only strengthened the parliamentarian's claim that there was collaboration between the government and the rich. In their study on banking crises and politics, Jeffrey Chwieroth and Andrew Walter astutely observe that, over the past 150 years, "large segments of society in modern democracies [have come] […] to demand that governments provide protection from economic downturns," and that this "growing 'pressure from below' to protect […] wealth helps to explain both the increased propensity for government bailouts and the increasingly powerful political effects of these crises."[40] Thom's lawsuit against Overend Gurney illustrates this very "pressure from below," and the fact that "the proceeding […] excited great interest"[41] shows a strong demand for the protection of individual wealth even earlier than Chwieroth and Walter suppose. Thus, while the Panic of 1866 provides valuable insights into modern consumer behavior, it is in this case—once again—overlooked.

Indeed, the problems of today's central bankers and policymakers and those of the late nineteenth century are not so different. As financial columnist Greg Ip has observed, "business cycles in the future might resemble those of the 19th century, when monetary policy didn't exist."[42] While Ip is referring to the United States,

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[36] *The Law Journal* 7 (May 10, 1872): 318. A record of the actual motion was not found, but a clear reference to its outcome is presented here.

[37] Supplement to *The Bankers' Magazine* 30 (1870): 1; Adam Thom, *Overend and Gurney Prosecution: In Its Relation to the Public as Distinguished from the Defendants* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1869), 12-13.

[38] Guillermo Rosas, "Bagehot or Bailout? An Analysis of Government Responses to Banking Crises," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 1 (January 2006): 175-191, here 175.

[39] Thom, *Overend and Gurney Prosecution,* 12.

[40] Jeffrey M. Chwieroth and Andrew Walter, "Banking Crises and Politics: A Long-Run Perspective," *International Affairs* 93, no. 5 (2017): 1107-1129, here 1108.

[41] "Overend, Gurney, and Co," *Times*, January 2, 1869, 5. Great interest is also reported in the Supplement to *The Bankers' Magazine* 30 (1870): 1; and Thom, *Overend and Gurney Prosecution*, 12.

[42] Greg Ip, "The Era of Fed Power is Over. Prepare for a More Perilous Road Ahead: Central Banks Have Long Exercised Influence Over Booms and Busts, but Their Ability Is Shrinking," *Wall Street Journal (Online),* January 15, 2020.

the situation fits England with little modification. A monetary policy of sorts existed in the English central banking system in the nineteenth century, as the bank could raise and lower rates. However, this was not applied during financial crises as one would expect: the Bank of England actually *raised* rates to combat the Panic of 1866.[43] According to Bagehot, it was the prevailing thought at the time that "loanable capital […] comes where there is most to be made of it," thus creating the expectation that raising rates would help resolve liquidity issues.[44] This is a classic example of supply-side economics and Say's Law, which indicates that increased supply will create increased demand, while current central bankers *lower* rates in times of crisis because they emphasize the deterrence to borrowing caused by high interest rates.[45] The central bankers' subscription to supply-side economics certainly diluted the effectiveness of monetary policy during the Panic of 1866, which explains its back-seat role in Bagehot's observations. This left the government with only one tool, namely, flooding the market with cash. Ip considers this the strongest tool left to central banks even today, as they struggle with the opposite problem of low, sometimes even negative interest rates, which allows little room for rate cuts in the event of a crisis, as demonstrated by the European Central Bank (ECB) during the first quarter of 2020. Despite the world-wide COVID-19 health crisis, the ECB did not lower rates because they had nowhere to go and, instead, resorted only to fiscal policy since the deposit rate already stood at negative one-half percent as of September 2019.[46]

The parallels do not end there. As the twentieth century drew to a close, discount houses declined because of the novel exchange of new technologies and because of financial instruments like the derivative.[47] Derivatives are complex, multi-party interactions which often involve large sums provided by institutional investors and hold a place comparable to that of the LLC in a mid-revolution economy. The technological revolution driven by the rise of the internet led to an increased complexity of financial markets and the widespread use of derivatives, but, similar to the late nineteenth century, rapidly-changing environments produce hiccups. Derivatives contributed to large losses worldwide as far back as the 1990s,[48] and poor regulations and the use of derivatives precipitated the 2008 financial crisis.[49] As if this were not enough, in that crisis, too, governments once

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[43] Flandreau and Ugolini, "Crisis of 1866," 20.

[44] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 47-48.

[45] Emery Kay Hunt and Mark Lautzenheiser, *History of Economic Thought: A Critical Perspective*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 137.

[46] European Central Bank, "Key ECB Interest Rates."

[47] *Investopedia*, s.v. "Discount House;" Steve Kummer and Christian Pauletto, "The History of Derivatives: A Few Milestones," EFTA [European Free Trade Association] Seminar, Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft/SECO [Secrétariat d'État à l'économie], Zurich, May 3, 2012.

[48] *Britannica*, s.v. "Derivatives."

[49] *The Concise Encyclopedia of the Great Recession, 2007-2012*, s.v. "Derivatives."

again faced questions of consumer protection, and investment bankers around the globe were hauled into hearings over their irresponsible behavior in making investments with other people's money. In short, despite the fact that the lender-of-last-resort principle emerged from the Panic of 1866, nothing else was gleaned from it. Had economists and policymakers paid it its just deserts, they could have seen the next crisis coming.

*II. Walter Bagehot and the Panic of 1866*

The Panic of 1866 is most famous for Walter Bagehot's treatise on the lender-of-last-resort principle. Thus, the second part of this article addresses the common misperception that Bagehot was somehow involved in the creation of the principle itself, as well as the scholarly conversation and widespread misinterpretations with regard to Bagehot's work.

While the Panic of 1866 as a whole is often overlooked, Bagehot's work is not. Yet, the issue with the scholarly discourse on Bagehot is the wide range of opinions concerning what exactly he had actually recommended for the central banking system. It is imperative, firstly, to dispel a common misconception regarding Bagehot's contribution to macroeconomics. Statements like the one by Michael Bordo in his 2007 "Brief History of Central Banking" that "the Bank began to follow Bagehot's rule, which was to lend freely on the basis of any sound collateral offered,"[50] are inaccurate or at least reductionist: as Denis O'Brien has pointed out in his 2003 article, "The Lender-of-Last-Resort Concept in Britain," "by the time that Bagehot published his justly celebrated *Lombard Street* in 1873, the position of the Bank as lender of last resort was widely recognized."[51] Bagehot's *Lombard Street* commented on the crisis, observing what actions succeeded and which did not, and from there offered recommendations. Bagehot made many insightful observations on the crisis and the state of the modern economic system outside of the last-resort lending practice that have been overlooked, but his work on lending principles in *Lombard Street* is not original.

To be fair, Bordo did comprehend a crucial part of Bagehot's recommendation that not everyone understands, namely, that Bagehot only recommended lending on "the basis of any sound collateral."[52] A curious example of misunderstanding this recommendation can be found in Laurence Krause's 2019 article, where the author concludes that "economists and policymakers do not understand Bagehot […] [i]n an obvious Bagehot Moment in 2008, the Federal Reserve blundered a run-

[50] Michael D. Bordo, "A Brief History of Central Banks," *Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland*, December 1, 2007.

[51] Denis O'Brien, "The Lender-of-Last-Resort Concept in Britain," *History of Political Economy* 35, no. 1 (2003): 1–19, here 16. In this article, O'Brien seeks to weaken the spotlight on Bagehot and turn the argument back to the origins of the lender-of-last-resort concept in Britain, correctly highlighting economic crises earlier in the nineteenth century as the beginnings of lender-of-last-resort practices.

[52] See Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 199.

of-the-mill bailout by refusing to rescue Lehman Brothers, unleashing an epoch-making financial crisis."[53] In fact, Bagehot would not have advocated lending in such situations, precisely because Lehman Brothers lacked salvageable collateral. In his 2006 article, "Bagehot or Bailout? An Analysis of Government Responses to Banking Crises," Rosas emphasizes this important distinction and bifurcates a "Bagehot" government response, in which institutions without good collateral are *allowed* to fail, from a "Bailout" response, in which governments allow "insolvent banks to continue operations, in effect subsidizing the losses of bankers and depositors and shifting the burden of bank insolvency to taxpayers."[54] Technically speaking, Krause's observation that the Lehman-Brothers scenario was a "Bagehot Moment" is correct: allowing Lehman Brothers to fail is exactly what Bagehot would have recommended given the institution's insolvency.

A second area of misinterpretation pertains to the *extent* of the Bank of England's lending. In an otherwise superb 2013 article tracking the battle between the currency and banking schools of economic thought and the history of the gold standard in England, Jérôme de Boyer des Roches claims that, according to Bagehot, the central banker "responds to a demand for credit, not for money […] Bagehot advocates an increase in the capital of the Banking Department in order to increase its reserve, thereby furnishing it with the tools for lending of last resort. The Lender of Last Resort does not take a liquidity risk."[55] Boyer des Roches's observation that credit, not money, is the underlying demand and that Bagehot recommends building a reserve to lessen risk for the bank is a distinction of brilliance. The issue is that, while Bagehot was flabbergasted that the Bank of England "never laid down any clear and sound policy on the subject" of last resort lending, he nowhere championed that raising the reserve meant a lack of "liquidity risk."[56] The entire enterprise of lending during a market-wide liquidity crunch is inherently risky, a fact Bagehot gravely recognized when offering his remedy: "The best way for the bank […] to deal with a [currency] drain arising from internal discredit is to lend freely. The first instinct of everyone is to the contrary."[57] In short, Bagehot recognized that the Bank of England needed to keep up appearances to calm the economy, even if it thereby ran the risk of insolvency. As Bagehot observed, the bank had done a marvelous job of following this premise: "[F]ortunately or unfortunately, no one has any fear about the Bank of England. The English world at least believes that it will not, almost that it cannot

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[53] Laurence Alan Krause, "Walter Bagehot's *Lombard Street*: An Interpretation," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 51, no. 4 (July 2019): 572-580.

[54] Rosas, "Bagehot or Bailout," 175.

[55] Jérôme de Boyer des Roches, "Bank Liquidity Risk: From John Law (1705) to Walter Bagehot (1873)," *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 20, no. 4 (2013): 547-571, here 567.

[56] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 208.

[57] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 50.

fail."[58] The reality, of course, was very much the opposite. At one point in 1866, as Bagehot noted, the Bank of England had only three million pounds left to its name, and during previous years of crisis (1847 and 1857) the bank had fewer than two million pounds left and this only because the Bank Charter Act of 1844 had temporarily been suspended.[59] There was always the lingering possibility that Parliament would not suspend the Act—a possibility that became very real in 2008 when the U.S. Congress failed to pass TARP (Troubled Asset Relief Program) legislation on its first try. Without the Act's suspension, the Bank of England itself would have been rendered insolvent.

The final area of disagreement between Bagehot's thoughts and those of his interpreters comes in the area of moral hazard with regard to the Bank of England. In a 2014 paper, Marc Flandreau and Stefano Ugolini refute Forrest Capie's claim that the Bank of England was not particularly interested in who they were lending to, as long as Bagehot's requirement of good credit was met.[60] To this, Flandreau and Ugolini reply that "the Bank was prepared to provide credit only to the extent that it liked what it saw. This meant that the counterparty had to abide by a number of behavioral norms: At the same time the Bank lent generously, it also performed strict monitoring over the banking system *and thus protected itself against moral hazard*."[61] The difference between Capie's position and that of Flandreau and Ugolini seems minute, but this difference has real-world consequences. Capie, Flandreau, and Ugolini all fully understand Bagehot's recommendation that central banks lend generously upon the condition of workable collateral. However, in reality, the situation is more complex, especially during the reality of 1866 when the Bank of England was still operating as a private, for-profit company. Only by combining Capie's, Flandreau's, and Ugolini's positions do we come to a more comprehensive understanding of Bagehot's recommendations. Flandreau and Ugolini are right to criticize Capie's "closed-window" position, as there is no denying that the Bank of England's risk evaluators could see who it was they were evaluating, which is not something that can merely be turned on and off, or raised and lowered, to use these authors' analogy. Flandreau and Ugolini argue in contrast that "Britain's actual recipe for financial stability was the Bank of England's adoption of a principle of generous provision of non-anonymous lending. In other words, the Bank's window was fully raised so that the Bank could see the face of the discounter."[62] Thus, with regard to seeing and

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[58] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 41.

[59] Bagehot, *Lombard Street*, 29.

[60] Forrest Capie, "The Emergence of the Bank of England as a Mature Central Bank," in *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914*, ed. Donald Winch and Patrick K. O'Brien (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 295-315, cited by Flandreau and Ugolini, "Crisis of 1866," 2, 3, 10, 18.

[61] Flandreau and Ugolini, "Crisis of 1866," 3.

[62] Flandreau and Ugolini, "Crisis of 1866," 3.

choosing who to lend to Flandreau and Ugolini are entirely correct. However, they are not right in saying that picking and choosing who to lend to protected the Bank of England from moral hazard, precisely because the bank was asked to lend to its competitors. Flandreau and Ugolini even acknowledge the 1860 spat between Overend Gurney and the Bank of England,[63] but they do not take into consideration that this rivalry may have affected the Bank of England's 1866 decision not to lend to Overend Gurney. As long as the Bank of England remained in competition with other banks, there was opportunity for picking and choosing, which is why Bagehot questioned the Bank of England's intentions and place in the financial system.[64]

*Conclusion*

The Panic of 1866 clearly has much to offer to scholars of various disciplines, as it exhibited many characteristics shared by economic crises of the twenty-first century, including a rapidly changing technological environment and a subsequently increasingly complex financial system; a central bank struggling to keep up with the novel environment; and questions about the extent of corporate responsibility for irresponsible—though admittedly uninsured—investments. The main significance of Bagehot's analysis of these trying times is that it resoundingly moved the conversation about central-bank policy from the question "Does the lender-of-last-resort concept work?" to the question "To what extent should the central bank lend?" While this did not create any novel ideas, it has been enough to endear Bagehot to economists, central bankers, and financiers to this very day. However, as this article has demonstrated, Bagehot's ideas have been subject to confusion. He did not advocate for unequivocal bailouts, but rather for lending against sound collateral, and he did not see lending as a low-risk solution, but rather as a necessary and risky game to stabilize the economy. While it is important to package information in quickly comprehensible form for the benefit of future generations, it is essential that the fundamental message not be altered, as has unfortunately been the case with Walter Bagehot's observations on so relevant and important a topic.

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[63] Flandreau and Ugolini, "Crisis of 1866," 5-6.

[64] Bagehot, *Lombard Street,* 36-37.

Josh Kreeger

# *"Another town, another maiden": German Colonial Postcards as Propaganda (1884-1914)*

ABSTRACT: *This essay examines how postcards supported colonialist propaganda during the German Empire. Utilizing historical images archived in the "Deutsche-Schutzgebiete" online project, as well as scholarly works on German colonialism and gender theory, it demonstrates how the sexualization of Indigenous women became a key strategy to recruit young German male sailors for the German Empire's colonial endeavors in Africa and East Asia.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Imperial Germany; Africa; East Asia; colonialism; navy; postcards; perception-transfer; romanticizing; gender studies*

## *Introduction*

Exotic women, shiny beaches, and romantic boat rides: this is the life that awaits you in the colonies, where a sailor always gets what he wants—or, at least, this is the life your government advertises in its propaganda Like many other enthusiastic European powers, nineteenth-century Germany harbored colonial ambitions. Its victory in the Franco-Prussian War and subsequent unification in 1871 created a modern Germany capable of expanding beyond its borders. Once this expansion was underway, Germany became just as invested as Britain or France in maintaining its Empire by populating its newly colonized lands with members of its own race. One efficient means to achieve this result was the production and distribution of propaganda in the form of simple, yet egregious postcards. Why did colonial German postcards sexualize and romanticize[1] Africa and East Asia? Essentially, the gender objectification and cultural control which represented colonialism on postcards—specifically those targeting members of the navy—communicated a brazen motif of European superiority. Due to these postcards' explicit and implicit narrative of "conquerability," the German Empire was able to rally troops and sailors to safeguard the colonial front. This essay examines a series of historical postcards to unveil Germany's motivations with regard to its colonial endeavors. The postcards in question are archived in the *Deutsche-Schutzgebiete* online project.[2] *Deutsche-Schutzgebiete* features an extensive library of visual media pertaining to German colonialism—from battleships, photographs, historical maps, stamps and texts to the specific sexist postcard imagery addressed in this essay. In addition to the material available from this online project, scholarly literature, reference works, and statistical data from the German government are utilized here to obtain a more complete picture.

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[1] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "romanticize" (1): "To make romantic or idealized in character; to make (something) seem better or more appealing than it really is; to describe, portray, or view in a romantic manner;" *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Romanticism" (2): "Romantic movement or style in art, literature, or music […]; the distinctive qualities or spirit of this movement."

[2] Ralph Anton and Jakob Schmitt, "Deutsche Kolonien," *Deutsche-Schutzgebiete* (blog), July 5, 2017, accessed June 4, 2021.

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*I. The Cause for Colonization*

Acquiring colonies was considered a necessity, for the German government viewed its land as overpopulated, which is somewhat comical in light of today's demographic data.[3] During the late nineteenth century, though, Germany's population was increasing rapidly and reaching ever new highs. This exponential growth was caused by industrialization which, in turn, was being promoted to catch up to Britain's industrial and naval might. According to the German *Statistisches Bundesamt* (Federal Office of Statistics), the population of Germany increased from around 25 million people to around 38 million people between 1816 and 1867.[4] Part of this was due to the consolidation of what we now know as Germany from the region's leading power, namely, the kingdom of Prussia and its territories. Prussia's population dominated demographic statistics until Germany's eventual unification in 1871. From then on, its population—not counting places like Austria—increased from 41 million people to a staggering 65 million people on the eve of World War I.[5] To put this into perspective, Germany's current (2021) population is estimated at just above 83 million people.

The apparent overpopulation was considered a threat by Germany's (also) growing aristocracy who feared that such large numbers of people would eventually rally in violent socialist revolutions. To prevent such revolutions, the nobility, as well as the liberal middle class promoted *Auswanderung,* or emigration, from Germany. Given the increase in population and often more than five children per household, many felt—as early as the 1830s—that people should leave and move on to other places in Europe and America. Yet, it was not until the failed Revolution of 1848 that this was taken more seriously. Now, millions of Germans were "encouraged" to emigrate to America, Australia, and Eastern Europe. While many did, in fact, leave Germany, political leaders at home were already eyeing new opportunities to stretch their might across the world, namely, colonies.

Even everyday German citizens considered their place in Germany's colonial Empire as one of God-given power and responsibility. In their own view, they were not malicious colonizers—they were intent on making the world a better place, and to bring order, balance, and the benefits of Western—especially German—civilization. This attitude provided Germany's bourgeoisie and political leadership with an excuse to colonize, as they gained from exploitation and mineral extraction. The ability to enjoy these gains without protest by their own people was a worthy enough prize for them to lie about the state of the colonies in their propaganda and to use the White-man's-burden narrative strategically.

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[3] Woodruff D. Smith, "The Ideology of German Colonialism, 1840-1906," *The Journal of Modern History* 46, no. 4 (December 1974): 641-662, here 642.

[4] Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung gestern, heute und morgen* (Wiesbaden: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1985), 12.

[5] Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung*, 38.

Consequently, the injustices and crimes inflicted on colonized *aboriginals*[6] were for the longest time covered up and ignored in the colonizers' homelands. However, the ramifications of *apartheid*[7] and colonization in countries like Namibia are now increasingly the subject of systematic research. Today, the 30,000 remaining (White) Germans in Namibia (i.e., the former colony of German South West Africa) still control a majority of the wealth of a nation of almost 2.5 million people. With this essentially *apartheid* state still in place, scholars and journals are attempting to expose this injustice for what it is and counter it with a more accurate account of African history, namely, a post-colonial narrative.

While it is difficult to establish which nation initiated the production of postcards and other images of Indigenous colonized people, there were plenty of scandalous and misogynistic photographs in circulation throughout the French and British Empires. A truly global approach would exceed the scope of this essay, but it is clear that colonial photographs and postcards in the German Empire carried similar themes with a unique "flair" considered specific to the respective territories. It is unclear to what extent the German Empire felt inadequate or like a "late arrival" in the Western race for the colonies, especially when we consider that Brandenburg-Prussia had technically already established colonies in the Caribbean and Africa as early as 1683. These colonies were port cities, only lasted until 1721, and never reached their full "colonial" potential when compared to the holdings of other Germanic nations, for example, the Netherlands.

Many in Germany saw the Dutch, more specifically the *boer*[8] living in South and South West Africa, as a kindred people who needed to be saved from the British during the Boer Wars (1880-1881 and especially 1899-1902).[9] This notion can be traced back to the days of the medieval Holy Roman Empire when the modern-day regions of the Netherlands, Bohemia, Austria, and others were often all considered *Deutsch*. The phrase *das Deutsche Reich* can be translated in several different ways, most famously as "the German Empire" in the context of World War I and World War II. However, to Germans, *Deutsch* usually just means "people" or "the common people," and it is a nod to how Germans used to

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[6] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "aboriginal" (1a): "An original or earliest inhabitant of a land, esp[ecially]. as distinguished from a later settler."

[7] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "apartheid:" "Name given in South Africa to the segregation of the inhabitants of European descent from the non-European (Coloured or mixed, Bantu, Indian, etc.); applied also to any similar movement elsewhere; also, to other forms of racial separation (social, educational, etc.)."

[8] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "boer:" "A Dutch-speaking or (later) Afrikaans-speaking farmer in southern Africa."

[9] Michael Pretes, "Boer Wars," in *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450*, ed. Thomas Benjamin (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 1:138-141, here 138: "The Boer Wars were a series of conflicts fought between the descendants of Dutch settlers and British troops in South Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The conflicts stemmed from Britain's attempts to expand its South African colonial empire."

differentiate themselves from those using the political and liturgical language of Rome: they, the Germans, were the everyday men, not the snobby speakers of Latin. Thus, the speakers of the common tongue were *das Deutsche Volk*, and anyone speaking this common tongue belonged to their realm (since "realm" is one way to translate the term *Reich*). Finally, the phrase *das Deutsche Reich* also came to denotes the domain or the institutions of the republic; hence, the Weimar Republic was known as *das Deutsche Reich*. In short, defending the people, the realm, the institution, or the Empire was a concern Germans used to justify their presence in Africa and elsewhere around the globe.

*II. Postcards and Colonies*

As a unique means of communication that combines the written word with images (and also as collectors' items), postcards are more recent than one might think. While sending letters and other forms of written correspondence is probably as old as the development of human writing, the actual first postcard appears to have been written in 1861 by one John P. Charlton.[10] From there, the demand for these simple, easy-to-produce cards that could be mailed around the world spread like wildfire. Between 1865 and 1875, citizens from every major country came to utilize them to communicate with family and friends. In addition, postcards soon served to show off places one had visited, such as the new Eiffel Tower in Paris (completed in 1889). It was during the subsequent "golden age" of postcards, from 1890 to 1915, that the majority of the postcards featured in this essay was distributed.[11] During this same time, newspapers, particularly newspapers in small towns, published few or no photographs. Thus, postcards offered an "incredibly inexpensive" way to conveniently capture and convey images of people, places, events, or national monuments.[12] Each year during this "golden age," billions of postcards were printed and mailed. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that colonial rulers and statesmen were eager to employ postcards to distribute their propaganda to the masses. For instance, *Figure 1*, a postcard with the message "Ander Städtchen, ander Mädchen!" (Another town, another maiden!), exemplifies the colonizers' racial and sexual objectification of women of colonized people groups. The dissemination of an overtly romanticized imagery was simply the beginning of waves of postcards intended to utilize exotic women as props to convince boisterous men to join their country's colonial endeavors.[13]

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[10] "Greetings from the Smithsonian: A Postcard History," *Smithsonian Institution Archives*, accessed June 4, 2021.

[11] Fred Bassett, "Wish You Were Here!: The Story of the Golden Age of Picture Postcards," *New York State Library*, Postcard Collection, Appendix C, May 24, 2021, accessed June 4, 2021.

[12] Bassett, "Wish You Were Here!"

[13] Sarah Sentilles, "Colonial Postcards and Women as Props for War-Making," *The New Yorker*, October 5, 2017.

*Figure 1: "Ander Städtchen, ander Mädchen!" [Another town, another maiden!]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

German colonial ambitions did not come to full fruition until 1884, when King Leopold II of Belgium (r. 1865-1909) annexed a large portion of Central Africa.[14] European powers scrambled to claim as much of Africa as they could before the Berlin Conference that same year divided the continent among them.[15] Until then, most European colonization had pertained to the Americas, East Indies, and port cities in Africa and India (apart from India's domination by the British Crown since 1858). Now, Germany was granted Cameroon, Togo, East Africa (Tanzania), South West Africa (Namibia), Samoa, and New Guinea. In 1898, the Chinese city of Kiautschou (Kiao-Chao) was added to the list (see *Figure 2* and *Figure 3*).

*Figure 2: "Gruss aus Kiao-Tschau: Kriegsgefangen!" [Greetings from Kiao-Tschau: War-captured!]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

[14] Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912* (New York: Random House Publishing, 1991), 8.

[15] Pakenham, *Scramble for Africa*, 10-12.

*Figure 3: "Gruss aus Kiao-Tschau: Ich bin ein Deutscher / kennt Ihr meine Farben?" [Greetings from Kiao-Tschau: I am a German / do you know my colors?]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

With these territories now "legally" divided among them, European powers began to exploit them for their resources and people. They also initiated a system of colonial perception-transfer[16] to entice young men, who were struggling back in Europe home, to populate their colonies. It was thought that, without these men, the colonies would collapse, descend into rebellion, or be usurped by neighboring European colonies. To prevent this, postcards were used as propaganda. A simple, yet effective way to portray a colony was by giving it a flair or mystique in the form of a postcard, much like how German South West Africa found itself portrayed in *Figure 4*, one of its earliest "greetings" postcards.

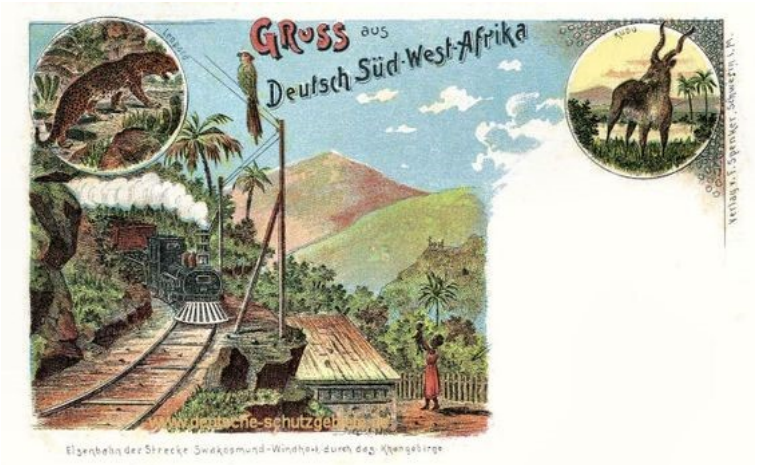


*Figure 4: "Gruss aus Deutsch Süd-West-Afrika" [Greetings from German South West Africa]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

[16] When Indigenous peoples are disavowed in a variety of ways and their actual presence is not registered; an example is when Indigenous people are understood as part of the landscape. See Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 37.

A "greetings" postcard is typically a soft way to initiate a perception-transfer for the benefit of the colonizing force. [17] It is an essential first step to activate successive perception-transfers for the sake of conceptual displacement. To ruin the integrity of the land, one has to create the perception that the land is empty, or "virgin," and that it must be populated by others to prevent nature from wasting it. In this specific postcard (*Figure 4*), we see a rural landscape—mountains, jungles, and palm trees—juxtaposed with a train moving swiftly on its tracks through this landscape. Due to the power and civility of the White man and his burden, locomotive technology has transformed a previously barren landscape into a thriving and civilized nation. The leopard and kudu (antelope) are relegated to medallions in the postcard's top left and top right corners, like curiosities, unimportant for industrialization, but crucial to signify the country's "otherness." A Black woman, standing next to a reed-covered house, is gradually raising up a child, glancing upward at the locomotive. The woman is pointing the child toward the progress of the machines brought by the Europeans. She is raising the child both physically and symbolically in the direction of the future, like a submissive offering, indicating that the child's future labor will be reaped as spoils of Indigenous transfer by assimilation.[18] The implicit message here—underscored by the postcard's printed "Gruss aus Deutsch Süd-West-Afrika" (Greetings from German South West Africa)—is that those Indigenous who have not been deported or exterminated will soon be assimilated, speak German, and use European technologies. While some modern advertisements use puppets like the Michelin Man to communicate friendliness and otherworldliness, this postcard uses a single Black woman with a child—in a landscape that is changing due to locomotive technology—to romanticize and advertise Africa's "virgin" nature.[19]

Virgin-land narratives can quickly morph into motifs of other "virgin" objects that are then portrayed as equally ready for the taking, namely *aboriginal* females. Germany's Imperial Navy issued a series of postcards intended to be mailed back to the homeland in hopes of securing more enlistments and manpower to stave off both the neighboring colonial empires as well as the Indigenous in these respective regions. A simple, yet effective way to do this was to continually circulate postcards with images of Indigenous women who appeared as seductive and "easy" to obtain. An example of this objectification is *Figure 5*, a postcard celebrating "Samoas Einverleibung" (Samoa's annexation), which features Germany's Imperial colors and a White gentleman in a black tailcoat (on the left) bowing to a scantily clad Indigenous woman (on the right), and it should be noted that the German word *Einverleibung* literally means "absorbing a body."

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[17] Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 36-38.

[18] Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 37-38.

[19] David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 150.

*Figure 5: "Samoa's Einverleibung" [Samoa's annexation]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

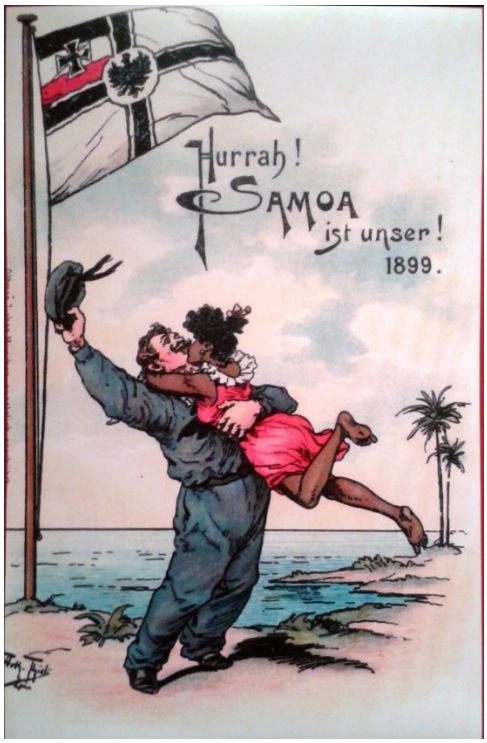


*Figure 6: "Hurrah! Samoa ist unser! 1899" [Hurrah! Samoa is ours! 1899]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

In *Figure 5*, one can tell the woman is *aboriginal* due to her darker skin color and her exotic attire. While today's observer may not consider the latter particularly "erotic," a dress with a hemline above the knee certainly would have been viewed as revealing and suggestive a hundred years ago. Her dress leaves the woman's neckline, arms, knees, and lower legs exposed, and (in *Figure 5*) she covers her cleavage with a green plant-leaf, all of which would have made her appear seductive back then. Granted, for Samoa's hot climate, the woman's attire is much more appropriate than the man's tailcoat; however, on these historical postcards, the woman's comparative nudity is intended to accentuate her sexual appeal and

"availability." The man's tailcoat, on the other hand, communicates that he has come to "civilize," and his bow, much like the bow associated with an invitation to dance, suggests that he come to lead, to dominate, and to own (see also *Figure 6*).

In European iconography and art, women routinely stood for the various continents (whose Latin names, after all, were all female). Well into the twentieth century, a woman continued to be used to represent Africa. This feminine characterization was employed for any and all entities that could be controlled by the patriarchy, such as continents, ships, and other (personified) objects. To refer to an object or region as a woman could serve as a way to subtly demean it and to suggest that said object or region was submissive and ready to be controlled, especially by Victorian-era standards. This does not mean, of course, that all references of womanhood were inherently intended to denote submissive qualities, especially when considering that references to the "motherland" or to nature as having woman-like qualities emphasized caring, nurturing, and even protective qualities. However, this does not negate the message sent by period images like the ones included on the historical postcards discussed here. As David Ciarlo has shown in his 2011 book, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany*, women were routinely viewed as subservient icons and recipients of projections of dominance.[20] In the colonizers' eyes, Indigenous women needed to become the personification of their land in order to be similarly dominated by the colonizing force, in this instance, Germany. Women in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Europe were expected to be submissive and dominated by men, which is why historical postcards comparatively rarely depict men as being colonized or representing the land of the colonized (see, however, *Figure 2* above). Generally, women and maidens were the virgins young colonizers expected to conquer.

*III. Imperial Navy Postcards*

Conquering is an act of overcoming or overpowering someone, typically by use of force.[21] In order to complete the conquest of a people, conquerors must attain the submission of the conquered and establish themselves as the new ruling faction. To accomplish this task, the German Imperial Navy circulated certain postcards that encouraged immigration from their White fatherland. Thus far, we have examined examples of colonialist propaganda toward colonized races and genders. We now turn to postcards that employ both of these strategies together. In the early 1900s, Imperial Germany issued postcards that employed both nationalistic and superior gender sentiments. Considering that Germany had joined the modern era's colonial "game" comparatively late, it was crucial for its propaganda to aid in the effort to capture and dominate its colonies.

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[20] Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire*, 193.

[21] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "conquer" (II.2.a): "To acquire by fighting, win in war; to make a warlike conquest of; to subjugate."

*Figure 7: "Unsere Marine – Fahr' mich hinüber, schöner Schiffer!" [Our Navy – Ferry me on over, handsome sailor!]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

The example to be considered here (*Figure 7*) is a postcard titled "Unsere Marine – Fahr' mich hinüber, schöner Schiffer!" (Our Navy – Ferry me on over, handsome sailor!), the latter being a phrase from a song of the earlier nineteenth century. A common motif on these postcards, which may have served to emphasize its legitimacy and familiarity, the image is that of a German sailor rowing a small boat which is carrying an Indigenous woman. The woman's darker skin color suggests an African origin, and—indeed—the postcard originated in German East Africa (modern-day Tanzania), but her facial features appear more Indian than African. She is embracing the German sailor from behind, and with his head turned back toward her, they kiss. Both seem to be enjoying each other's company. The man glances down, not at the woman's eyes or the waves, but, rather, either at the postcard's beholder or, more likely, the woman's unclothed, uncovered left breast—her flowing, long yellow dress or skirt only begins to cover her body just below the naked breast. Thus, this is explicit content.

It was relatively uncommon in Europe at the time to depict nudity, so much so that the mere sight of a woman's unclothed wrist or ankle would have weakened a proper European man's knees. However, nudity was a rather common phenomenon in the painting and photography of *aboriginal* women in the colonies, and Germans were particularly known for this representation of *aboriginal* women, even more so than the British or the French. How is this to be explained? As we have seen, *aboriginal* women were viewed as a sexual expression of the virgin land of Africa. By exposing Indigenous women, painters and photographers underscored the alleged ease with which these women—and their land—could be captured.[22] This, in turn, sent a clear message to the elites back home, who may

[22] Helmut Walser Smith, "The Talk of Genocide, the Rhetoric of Miscegenation: Notes on Debates in the German Reichstag concerning South West Africa, 1904-1914," in *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, ed. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 107-124, here 101.

have been considering investing large sums of capital to fund expeditions or trade routes. Easing their minds would help line their pockets. Yet, the latter was only a secondary message. Apart from this subversive and layered motif, there was a primary reason for the woman's "explicitification."[23] Given her state of "undress," this alluring woman is portrayed as "available" for what was foremost on the mind of these postcards' senders and recipients, namely, sexual intercourse.

If Germany was to capture and maintain its overseas colonies, it needed men. Scores of colonizers became a necessity once—with the stroke of a pen—Germany had acquired regions in Africa and elsewhere that exceeded the size of the German fatherland many times over.[24] These male German colonizers were not always needed to subdue rebellions, but their mere presence served to keep neighboring colonial powers at bay. Employed overseas, they became guardians of vast trading operations in which Europeans forced the Indigenous to labor and then took the spoils of their labor. After all, colonized Africans had no access to the means of production to process their own raw material, like ore, oil, and rubber.

Getting sailors excited by means of enticing images was only the beginning: the ultimate goal was the dehumanization of the colonized. Sexualization played a pivotal role in portraying *aboriginal* Africans as savages. Apart from her dress or skirt, the Indigenous woman in *Figure 7* is wearing a considerable array of primitive jewelry that is, in fact, ahistorical. While Indigenous East African women were wearing necklaces and hair jewelry on occasion, contemporary historical photographs suggest that this was the exception rather than the rule. Thus, the woman's golden earrings and bracelets in *Figure 7* are likely the result of the artist blending stories of rich Oriental moguls with a need to perpetuate colonial narratives of lands of gold and opportunity. The woman's necklace, in any case, would not have been made of pointy teeth. According to historical photographs, Indigenous women would, at best, have worn necklaces made of pearls or other shiny objects. Paintings of necklaces made of teeth on colonial postcards only served to surround the Indigenous with an additional mystique—elegant due to their decorative quality, yet tribal and savage due to their material which, as one was led to believe, would have had to be harvested from predatorial beasts. Perhaps needless to say, hunting carnivorous animals for their teeth would have been both impractical and improbable for Indigenous society trying to survive.

Thus, historical postcards romanticized and idealized Africa and Indigenous women with Germany's young men back home as their intended audience. In his 2010 essay, "The Visual Representation of Blackness during German Imperialism around 1900," Volker Langbehn points out how "postcards engage the viewers' self-knowledge and their socially and politically conditioned experience of

[23] "To make explicit." The noun "explicitification" does not (yet) exist in official dictionaries.

[24] The size of Imperial Germany was 540,857.54 square kilometers in 1900, expanding to 2,658,161 square kilometers by 1913. For comparison, Germany today encompasses 357,386 square kilometers.

alterity" or difference.[25] The rejection of alterity in society leads to a fear of the other, and in this regard, the postcards were harmful to society at large. Langbehn particularly refers to the theme of *Mohrwäsche* or "Moor Washing," found in both contemporary paintings and postcards, in which an African is being washed or depicted in a bathtub of some kind.[26] At the time, Germans were still using the word *Mohr* as a blanket term to refer to Africans. Historically, the term "Moor" pertains to the inhabitants of northwestern Africa (Mauretania and Morocco), but it came to be used as a derogatory term for all Africans. As Muslim Africans who had invaded the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century, the Moors eventually became targets of the Crusading movement, of the Reconquista, and of the Inquisition. In a way, Europeans viewed and legitimized their own colonization of Africa as revenge for the Muslim invasion of Europe during the Middle Ages. This explains perhaps why the *aboriginal* East African woman in *Figure 7* appears more Indian, Arab, or even North African than Indigenous Tanzanian.

As common themes, these historical postcards do not just portray alluring and submissive Indigenous women; they also feature impressive naval vessels. Each of the postcards intended to be mailed to Germany shows an anchored steel behemoth in the background, most likely a *Kaiser Friedrich III* or *Wittelsbach* class, pre-dreadnought battleship. Commissioned between 1898 and 1903, these were among the earliest battleships built for the German Navy during the naval arms race with Britain. An easy indicator that they were not older is simply their bulkier frame, yet they still only featured two coal exhaust funnels situated between the two masts. A third was added to the 1904 *Braunschweig* class for its more powerful engines. In their top left corner, postcards of the "Our Navy" series usually depict the German Imperial naval flag. So, why this continual depiction of mighty warships and German Imperial naval flags? It comes down to the complexity of protectorate rule. The colonized "belonged" to Germany, but they were usually not yet counted as Germans, which made it even more difficult to literally draw Africans or Asians as Germans (for an exception, see above, *Figure 3*). Flags were one of the few ways to mark something as abstract as national sovereignty, or to assert a nation's claims over a particular territory. Just before 1900, German Imperial naval flags became one of the means "by which to mark scenes of tropical exchange (or commerce) as explicitly 'German'" and therefore denote them as colonial prizes that had been won.[27] Thus, while anchoring in foreign harbors, colossal vessels flying Imperial flags created a German aura of prestige.

Images of Africans, especially images of African women, were embedded in hierarchies that many at the time considered "natural." Unlike domestic gender

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[25] Volker Langbehn, "The Visual Representation of Blackness during German Imperialism around 1900," in *German Colonialism and National Identity*, ed. Michael Perraudin and Juergen Zimmerer (New York: Routledge, 2010), 90-100, here 95.

[26] Langbehn, "Visual Representation of Blackness," 93.

[27] Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire*, 177.

ideologies, the colonialist framework did not really tolerate any first-hand interaction that might counter or undermine its particular ideologies. Thus, as an imaginative device, *aboriginal* African figures were all the more useful for their remoteness. Africa as a region was a relative newcomer to the German cultural sphere, which allowed it to be more easily mapped and remapped with new commercial motifs. Most Germans, like most Europeans, had never seen an African before but were relatively familiar with East Asian culture. While China was just as "exotic" and certainly distant enough to never be visited in person by most Europeans, "300 years of imported decorated porcelain (as one example) presented an imposing corpus of Chinese illustration," leaving more to the imagination with Africa than with China.[28] Ever since the days of the Silk Road, China had been a point of aspiration for anyone interested in trading with luxury goods. What is more, China had been defined by centuries of literature pertaining to its reality and imaginary. Hence, while still sexist, *Figure 8*, "Unsere Blaujacken – Ander Städtchen, ander Mädchen!" (Our Blue-Jackets - Another town, another maiden!), features an East Asian woman fully attired in garments that are much more authentic than the outfits worn by the African women on these postcards.

*Figure 8: "Unsere Blaujacken – Ander Städtchen, ander Mädchen!" [Our Blue-Jackets - Another town, another maiden!]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

To emphasize the comparatively respectful portrayal of the East Asian (Chinese) woman in *Figure 8*, we include here three more examples of postcards featuring non-Chinese Indigenous women, namely, *Figure 9*, where an Indigenous woman is kneeling before a sailor who is eating the food she has provided; *Figure 10*, where a sailor is gazing (romantically?!) at a shirtless Indigenous woman who is wearing the infamous necklace made of teeth; and *Figure 11*, where an Indigenous woman in a rather revealing dress listens to an accordion-playing sailor.

[28] Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire*, 212.

*Figure 9: "Unsere Marine – O wie herrlich, o wie schön ist ein solches Wiederseh'n" [Our Navy - O how lovely, o how beautiful is such a reunion!]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

*Figure 10: "Unsere Marine – Du kennst mein Herz noch lange nicht!" [Our Navy – You do not know my heart yet!]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

*Figure 11: "Unsere Marine – Wenn jemand eine Reise tut, so kann er was erzählen!" [Our Navy – When someone goes on a journey, he can tell a story!]. Image Courtesy of deutsche-schutzgebiete.de.*

*Conclusion*

Often overshadowed by Britain and France in the scholarly discourse on colonialism, the German Empire maintained its own considerable colonial holdings in Africa and East Asia. Much like the British, the French, and their other European and American counterparts, Germans were able to achieve supremacy in their colonies through warfare and military might. To safeguard these newly acquired territories, the German Empire needed scores of young men who would conquer the lands and their inhabitants; who would defend the colonies against potential internal and external adversaries; and who would help celebrate the glory of these "virgin" lands to attract White settlers from the homeland and thus alleviate any perceived or real threats of overpopulation in Europe. The "golden age" of postcards contributed to the latter by romanticizing and objectifying nature and Indigenous women, thus serving as a key propaganda strategy to recruit young Germans for the Empire's colonial endeavors overseas.

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Ian Woodson Fisher

# *Darius Milhaud and His French "Saudades" of Brazil (1917-1919)*

ABSTRACT: *This article evaluates the relationship between French composer Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) and his experiences in Brazil (1917-1919). By examining the socio-political environment of Brazil during and after Milhaud's stay, its impact on the composer's music produced thereafter, and the internal pressures of French cosmopolitan musical aesthetics acting on the composer, it argues that the connections between Milhaud and his time in Brazil can be viewed as a complex dynamic of cultural discourse and synthesis, which challenges the existing frameworks of cultural hegemony used to interpret post-colonial history.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; France; Brazil; Darius Milhaud; Les Six; music; samba; inter-war art; post-colonial studies; discourse theory*

## *Introduction*

Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) was an itinerant French composer whose music can best be described as a kaleidoscopic blend of tuneful melody with jarring harmony and orchestration. Nowhere else in his *œuvre* is this more apparent than in the works from his youthful 1917-1919 period when he served as an assistant to his friend Paul Claudel (1868-1955), a playwright, dramatist, and the French ambassador to Brazil. Milhaud and Claudel's pilgrimage to Rio de Janeiro during a time when both France and Brazil were in the middle of World War I provides unique insight into the ways in which inter- and post-war French art music saw itself, and how it incorporated influences that were exterior to the traditional canon of French composers like Jean-Philippe Rameau, Georges Bizet, Jules Massenet, and Camille Saint-Saëns.[1] The narrow band of time and place which occupies this article can be taken as a significant—and typical—proxy for the larger frame of "art music" as a whole. The struggle with anti-authoritarianism and rebellion, taste and style, cultural appropriation, and the search for the "new" is a theme shared by many artists both in Milhaud's time and today.

While in Brazil, Milhaud and Claudel collaborated on an experimental ballet, *L'homme et son désir* ("Man and his Desire"), and after the conclusion of the war and his return to France, Milhaud wrote another ballet, *Le bœuf sur le toit* ("The Cow on the Roof") and his more popular suite for piano, *Saudades do Brasil*

[1] Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) was a leading French musical theorist and composer; Georges Bizet (1838-1875) composed the famous opera *Carmen* (1874); Jules Massenet (1842-1912) taught a generation of composers from Gustave Charpentier (famous for *España*) to Reynaldo Hahn; and Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921) was a patriarch of French music in his last decades, famous for decrying the premiere of Igor Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps* (1913). See J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 10th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2018).

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("Longing for Brazil"), each of which demonstrates different stages in Milhaud's adoption of Brazilian culture.[2]

This article focuses on the influence of Brazilian culture and style on Milhaud's music in the context of postcolonial cultural transmission, appropriation, and discourse theory. Milhaud wrote prolifically during his stay in Brazil, and his collaboration with Claudel demonstrates the ways in which he sought to incorporate the sounds and rhythm of his environment into his music. Written documentation of Milhaud and Claudel's stay in Brazil in the form of contemporary interviews, a comprehensive body of correspondence, lectures and articles, and Milhaud's own autobiographical writings serve as tangible sources to interpret the complexities of both the interwar Brazilian *Zeitgeist* and Milhaud's own internal machinations.[3]

While there have been efforts to examine Milhaud's canonical position as a member of *Les Six*,[4] as well as efforts to understand the complex dynamics internal to Brazil with regard to art and class awareness, none so far have looked to use Milhaud-as-composer as a vehicle to examine the relationship between Brazil and cosmopolitan Europe. This article seeks to do just that, exposing both the dangers of essentialized cultural appropriation as well as the power and agency exercised by both—or, rather, all—parties in the discourse of participating in art culture, such as with local Brazilian musicians and composers like Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) and Ernesto Nazareth (1863-1934).[5] This article argues that the exchange of art culture between Brazil (and by proxy other colonial properties) and France is not as simple as the unilateral appropriation of colonial culture by a dominant cultural hegemony; instead, it is a discourse, an ongoing dialogue where power structures and symbols of status are contested and altered. This discourse

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[2] See Darius Milhaud, *L'homme et son desir* (Vienna: Universal Editions, 1966); Darius Milhaud, *Le bœuf sur le toit* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1969); Darius Milhaud, *Saudades do Brasil* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig; London: Schott, 1922).

[3] See Darius Milhaud, *Ma vie heureuse (My Happy Life)* (first published 1962; New York: M. Boyars, 1995), as well as his early autobiographical essay *Études* (Paris: Éditions Claude Aveline, 1927); and Madeleine Milhaud and Roger Nichols, *Conversations with Madeleine Milhaud* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996). For Milhaud's time in Brazil from Paul Claudel's perspective, see Paul Claudel, *Correspondance, 1899-1926,* ed. André Gide and Robert Mallet (Paris: Gallimard, 1949).

[4] *Les Six* was a loosely bound group of young composers, consisting of Georges Auric (1899-1983), Louis Durey (1888-1979), Arthur Honegger (1892-1955), Francis Poulenc (1899-1963), Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983), and Milhaud. The movement's figurehead was Jean Cocteau (1889-1963) at first, but the group was later adopted by Erik Satie (1866-1925).

[5] See Barbara L. Kelly, *Tradition and Style in the Works of Darius Milhaud 1912-1939* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003); Richard Graham, *A Century of Brazilian History since 1865: Issues and Problems* (New York: Knopf, 1969); *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Robert Levine and John Crocitti (first published 1999; Durham: Duke University Press, 2019); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (first published 1978; New York: Vintage Books, 1979); and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Carly Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988), 271-313.

is complex and multilateral, and in Milhaud's case it illustrates how artists are able to live on the periphery of one adopted culture while simultaneously bringing new life to their own.

First, this article examines the events of Milhaud's stay in Brazil and what types of music he heard in order to explore the internal dynamics of Brazilian art culture as it existed during the early twentieth century. Next, it considers the French perspective on interwar art and the goals associated with that view—masculinity, restraint, and the mixing of the two "French" identities, using examples from before and after World War I. Lastly, it looks to the contents of Milhaud's musical output most directly related to his time in Brazil, namely, his two ballets and his piano suite, *Saudades do Brasil*.

*I. Nossa música*

Milhaud's arrival in Rio de Janeiro in 1917, alongside Claudel, was a jarring experience for the composer in more than one way. Their steamer ship arrived on the first of February, with winds bearing a Southern Hemisphere weather which according to Milhaud was a "blazing hot day like midsummer."[6] More than the weather and the royal fan palms which were "sometimes more than two hundred feet in height and crowned with swaying fronds," however, his impressions of Brazilian music were even more astonishing:[7]

> For six weeks the whole populace is passionately given over to dancing and singing. There is always one song that wins more favor than the others, and thereby becomes the "Carnival Song." Thus "Pelo Telefone," the Carnival song for 1917, was to be heard wherever one went, ground out by little orchestras in front of the cinemas in the *Avenida* […] whistled and sung after a fashion in every house—and it haunted us all winter.[8]

The music Darius Milhaud heard during his stay in Brazil was a cacophony of different styles. They were not just traditional Brazilian genres either—as a Southern Hemisphere metropolis, Rio de Janeiro had music from all over the globe. Songs by Glauco Velasquez and Ernesto Nazareth meant for the *Carnaval* were, of course, very popular, but there were also performances by the *Ballets Russes* which were wintering in Rio, and private performances of music by Milhaud's own French contemporaries such as Erik Satie by other members of the Brazilian *élite* like Nininha Veloso-Guerra.[9] Milhaud was receptive to (and often participated in) everything he heard in some fashion—not just one idealized or

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[6] Darius Milhaud, *Notes without Music: An Autobiography*, trans. Donald Evans (New York: Knopf, 1953), 69.

[7] Milhaud, *Notes without Music*, 70.

[8] Milhaud, *Notes without Music*, 74.

[9] Satie was a French composer, graduate of the *Schola Cantorum de Paris* (a rival of the Paris *Conservatoire*), and father-figure to many in the new generation of composers emerging from the period of 1910-1925, such as Milhaud, Poulenc, and Auric. Satie famously provided the incidental music to Cocteau's *Parade* (1917), which also featured set design by Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) and choreography by Léonide Massine (1896-1979).

stereotyped version of Brazilian music which he thought might be reproduceable overseas.

Milhaud's contact with Brazilian culture during the *Carnaval* left a lasting impression, particularly in the ways he noted the trends and popularity of the music instead of its musical characteristics. While Milhaud was given to occasionally indulging in armchair musicology, his autobiographical writings are strangely void of concrete details about the music he heard. He was by no means an *amanuensis*, but in the end the composer needed something more tangible than just his ear to make use of his Brazilian experience in his own compositions. Specifically, this came in the form of published songbooks. "Pelo Telefone," the particular song referenced by Milhaud in the passage above, was a *samba* by the Afro-Brazilian artist Donga (Ernesto Maria dos Santos). As a musical practice, *samba* was rife with its own internal complexities concerning musical ownership, and the question of *nossa música*, or "our music," was by 1917 a burgeoning debate inside Brazil concerning the role of Afro-Brazilian influence in the oncoming "golden age" of Latin music.[10] In point of fact, the term *samba* itself was hotly contested when it came to its application as a musical genre: "Pelo Telefone" is musically a *maxixe*, but the term *samba carnavalesco* came to represent a wide variety of different popular Brazilian music through the 1920s, irrespective of the music's previous taxonomy.

Since the overthrow of the Brazilian emperor Dom Pedro II in 1889, the First Republic of Brazil had maintained a delicate balance, a struggle which reached from the seats of power all the way down to the music-making on the streets and in private homes. Between traditional monarchists, the vast but diffuse polity of rural and agricultural communities, and the equally vast *latifundios* of wealthy Brazilians, the Republic had not emerged pristine from some national cocoon from the previous order. Instead, the shaping of the new national identity was a complex discourse, of which the *samba* was only a part.[11] The revolts against the First Republic beginning in 1924 were an indication that this balance of power, both racially and socioeconomically, was not permanent or static. Populist movements like the *tenente* movement, rooted in a need for social reforms like public education and secret ballots, brought together the two necessary components for a successful revolt: an awareness of the discrimination caused by *coronelismo* (the Brazilian term for the stratified system of patronage on the *latifundios*) and the popular support necessary for the movement to gain meaningful traction.[12] Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul, Brazilian provinces

[10] Marc A. Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 94.

[11] See Roger A. Kittleson, *The Practice of Politics in Postcolonial Brazil: Porto Alegre, 1845-1895* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006).

[12] Robert Scheina, *Latin America's Wars* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, Inc., 2003), 130. See also Neill Macaulay, *The Prestes Column: Revolution in Brazil* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974).

which had long existed in an unstable so-called "coffee with milk" diplomatic alliance with the much wealthier São Paulo, led the 1930 coup to install Getúlio Vargas, thus ending the First Republic and signaling a rejection of the status quo. Liberalism, constitutionalism, and class consciousness were not always aligned in Brazil as they were in other places, and the 1930 coup reflects this: São Paulo was associated with coffee oligarchies and *latifundios*, but also urbanization and liberalism, while Minas Gerais wielded both the new political capital of Marxism and the discontented cattle oligarchs of Brazil's rural southern parts.[13]

This complexity was reflected in the country's musical culture. *Nossa música*, the wide musical umbrella under which the forging of the new *samba* genre fell, was a process that had begun long before "Pelo Telefone," but which the 1917 *Carnaval* song had helped to shape. The process continued into the 1930s during the ascension of Vargas's regime, and it eventually shaped a phenomenon of the 1950s and 1960s which Brazilian musical scholar Sean Stroud has called the "MBP," the "Música Popular Brasileira."[14]

Fortunately for the rest of us, Milhaud was dropped "right in the middle" of a Brazilian cultural moment which exposed him to the full gamut of experience for this specific song, "Pelo Telefone," and its attendant complexities. This included the song's popular adoption, per Milhaud, as the "Carnival song of 1917," along with its redefinition of the Brazilian *maxixe* and *choro* into a new genre, the *samba*, which carried its own archaic and peculiarly Brazilian connotations. The *samba* and many of the other forms of Afro-Latin musical forms we are familiar with today—the *mambo*, *bossa nova*, *rumba*, *guaguancó*, *tango*, and others—are a mixture of Portuguese, African, and indigenous elements which interact in unexpected ways as a reflection of two counterbalancing forces: the "catechization," or more accurately Europeanization, of indigenous and African communities, and the opposing force of multiculturalism, to which early ethnomusicological scholarship has uncharitably referred as "miscegenation."[15]

Perhaps the best example of these diverse origins can be found in the rhythmic heartbeat of *son clave*—"clave music" or "key pattern"—in Afro-Latin music.[16] There are several components to this basic rhythmic pattern, all performed on a deceptively simple set of hardwood sticks, the eponymous "claves." First is the cross-beat, or polyrhythm, that is generated from the presence of multiple so-

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[13] Teresa Meade, *A Brief History of Brazil*, 2nd ed. (first published 2009; New York: Infobase Publishing, 2010), 123.

[14] See Sean Stroud, *The Defence of Tradition in Brazilian Popular Music: Politics, Culture and the Creation of Música Popular Brasileira* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

[15] Lila M. Wistrand, "Music and Song Texts of Amazonian Indians," *Ethnomusicology* 13, no. 3 (1969): 469-488, here 473.

[16] David Peñalosa, *The Clave Matrix: Afro-Cuban Rhythm: Its Principles and African Origins* (Redway, CA: Bembe Inc, 2012), 255.

called "beats" that are layered together.[17] Rather than being a temporary metrical change, or a transitory device from one beat to another, these cross-beats, like the *tresillo* ("triplet" in Spanish, but this translation is misleading), are the fundamental basis of an entire piece. The clave instrument itself could never totally represent the rhythmic complexity of the beat, but when combined with the various other layers of rhythm—the *agogo* (multi-pitched bells struck with wood), *conga* drum, *guiro*, or *cabaça*—it creates a composite which, while seemingly contradictory or bipolar, is actually part of "the same *Gestalt* [fundamental character]," to borrow a phrase from ethnomusicologist Kofi Agawu.[18] These inseparable layers of polyrhythms, while expressed differently in different genres of Afro-Latin music, are foundational to their structure.

The clave beat was inherited most likely from Sub-Saharan Africa, but it is not the only element of the *samba* which came to mingle in Brazil. As a result, the question of cultural ownership in the practice is complicated, especially when it comes to dance styles oriented in a communal setting. "Pelo Telefone" in its original recording performance, for instance, did not have a rhythm section at all, yet the feeling of the *son clave* is still present.[19]

Authorship and ownership in these types of settings are not neatly categorized in ways to which the Western musical press is accustomed, and as such, identifying any component of ownership in the "song" (that is, the notional idea of the song which is transmitted from place to place, not the particular performance) becomes a challenge. It is a challenge today just as it was when "Pelo Telefone" was first circulating. A letter from the credited author/lyricist for the popular song, published in *A Noticia* (a Brazilian journal) in 1917, was produced in response to glowing reviews of the song by the critic "Arlequim," the pen name of Paulo Cabrita, which demonstrates this conundrum in real time:

> I should tell you, my dear Arlequim, as a way to honor the truth, that the verses of friendly [*simpático*] Donga's *samba carnavalesco* "Pelo telephone," are not original. Or, better yet, they

[17] With regard to the terminology used here, "polyrhythm" is understood as distinct from "polymeter" which is, confoundingly, also a musical device that produces sonic complexity. With polyrhythm, the "meter" (think of it like the metronomic ticking of a clock) is consistent, but the emphasis in different layers is unique. In polymeter, to extend the metaphor, the clock itself is changing its ticking. To further complicate things, Milhaud and his later colleagues like Edgar Varèse (1883-1965) and Olivier Messiaen (1908-1992) used one or both techniques, sometimes in the same piece. See Darius Milhaud, *La creation du monde*, Op. 81a (1923), Edgar Varèse, *Ionisation* (1931), Olivier Messiaen, *Quatuor pour la fin du temps* (1941).

[18] Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 92.

[19] Lindsay Walsh, "Brazil is Samba: Rhythm, Percussion, and *Samba* in the Formation of Brazilian National Identity (1902-1958)" (Honors thesis, Wesleyan University, 2010).

> are not mine. I took them from popular ballads and did what numerous playwrights running around today do: I put them in order, arranging them into music. Nothing more.[20]

By 1917, Brazil was musically a thoroughly "modern" place, replete with domestic recording studios and broadcast industries, the proliferation of sheet music, and other technological facets which mirrored Europe at the time. Music which came from communities generally silenced or under-represented, however, with no clear "author," offered an existential crisis of kinds for a modern Brazil because they sought for some way to categorize the music along the lines of author/composer/lyricist/artist, with similar crises faced by the United States and Europe when importing this music. The *samba* is above all a principle of dance and a community activity—a *roda do samba*, or a kind of circle for dancing—which has its roots in West African and Cape Verdean culture.[21]. Dance and community are so intertwined in *samba* that the *samba* band, often called the *bateria*,[22] is also present for another activity not commonly seen as music at all, namely, the *capoeira*, which is a Brazilian martial art with very strong connections to rhythm. The paradigm of sole ownership for music is contrary to many musical traditions (*samba* being just one example) where music is an activity to be shared—especially before the widespread use of printing and music recording.[23] With the crisis of attribution in Brazil came a sort of blindness: on the part of not only European observers like Milhaud (who had observed that "on the fringes of the forest lived descendants of the Nordic races who had reverted to savagery and now inhabited miserable huts, surrounded by a horde of half-naked children"[24]), but also from the music industry itself in Brazil, which with each adaptation of "Pelo Telefone" separated it further from its origins.

Milhaud was receptive to all the music he found in Rio de Janeiro, but he did carry his own preconceptions and prejudice about culture and the ever-fraught terms and conditions of "art."[25] Upon his return to Paris, Milhaud expounded on what he perceived as the misplaced priorities of the Brazilian musical scene in the

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[20] Joao Mauro de Almeida, "No reinado de Momo . . . uma carta do Mauro," *A Notícia*, 24 January 1917, reproduced in Flávio Silva, "Pelo telefone e a história do samba," *Revista Cultura* 8, no. 28 (1978): 64-74, here 70.

[21] Hertzman, *Making Samba*, 94-97.

[22] Loosely, "battery," but more likely with the implication of "rhythm section."

[23] See Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998); and Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (first published 1977; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985). Both works address the sociological construction of music and the roles of performers, listeners, and "authors" (as much as they exist) as participants in a system apart from the musical "object."

[24] Milhaud, *Notes without Music*, 72.

[25] For a discussion of the cultural framing of art, see, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, trans. Richard Nice (first published 1979; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); Arthur Danto, *What Art Is* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); and Monroe C. Beardsley, "What is an Aesthetic Quality?" *Theoria* 9 (1973): 50-70.

journal *La revue musicale*. *La revue musicale* was a forward-thinking periodical founded by Henri Prunières, a prominent French musicologist, in 1920 to help "dispel the public's ignorance and its absurd biases" around the state of modern music in France, a scene which had formerly been predominated by staunchly nationalist sentiment.[26] While Milhaud likely intended to beneficently turn Brazilian *élite* back toward Brazilian music like Nazareth's *tangos* instead of foreign music like his own creations or the works of Igor Stravinsky performed by the *Ballets Russes*, it also reveals the obfuscation of essential parts of Brazilian musical culture by placing "the jewel of Brazilian Art" into the hands of significantly Western-oriented composers:

> It would be desirable that Brazilian musicians realized the importance of the composers of *tangos*, *maxixes*, *sambas*, and *caterêtes*, like Tupinambá and a genius such as [Ernesto] Nazareth […] The rhythmic richness, the ever renewed fantasy, the verve, the drive, the prodigious melodic invention which one finds in each work of those two masters, make them the glory and jewel of Brazilian Art.[27]

These aspects which Milhaud identifies as the truly great aspects of Brazilian music—rhythmic richness, melody, and the "verve" of complex syncopation—are undoubtedly present in Nazareth's music, but Nazareth was not the only source of "genius" in that respect and certainly not the most appropriate source for the roots which made Brazilian music so unique. For instance, Milhaud fails to mention any specific component of Brazilian rhythm which he could identify as unique (or at the very least he declined to do so) or any experiences where cultural practices like *samba* were elemental and unadulterated. On the other hand, however, Brazilian music was free to take what it would from the musical cultures of the Portuguese who had long been the hegemonic cultural power there, a fact which complicates the relationships of power in the musical discourse between the two. Brazilian music was the *samba* and the *maxixe*, but it was *also* Nazareth, Villa-Lobos, and even Milhaud—to the extent that his music was written in and around Brazilian culture and that some of it had even been performed in Brazil.

Milhaud's most concrete work with Brazilian influences, *Le bœuf sur le toit*, has been thoroughly catalogued by Brazilian scholars like Aloysio Alencar Pinto and

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[26] Frédéric Lefèvre and Henri Prunières, "Nouvelles Littéraires," *La revue musicale* 10, no. 98 (1929): 91: "Le devoir du critique musical digne de ce nom me semble être de tenter les plus grands efforts pour dissiper l'ignorance du public et ses préventions absurdes, lui faire aimer à la fois l'art du passé qu'il ne soupçonne pas et l'art du présent qu'il abomine *a priori*. C'est dans cet esprit que j'ai fondé en 1920 *La revue musicale*." See Michel Duchesneau, "*La revue musicale* (1920-1940) and the Founding of a Modern Music," in *Music's Intellectual History: Founders, Followers, and Fads*, ed. Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie (New York: RILM, 2009), 743-750.

[27] Darius Milhaud, "Brésil," *La revue musicale* 1 (1920): 60-61: "II serait souhaitable que les musiciens brésiliens comprissent l'importance des compositeurs de tangos, maxixes, sambas et cateretês comme Tupynamba et le genial Nazareth. [...] La richesse rythmique, la fantaisie indefiniment renouvelée, la verve, l'entrain, l'invention melodique d'une imagination prodigieuse, qui se trouvent dans chaque oeuvre de ces deux maîtres, font de ces derniers la gloire et le joyau de l'Art brésilien."

Manoel Aranha Corrêa do Lago, consistent with the composer's notes on the form, to reveal that his sources were mostly literary—meaning from published scores.[28] Milhaud's use of primarily written scores underlines how much his interpretation of Brazil, via his quotations in *Le bœuf*, was reliant on a version of Brazil that was already polished and editorialized for an audience who could read sheet music, rather than a more complete aural version of Brazil that could expand beyond the horizons of notated music. The sources include Nazareth and others who had published collections of Brazilian songs, and they were primarily from collections for the piano. Milhaud was therefore selectively filtering what qualified as "Brazilian" for the purposes of incorporating it into his *Saudades* from the outset and very inception of the music. This filter could be considered the second step of abstraction on Milhaud's part, which separated Brazilian music like "Pelo Telefone" by degrees even further from its origins. *Le bœuf* premiered in France, written by a French composer who had traveled to Brazil, had heard Brazilian music, and had picked up reams of sheet music to take home. To the degree that it reflects a variety of different interpretive decisions, it is an astounding feat of cultural transmission and transformation.

*II. Les Six*

To understand Milhaud's time in Brazil, the French perspective on its own interior artistic culture is just as important to explore as the Brazilian styles to which Milhaud was exposed: issues of novelty, masculinity, restraint, and expression dominated the conversation in the 1920s when Milhaud was associated with the musical group *Les Six*. Contrary to the more recent theoretical understanding of sociologists like Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (of *The Invention of Tradition* fame), Milhaud saw his French heritage and tradition as a concrete phenomenon:

> One does not invent a tradition; one receives it and works at it. It depends not only on the musician's tastes and his inward motivation, on those influences which are the result of the circumstances and events of his life, nor on his particular musical preferences but, above all, on the race to which he belongs.[29]

Milhaud's understanding of race, nationality, and the role of tradition is complex. It must be understood "in its place," which is to say 1920s France, a time when both race and nationality were key issues in the struggle with modernity.[30] As the opening line of his memoir puts it, Milhaud is a "Frenchman from Provence, and

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[28] See Aloysio Alencar Pinto, "Darius Milhaud e 'Le Bœuf sur le Toit'," in *Concert Program Temporada Oficial de Ballet de 1980: Os Olhos de Degas/Sarau de Sinhd/O Boi no Telhado* (Rio de Janeiro: Teatro Municipal/Funarj, 1980); and Manoel Aranha Corrêa do Lago, "Brazilian Sources in Milhaud's 'Le Bœuf sur le Toit': A Discussion and a Musical Analysis," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 23 no. 1 (2002): 1-59.

[29] Darius Milhaud, "The Evolution of Modern Music in Paris and in Vienna," *The North American Review* 217, no. 809 (1923): 544-554. See also Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (first published 1983; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[30] Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 29.

by religion a Jew."[31] He puts nationality first—as a Frenchman—but he inevitably had to deal with critics such as Louis Vuillemin who accused him of being an outsider (a Jew) responsible for undermining French culture from within.[32] Contemporaneous with the inherently anti-Semitic attacks leveled at him, there was a more insidious struggle taking place during the 1920s which bears closer scrutiny: a battle between visions for the future of European music in general, succinctly invoked in the phrase "polytonality versus atonality."

While it was not quite as dualistic as a simple fight between two rival camps, the debate between methods of atonality (seen most prominently in the works of Arnold Schoenberg) and polytonality, like those expressed by Milhaud and his associates, reflects deeper phenomena about the cultural imagination of France and Europe as a whole, something which was addressed by the philosopher Karl Mannheim as early as 1927.[33] Milhaud himself tackled this topic head-on in an essay in *La revue musicale*, appropriately titled "Polytonalité et atonalité."[34] Polytonality in this case can best be understood as the super-imposition of music in different keys simultaneously—a technique employed by Charles Koechlin, Stravinsky, and Milhaud, as well as later composers of repute like Sergei Prokofiev.[35] Atonality, on the other hand, was seen as the culmination of a tradition of dissonance that had evolved over two centuries of music in Austria and Germany, from Mozart and Beethoven to Chopin, Liszt, and Wagner, all of whom had stretched the limits of the perception of tonality writ large.[36] At the center of this debate was the question of which music reflected the aesthetic ideals and artistic *dicta* of the new French nationalism—a discourse which had already been co-opted by Jean Cocteau in his periodical *Le Coq et L'arlequin*.[37] Henri Collet, the journalist credited for creating the term, saw the polytonality of *Les Six* as a

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[31] Milhaud, *Notes without Music*, 3.

[32] Louis Vuillemin, "Musique et Nationalisme," *Le courrier musical et théâtral*, February 15, 1923, 65. See also Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 27.

[33] For a discussion of cultural imagination, see Paul Ricoeur, "Ideology and Utopia as Cultural Imagination," *Philosophic Exchange* 7, no. 1 (1976): 17-28. See also Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, trans. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (first published 1929; London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936).

[34] Darius Milhaud, "Polytonalité et atonalité," *La revue musicale* 4, no. 4 (1923): 29-44. See also François de Médicis, "Darius Milhaud and the Debate on Polytonality in the French Press of the 1920s," *Music and Letters* 86, no. 4 (2005): 573-591.

[35] A good example of early polytonality can be found in Igor Stravinsky's ballet *Le sacre du printemps (The Rite of Spring)* (1913), as well as more explicitly in his *Petroushka* (1911). In *Petroushka*, there are moments where two keys most distantly related to each other, C major and F# major, are played in succession or simultaneously—to great effect.

[36] Idiomatic examples of this aggressive re-definition of harmony can be found in works such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, String Quartet No. 19 in C major, "Dissonance," K. 465 (1785); Ludwig van Beethoven, *Grosse Fuge* for string quartet, Op. 133 (1825); Richard Wagner, *Tristan und Isolde*, WWV 90 (1865).

[37] See Jean Roy, *Le Groupe des Six* (Paris: Seuil, 1994), 190-210.

road to paradoxical simplicity: "They take the complexities of polytonality as a point of departure eventually to arrive at simplicity."[38] Milhaud himself defined the French musical ideals as containing "a certain clarity, sobriety, ease, moderation within romanticism, and care for the proportions of the design and construction of a composition, with the desire of achieving precise, straightforward and concise expression."[39]

Opposed to this, in principle, was the over-indulgence and excess of Wagnerian romanticism, which most of *Les Six* uniformly detested. While Claude Debussy, who garnered late acclaim for works like his opera *Pelléas et Melisande* (1902), was viewed as a staple of the French musical establishment and perhaps even the embodiment of French musical style, *Les Six* had musically moved on from his "enchanting vagueness."[40] Last to the scene in France was Schoenberg, himself Austrian, who enjoyed a brief and controversial popularity in the new music scene of Paris in the 1920s, and who had struck upon his conception of atonality in response to his own great personal distress and the encouragement of the expressionist movement in Germany.[41]

The collection of Milhaud's writings from the 1920s, *Études*, contains most of his thoughts on a variety of topics, including his fellow composers, his critics, and the debate between classicism and romanticism, and between atonality and polytonality, among others. Milhaud's vision for French music is sometimes paradoxical, for it embraces the purity and simplicity of works by Satie and Stravinsky (particularly *Mavra*), but Milhaud still held that the direction of new music was "not incompatible with romanticism"—an embrace of Wagner and Debussy, albeit through a certain filter which Milhaud often referred to as "Mediterranean lyricism."[42]

The French musical establishment, through voices like Vincent d'Indy (founder of the *Schola Cantorum de Paris*), had been staunchly anti-Wagnerian long before the hostilities of World War I. D'Indy and critics like Vuillemin sought to define French nationalism in opposition to perceived German influences, particularly in works by Schoenberg. Oftentimes this led to the exclusion by the French establishment of composers like Louis Durey, Satie and Milhaud who rebelled

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[38] Henri Collet, in Roy, *Groupe des Six*, 201: "Quelle est en somme l'esthétique musicale des Six? Ils partent de la complexité *polytonique* pour trouver la simplicité."

[39] Darius Milhaud, "La Musique française depuis la guerre," in *Études* (Paris: Éditions Claude Aveline, 1927), 7-26, here 11.

[40] Roy, *Groupe des Six*, 201. See also Claude Debussy, *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*, L. 86 (1894). The piece was composed as a "musical illustration" after a poem by Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898), a Symbolist poet for whom Debussy had great affection.

[41] See Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black and Dika Newlin (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975); Arnold Schoenberg, *Pierrot Lunaire*, Op. 21 (1912); Arnold Schoenberg, *Drei Klavierstücke*, Op. 11 (1909); Alban Berg, Piano Sonata, Op. 1 (1907).

[42] Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 40.

against the principles which had become enshrined in the music of Gabriel Fauré and Debussy.

In an unpublished article on Debussy (who was often the subject of criticism by writers in periodicals like *Le Coq*), Milhaud talks about the new primacy of linear melody and counterpoint in French music, both of which were features that would be accentuated by polytonality instead of obscured by the hard-to-sing leaps and intervals of atonal melodies: "We were in such need of an art that was robust, wholesome, and more contrapuntal in expression, where feelings of the greatest purity and tenderness could be conveyed with simplicity."[43] Aside from the gentle swipe at Schoenberg, Milhaud was also making plain his complicated feelings concerning Debussy: genius, but inimitable and outdated, representative of an artistic style which was no longer relevant. Milhaud often made light of the connections between the aesthetic values of *Les Six* and the claim to French nationalism, and one important way in which he did this was by placing himself and his comrades in a distinct lineage of French composers who were already accepted as virtuous and patriotic. Milhaud, for instance, took as idols composers like Rameau, Hector Berlioz, Emmanuel Chabrier, and Albéric Magnard, who had all been accepted canonically.[44]

The stressing of "'horizontal" music over "vertical" music (linear melody over chords and theoretical harmony) in the works of *Les Six* offers a glimpse into the difference of analytical thought between composers who favored the neo-classical *simplicité* of Stravinsky's *Apollon Musagète* and Milhaud over the harmonically rich Wagnerians and *Debussystes*—a group in which the French establishment included contemporary composers like Koechlin and Schoenberg.[45]

*III. Quatre épices*

Milhaud's various interactions with Brazil and other foreign cultures in his music demonstrate the various layers of culture and assimilation present in any work of art, and the different stages of an artist's understanding of his own culture and the culture of others. Taking four different works by Milhaud: a song from the *mélodie* (French art song) cycle he wrote for Claudel's *Connaissance de l'Est*, his ballet *L'homme et son desir*, which was conceptualized and written primarily in Brazil, his later ballet *Le bœuf sur le toit*, and his piano suite *Saudades do Brasil*, we can examine how this exchange of culture affected both the artist's style and his conception of musical modernity.

In 1911, Milhaud was gifted a copy of Claudel's book of poems, *La Connaissance de l'Est*, by his friend Céline Lagouarde, and when the composer met his future

[43] Darius Milhaud, "Claude Debussy," unpublished article, reproduced partially in Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 10.

[44] See the figure in Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 35.

[45] Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 9-10.

collaborator in 1912, he had already set some of the latter's poems to music.[46] The fourth piece in the collection, "Ardeur," addresses the Claudel poem of the same name, and in its final moments reveals the intersection of Claudel's ardent Catholicism and Milhaud's ability to paint the text as a young composer:

> Let others flee beneath the earth, let them carefully wall up the openings of their homes /
> But a sublime heart, racked by love's torment, embraces fire and torture. /
> Sun, redouble your flames! It is not enough to burn. Consume! /
> I would suffer not to suffer enough. /
> Let nothing impure escape the furnace; let no blind spot escape the punishment of the light![47]

The most apparent feature transcends the purpose of this analysis dealing with cultural exchange—Claudel's literally "burning" devotion to his faith.[48] Identifying the impetus for the poem draws first the careful accounting of when the poem was written: in the midst of an oppressively hot summer day. This is, however, not the end of the story; Claudel's fascination with the sun can be fruitfully analyzed in its relation to another poem in the collection, "The Deliverance of Amaterasu," which artfully conflates his own ardor with the legends of the Shinto goddess.[49] Claudel, at the time, was the French ambassador to Japan (in addition to being a poet and playwright, he was a well-respected international diplomat), and his drawing together of aspects from his own internal life with an outside reference to his surroundings and the mythos of Japanese culture reflects an integration that was more complex than mere appropriation.

Milhaud's setting of this poem has many aspects in common with other *mélodies* of the time, particularly with the late works of Henri Duparc and Chabrier, such as its declamatory style (using the vernacular pronunciation of French), the harmonic ambiguity, and the careful attention to vocal range and ease of singing despite the complexity of the piano accompaniment. This Milhaud of 1912 had not yet been to Brazil and had just begun on the path of multicultural adaptation that would characterize the rest of his career. He, like many of the other composers of his era, began his career by attaching himself to a contemporary poet and setting their words to music, a tradition in *mélodie* that had long roots: Saint-Saëns and Victor Hugo, Debussy and Stéphane Mallarmé, Duparc and Charles Baudelaire.

*L'homme et son desir*, on the other hand, was a head-first dive into the unknown for Milhaud. He describes his creative inspiration thus:

> […] we were in constant contact with the virgin forest and its mysteries. I shall never forget how, at the sunset, the nocturnal sounds of the forest burst forth suddenly, the simple life-noises of little animals of all kinds […] vibrating together in a richness of undreamed-of

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[46] Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 45.

[47] Paul Claudel, *Knowing the East* [Connaissance de l'Est), trans. James Lawler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 53.

[48] James Lawler, in Claudel, *Knowing the East*, 127.

[49] Claudel, *Knowing the East*, 105-109.

> tonalities, dominated by the lianes and the orchids […] If one could hear percussion played in a sustained *pianissimo* one might have somewhat the same impression.[50]

As one of Milhaud's most important works (perhaps not in popularity, but as a turning point in his career), *L'homme* acts as a musical response to Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps* ("The Rite of Spring"), which had washed over the Parisian music press like a storm in 1913. As with Stravinsky's ballet, the premise of *L'homme et son desir* was "savage and furtive movements […] sudden, extremely rapidly and hurried," and featured heretofore unheard independence in the various instruments of the ensemble. In *Le sacre du printemps*, the unnamed and primal vernal ritual is based on Stravinsky's own culture, with Russian folktale and melody finding their way into the work on an explicit level.[51] In *L'homme*, this primitivism had a different root: Brazil. Curiously absent from the written score, however, is any adaptation of actual Brazilian music, apart from the syncopation, where Milhaud conflated the Brazilian "catch of the breath" (the ineffable pause, much like the suspended notion of timing felt in Viennese waltzes) with the hypnotic patterns of the forest.[52]

Upon his return to Paris after the war, Milhaud's joy was tinged "with a certain nostalgic regret," having fallen in love with Brazil.[53] The memory of his time there preoccupied him, and Milhaud composed *Le bœuf sur le toit* nearly on a whim, as a "*fantasia* […] suitable for an accompaniment to one of Charlie Chaplin's films."[54] He endeavored to gather whatever he could of Brazilian music while in Paris—*tangos*, *samba*, *maxixes*, and some Portuguese *fado* music. Corrêa do Lago has described the work as a veritable "anthology of Rio and São Paulo popular music at the end of World War I."[55] *Le bœuf* was born as a somewhat lurid cabaret piece, and eventually became the name of a very popular avant-garde cabaret club in Paris, which (as Milhaud attests) was frequently mistaken as the source of inspiration for the piece when, in fact, the opposite was the case.

The nature of Milhaud's acquisition and use of "Brazilian" sources speak to the relationship between Brazil and Europe. Edward Said, in his seminal 1978 text *Orientalism*, describes this mutually constitutive process as one where the neatly categorized understanding (Brazilian folk melody being the proxy) of a foreign place becomes more than just a representation of that place; it becomes the place itself, as personal understandings shape the actual world. The experiences and

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[50] Darius Milhaud, "The Influence of Latin-American Music on My Work," reproduced partially in Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 54.

[51] For reference, see Igor Stravinsky, *The Firebird (L'oiseux de feu)* (1910), an amalgamation of various components of Slavic folklore—from the mythical Firebird to the stereotypical protagonist, Koschei the Immortal.

[52] Milhaud, *Notes without Music*, 75.

[53] Milhaud, *Notes without Music*, 86.

[54] Milhaud, *Notes without Music*, 101-102.

[55] Corrêa do Lago, "Brazilian Sources," 6.

relationships which formed Milhaud's *Saudades* and his ballets were mutually constitutive in the same sense: Milhaud was participating in Brazilian culture as much as the culture was operating within him, even though he had largely remained on the periphery and only lived in the country comparatively briefly. Milhaud's ballet did not single-handedly begin this far away view of nonwestern foreign mystique, but taken on a field of similar works across art forms, ranging from Paul Gauguin's paintings in Tahiti to Debussy's piano prelude "Pagodes" in his collection *Estampes*, the mutual constitution that Said lays out is recognizable in the techniques used in those pieces. For Gauguin, the simplistic primitivism of lines and color are meant to invoke the backwards simplicity of the Tahitian islands, while with Debussy the musical construction (pentatonic scales, for instance, along with plenty of open intervals and "planing")[56] is very deliberately meant to represent the Orient, or the "Other." For Milhaud, the polytonality itself—the multitudes of voices, all independent and individually unintelligible—is what portrays the environment of Brazil.

Milhaud's final overture to Brazil is found in his suite for piano: *Saudades do Brasil* is the most complete synthesis of his time there and, much like *Le bœuf*, serves as a quasi-catalogue of the experiences Milhaud found vital. In it one can find as close to a true expression of the *son clave* rhythm as in any work by a non-Latin composer, but it is intertwined with Milhaud's own particular style and inventions: the polytonal melodies at odds with the rest of the piece ("the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing"), the layering of rhythm and syncopation, and a general air of restraint and understatement, all of which were fundamental parts of Milhaud's compositional repertoire.

Returning briefly to "Pelo Telefone," the Carnaval *samba* which Milhaud had heard incessantly during the first months of his stay, the trajectory of the song's transmission from West African roots to subaltern indigenous communities, into popular Brazilian culture, and from there to Milhaud's avant-garde ballet is a journey of alteration, or perhaps even adulteration from point to point. Each stage of transmission in this process, to use Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's concept of cultural hegemony, reflects the encroachment of epistemic violence in a rising scale of degree, obscuring the origin of the practice which is being transmitted.[57] Where the *samba* started as a community dance and music practice with diverse origins, it was transformed into a Brazilian ethno-national concept of *nossa música*; where it was a complex collection of timbre and uncategorizable influence, it became reduced to the notated score. On the other side, from Europe to Brazil, the effect could be described as one of increasing adoption of Western norms, like the incorporation of the Portuguese *fado* and *batuque* into syncretic cultural practices

[56] These compositional techniques are outside the domain of discussion for this article, but a fruitful resource relied upon by many music students is Miguel Roig-Francolí, *Understanding Post-Tonal Music* (first published 2007; Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2008).

[57] See Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 271-313.

like the *samba*, as well as more direct concessions like the widespread demand for European classical music—for instance, the *Ballets Russes* and sheet music from contemporary composers.

Cultural transmission is by itself a relatively inert concept, but when the dynamics of power are applied to it, as they are in Foucauldian discourse, the act of cultural transmission becomes laden with meaning, each act pushing and pulling significance and control between parties. Power among those groups is always unequal—whether internal to Brazil, between the owners of the Brazilian *latifundios* and their clientele, or external, as between Portugal or France and their former colonies.

*Conclusion*

There have been several forays into cataloguing Darius Milhaud's immense compositional output, as well as explorations of his style, but the dynamic between French art near the end of the colonial period and its "subject" cultures, even exotic places not under its direct domain, has not been adequately explored. Milhaud's *œuvre* is relatively accessible by scholars, and it is well documented, but the intricacies of unraveling subconscious trends, whether in art or the written word, can be a challenge under the best of circumstances. Critical theorists and scholars of subaltern studies have likewise examined other under-represented communities, but Brazil presents a stature and multiethnic complexity that has yet to be properly addressed by the field.

The history of the 1917 *samba* "Pelo Telefone" is an indication that Milhaud was immersed in an undercurrent of cultural norms half a world away from the comforts of Paris. Milhaud's prejudice (owing to his participation in French contemporary music) shaped his experiences into a form which he could digest, and of which he could then make use for a general public back in Paris. Milhaud was participating in a very broad, multilateral culture—both when he was in Brazil and when he was at home in Paris, and the particular history of influences which led to works like *Le bœuf sur le toit* and *Saudades do Brasil* is exemplary of artists' ability to live on the periphery of a culture, add to that culture in a substantive way, and incorporate outside influences into their own art. The popular *samba*'s reception, both in Brazil and by proxy in France through Milhaud's music, reveals the issues and intricacies that cultural transmission can often entail, but most importantly, it demonstrates that the artistic relationship—experience, influence, and product—works both ways.

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Eric Lomax

# *Warriors or Peacekeepers?*
# *British Colonial Police in Ireland (1919-1921) and Palestine (1920-1948)*

ABSTRACT: *This article analyzes the careers of colonial policemen who served the British Empire during the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921) and Mandatory Palestine (1920-1948). It primarily follows the memoirs of officers who served in both colonies such as Douglas Valder Duff (1901-1978) with supporting evidence that shows how vague mandates from the British capital eroded the line between soldier and police officer. The 1920 "Restoration of Order in Ireland Act" and the 1933 version of the "Prevention of Crime Ordinance" in Palestine are two examples of how British policy enabled colonial police to employ counterinsurgency tactics such as torture and collective punishment against civilian populations.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Britain; Ireland; Palestine; colonialism; policing; Irish War of Independence; Arab Revolt of 1936; Black-and-Tans (Royal Irish Constabulary); Douglas Valder Duff*

## *Introduction*

Violence against the Indigenous was a crucial strategy used by colonial powers in the twentieth century, however, agents of the United Kingdom prided themselves on policing "the British way." In contrast to King Leopold II's brutal reign in the Belgian Congo, the British claimed they were bringing law and order to their overseas territories.[1] Yet, the police tasked with enforcing this "lawful" rule did so with varying degrees of force. To fight the rebels during the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), Great Britain hired reinforcements for the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) from a large pool of recently unemployed World-War-I veterans. These so-called "Black-and-Tans" earned an infamous reputation for their policing methods which included torture, collective punishment, and property destruction. When the Irish War ended in 1921, several hundred of these officers continued their harsh policing methods as administrators in the newly conquered territory of Mandatory Palestine (1920-1948).

British officials in the 1920s and 1930s associated the influx of RIC officers into the British Gendarmerie and British Section of the Palestinian Police (BSPP) with Black-and-Tan tactics, but the historical evidence does not support this claim. Counterinsurgency tactics like torture and collective punishment developed in these situations because the British Parliament placed an impossible demand on these officers, namely, to enforce British law on subjects who were unwilling or unable to accept it. Douglas Valder Duff (1901-1978) served as a colonial policeman in both Ireland and Palestine, and his career shows how vague mandates from the British capital eroded the line between occupying soldier and peaceful lawman. An ambiguous policy toward native rights and a systemic lack

[1] Matthew Hughes, "The Banality of Brutality: British Armed Forces and the Repression of the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-39," *The English Historical Review* 124, no. 507 (2009): 313-354, here 315.

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of accountability led to an imperially sanctioned model of systematic retribution and fearmongering in the colonies. From Ireland to Palestine, the laws, the police, and their violent enforcement tactics adapted to benefit an imperialist nation.

*I. Ireland*

The trajectory of the Irish War of Independence changed when Parliament passed the *Restoration of Order in Ireland Act* of 1920, which introduced an auxiliary division to supplement the RIC's shrinking ranks. These auxiliaries were trained hastily, and their equipment sometimes amounted to little more than plain khaki coats and black trousers. One member of these Black-and-Tans, Douglas Valder Duff, recounted his three-day training as consisting of military drill exercises with firearms and grenades, concluding with a single hour-long lecture on law and police duties.[2] Other recruits without a military background affirmed this observation, stating that—while there was an emphasis on police training—the majority of the time was spent on military drills.[3] Nominally, the RIC were recruiting auxiliary policemen, but in reality they were training men to occupy a hostile nation instead of peacefully enforcing the law.

In addition to establishing these auxiliary units, the *Restoration of Order in Ireland Act* included stipulations which greatly expanded the power of courts-martial to replace trial by jury. Parliament did not shy away from declarations of martial law, and this bill facilitated the securing of convictions in areas of suspected Irish-Republican-Army (IRA) activities. While this initially had the desired effect of increasing convictions and raising officer morale, it ultimately caused the IRA to reorganize. Men avoiding arrest formed the notorious "flying columns" of "active service units, more suited to staging ambushes of patrols and convoys than attacks on individual police officers and barracks as before."[4] The conflict escalated as clashes now involved more men and were thus deadlier. The servicemen were not satisfied either: Duff felt that, if England intended to keep Ireland, the latter needed to be reconquered by military occupation instead of letting policemen die to preserve it.[5] Decisions and policies made in London often failed to address issues on the frontlines in Ireland, and this disconnect affected the poorly trained field officers. In this position, the RIC learned to apply flexible interpretations of the law to respond to escalating IRA attacks.

Even before the *Restoration of Order in Ireland Act*, provisions for RIC members in their own manuals had been vague. The 1909 sixth edition of *The Royal Irish*

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[2] Douglas V. Duff, *Sword for Hire: The Saga of a Modern Free-Companion* (first published 1934; London: J. Murray, 1937), 60-61.

[3] Tyler Krahe, "A History of Violence: British Colonial Policing in Ireland and the Palestine Mandate" (MA thesis, West Virginia University, 2016), 29.

[4] John Ainsworth, "British Security Policy in Ireland, 1920-1921: A Desperate Attempt by the Crown to Maintain Anglo-Irish Unity by Force," *The Australian Journal of Irish Studies* 1 (2001): 1-12, here 5.

[5] Duff, *Sword for Hire*, 77.

*Constabulary Manual, or Guide to the Discharge of Police Duties* described virtually all offenses from petty theft to treason. For hastily trained recruits like Duff, the manual was a reliable source of instruction on policing. However, the exact parameters were often vague, especially in sections relevant to political opponents. Conspiracy, for example, was defined as follows: "When two or more persons combine together to execute some act, so as to injure some third person or the public, they are guilty of a misdemeanour at common law."[6] To convict someone on this charge, one simply needed to convince a judge that there was *prima facie* evidence, meaning that there was an assumption of guilt unless proven otherwise. Taken together with the expanded power of courts-martial under the *Restoration of Order in Ireland Act*, this gave RIC members considerable leeway to arrest suspected IRA members without much evidence. Since courts-martial were conducted by the military, the *Restoration of Order in Ireland Act* eliminated civilian juries from cases in which suspects were accused of IRA affiliation. This was part of a continuous pattern in British policy to protect the imperial administration from real accountability, ultimately leading to an escalation in violence.

Another key definition in the RIC manual not only gave officers jurisdiction to break up crowds, it actively encouraged it. Unlawful assembly was defined in such a way that any gathering of three or more with a common purpose, whether legal or illegal, was unlawful if it was in "such a manner as to give firm and courageous persons in the neighbourhood of such assembly reasonable grounds to apprehend a breach of the peace in consequence of it."[7] Not only could individual officers disperse any crowd on these grounds, they were bound to break up any riot.[8] Duff described the aftermath of an ambush on his first day in service, when commoners were stampeding to get out of the streets while the Black-and-Tans were firing into the crowd.[9] While an armed response was a reasonable use of force against assailants, the readiness of the police to exact retribution against the crowd in Duff's example shows how common this practice had become.

Just as the British government was not sure whether they were sending soldiers or policemen into Ireland, the RIC themselves were unsure of their roles. From the outset, general morale within the RIC had been low. One of the first things Duff saw upon his arrival in Ireland were the coffins of policemen being shipped home.[10] Servicemen were well aware of the dangers associated with their work, but they lacked the spirit of their IRA opponents who were fighting for their freedom. In Duff's words, "we were mercenary soldiers fighting for our pay, not

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[6] Robert H. Curtis, ed., *The Royal Irish Constabulary Collection,* 6th ed. (1909; Dublin: Archive CD Books Ireland, 2011), 298.

[7] Curtis, ed., *Royal Irish Constabulary Collection*, 300.

[8] Curtis, ed., *Royal Irish Constabulary Collection*, 302.

[9] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 62.

[10] Duff, *Sword for Hire* 55.

patriots willing and anxious to die for our country."[11] This was true for the majority of soldiers who joined the RIC as an alternative to unemployment after the end of World War I. As Lt. Ernest Lycette (1891-1979) said of his time in Ireland, "[f]or some it was an adventure, but to the majority, it was a job as unemployment was very bad in England."[12] The ambiguous policy of colonial rule in Ireland was reflected in the mindset of the RIC and their auxiliaries. Based on whatever was more expedient, they acted either as soldiers or policemen, and this included violent retribution against civilians.

Since the IRA used guerilla tactics like ambush and assassination, the RIC and their auxiliaries had few opportunities to take direct action; hence, they resorted to collective punishment. Duff admitted to participating in arson against civilians' homes but claimed that such action was officially sanctioned: "These 'reprisals' were done with the due force of the Law, they were ordered by the military authorities."[13] His role was not limited to the destruction of property, though: he was ordered to halt or detain anybody who tried to escape the burning house.[14] He followed through on his charge with such little hesitation that he used his bayonet to skewer whatever or whoever came running out of the house. Even though he only killed a pig—which he fully believed to be a human being while stabbing it, this instance shows that these "legal" reprisals were done with little restraint and intended to terrorize civilians.

While it is true that the Black-and-Tans were given orders to exact retribution against the locals, these officers were liable to take matters into their own hands. In his diary, Lt. Raymond Cafferata (1897-1966), one of these auxiliaries, states, that when he was posted in Macroom (County Cork), his commanding officer had to warn his unit against "unofficial appraisals," which suggests that this was an ongoing problem that needed addressing. The diary mentions later on that, after two RIC cadets had been kidnapped, "[t]here were talks of reprisals—some chaps were for going out and beating up Macroom," but Cafferata's commanding officer (C.O.) quashed the idea by threatening harsh punishment.[15] While Cafferata claims that cooler heads prevailed, his and his C.O.'s anxiety about unofficial attacks confirms that unsanctioned reprisals were a cause for concern.

*II. Palestine*

After the Irish War of Independence had resulted in the establishment of the Irish Free State and the demobilization of the Black-and-Tans, the United Kingdom

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[11] Duff, *Sword for Hire* 73.

[12] Quoted in Andrew Nelson, "'The other boys of Kilmichael': No. 2 Section, 'C' Company, Auxiliary Division Royal Irish Constabulary, 28 November 1920," *Historical Research* 87, no. 238 (2014): 703-722, here 711.

[13] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 69.

[14] Duff, *Sword for Hire*, 73.

[15] Quoted in David Grant, "Lt. Raymond Oswald Cafferata," *The Auxiliary Division of the Royal Irish Constabulary*, accessed June 4, 2021.

found a new purpose for this now defunct paramilitary unit. Since the end of the Great War, Britain had been dealing with its great number of unemployed veterans by reinforcing its imperial holdings overseas, and the expansion of the RIC had been consistent with this policy.[16] Now that Britain had been forced to give up its oldest colony (Ireland), it was setting up an administration in its newest colony: Mandatory Palestine. From 1915 until 1918, the British Egyptian Expeditionary Force had conquered the Sinai, Palestine, and Syria from the Ottoman Empire. After the Great War, Britain was able to secure Palestine as an official colony, and part of the government's transition from military to civilian administration was the establishment of two Gendarmerie divisions, namely, one composed of locals and the other formed from British nationals: "Indeed, in April 1922, approximately 650 former 'Black and Tans' arrived in Haifa, Palestine, and commenced their duties as the British Palestine Gendarmerie."[17] Roughly 95% of the new British force were former Black-and-Tans, but they would find the situation in Palestine much different than in Ireland.

Despite the loss of most of colonial Ireland and the ambiguous experiences of the servicemen there, imperial administrators sought to copy the RIC's paramilitary police model. Across their Empire, the British reorganized colonial police according to the "Irish model" or "Ulster model."[18] In Palestine, the confusion whether the new force were to be soldiers or policemen immediately continued—both among the officers themselves and their commanders. Duff complained that his Commandant, a former Brigadier General in the army, had treated them as common infantry, both during training and on the voyage to the East. Duff preferred the second-in-command, himself a former RIC member, to lead the new force: "If that old man has his own way we shall be indistinguishable from a battalion of infantry, but if No. 2, the Assistant Commandant, is given a say, he will have us doing Constabulary duties."[19] In general, the rank and file were so annoyed with the discipline and parades that, after their first year of deployment, half of the Gendarmes refused to renew their contracts.[20] While service in the Black-and-Tans had been more dangerous than service in the Gendarmerie, it appears that the officers preferred the freedom afforded to them in Ireland over military discipline. While the tension between soldier and peacekeeper continued, the new assignment came with a new outlook on duties.

Deployment in the Holy Land offered a new perspective to Duff who, as his 1934 memoir (*Sword for Hire*) shows, had a mind for history. Duff comments that,

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[16] Nelson, "Other boys of Kilmichael," 707.

[17] Richard Cahill, "'Going Beserk [sic]': 'Black and Tans' in Palestine," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 38 (summer 2009): 59-68, here 61.

[18] Alex Winder, "Policing and Crime in Mandate Palestine: Indigenous Policemen, British Colonial Control, and Palestinian Society, 1920–1948" (PhD diss., New York University, 2017), 20.

[19] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 103.

[20] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 136.

upon arriving in Palestine, he felt a swell of determination and "thoughts of Richard, of Edward, of Longsword, and the myriads of our race who had seen the very same vista opening on their entranced eyes as they neared Outremer."[21] In *Sword for Hire*, Duff makes several other references to the Crusades and shows a new determination to keep the peace.[22] This mindset became so persistent that, seven years into his deployment, during the 1929 Arab Revolt, Duff carried a Crusader-era ax into combat. While Duff's memoir is likely invoking literary tropes, his description of duty in Palestine is a far cry from his recollections of his time in Ireland. By likening himself to Crusaders, he justified his service as a noble pursuit. Viewing his actions in Palestine not as a mere mercenary effort but, rather, as a duty to preserve the Holy Land added to Duff's sense of purpose. However, his actions and those of his fellow officers were not as noble as he presents them.

After four years of using the Gendarmerie to reinforce the Palestinian Police, Britain deemed the force too costly. These were some of the most peaceful years in Mandatory Palestine, and the force was expensive to maintain, so, in 1926, it was dissolved and folded into the much cheaper BSPP.[23] Duff was one of two hundred former Gendarmes to transition and felt relieved to have joined a proper civil service as opposed to his highly regulated previous position. He stated that, "[a]lthough the Police are an armed force, trained and equipped as soldiers, I found that I was no longer a subject to the harsh military discipline under which I had lain ever since I joined at Fort Tregantle."[24] The BSPP enjoyed more freedom, both on- and off-duty, which included living in private residences rather than cramped barracks. Yet, even though they had been tasked with peaceful policing, Duff and the BSPP were more familiar with the tools and tactics of soldiers.

The impact of the Gendarmerie—and thus of the former Black-and-Tans—on colonial-police personnel and tactics should probably not be overstated. During the Gendarmerie's four-year existence, members of the colonial administration were just as confused as to whether the Gendarmerie was there for civilian or for military purposes. Since they were deployed to augment the existing Palestinian Police, their primary role was to assist in suppressing riots, and many officers found themselves bored while waiting for long periods of time between emergencies.[25] The situation in Palestine was different from that in Ireland: when the Gendarmerie had initially been established, its men were not going into a hostile territory with insurgent rebels. At the time the Gendarmerie was dissolved, only seventy-two former RIC members transferred to the BSPP.[26] Despite their

[21] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 101.

[22] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 163.

[23] Cahill, "Going Beserk," 62.

[24] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 164. Fort Tregantle was a military installation in Cornwall (U.K.).

[25] Seán William Gannon, "The Formation, Composition, and Conduct of the British Section of the Palestine Gendarmerie, 1922-26," *The Historical Journal* 56, no. 4 (2013): 977-1006, here 995.

[26] Gannon, "Formation, Composition, and Conduct," 1002.

notoriety, the Black-and-Tans were not a unique force in the British Empire. However, their careers do reflect the adaptability of those policing the colonies.

Duff's memoir of policing Palestine has a constant undercurrent of the threat of violence. Just as the citizens of Dublin had feared getting caught out in public due to RIC reprisals, so, too, did Palestinians learn the implicit danger of the British police presence. While pursuing criminals from Jerusalem to the mountains of Moab, Duff happened upon a cave well-armed with British weapons and fully provisioned with food. Concluding that the village of Lifta (north of Jerusalem) must have provided fresh bread to these brigands, the British officers dragged the latter's corpses through Lifta's streets. The villagers, whether complicit or not, must have received the message as the clear threat that it was. Duff states, "We remained there until nearly noon, together with the large reinforcements that had arrived, whilst we ate several sheep and other delicacies that they so 'willingly' provided for us."[27] From Duff's tone, it is clear that he and his fellow policemen knew the implied threat: comply or end up like the dead brigands. This action was certainly more reminiscent of an occupying army than of a police force. With no evidence other than warm bread (which the criminals could have coerced from the villagers), the police occupied Lifta and punished its inhabitants collectively.

Duff's stories from 1920s Palestine reveal a pattern of how the BSPP responded to villagers with collective punishment, which continued at an extreme level in the following decade. His memoir details an incident, years later, of a village refusing to give up an individual accused of well-poisoning: "[a] village called Shweikeh [i.e., Shuweikah, located east of modern-day Netanya] received the full force of my long-pent resentment, and, incidentally, served as an example to the others and gave the troubled division peace for nearly five months;" Duff gathered as many as fifty armed men on horseback and went to the village with the intent of abusing their hospitality: each officer received two cooked chickens and had his horse stationed in the villagers' houses, but instead of reciprocating the gift according to Arab custom, Duff insisted that his men would stay every night and expect the same hospitality until a witness would give them the name of the well-poisoner.[28] Duff found this tactic so clever that he subsequently used it any time he wanted peace from feuding villagers. While this occurred nominally under the guise of Arab hospitality, the practice described in Duff's memoir was one of occupation and extortion. Instead of policing, Duff establishes a pattern of coercion with armed men inspired by their overtly racial judgments of the locals.

Duff's encounter with the villagers of Shweikeh/Shuweikah makes it very clear that he was treating with them by abusing their customs because he did not believe they would listen to his British appeal to law and order. Despite the fact that it was his role to enforce British laws, he was convinced that none of the locals

[27] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 181-183.

[28] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 295-299.

would understand "Western procedure of trial and punishment."[29] While hypocritical, this could be chalked up to a communication gap, were it not for some other comments in Duff's memoir. Referring to a disturbance from a Muslim crowd in 1922, Duff explained: "Had our Arabic been better we might have sympathised with them; though I doubt it, for most of us were so infected by the sense of our own superiority over lesser breeds that we scarcely regarded these people as humans."[30] While Duff comes off as more remorseful later in his memoir, he reveals the BSPP's common racial biases. Other accounts show the presence of fascism in the force, including an incident of Jews complaining that police members had adorned their riot shields with swastikas.[31] Although racial prejudice does not explain all of the BSPP's violence against the locals, it certainly informed their practice of routinely dehumanizing the locals for transgressions.

Due to Palestine's multi-ethnic population, the RIC would not have been suitable as the sole model for colonial policing in the eastern Mediterranean. In fact, British administrators were able to refer to a plethora of other colonial models. As Jewish immigration increased, keeping a balance between Jewish, British, and Arab policemen became a constant struggle, so Britain turned to the Kenyan administration for inspiration. In addition to African and Indian communities, Kenya also had British settlements, and the Kenyan colonial police reflected this. According to Alex Winder, this "also explains why, along with the Palestine Police and the Shanghai Police, Kenya was one of three British colonial forces that had a distinct British section, rather than a British officer corps sitting atop, but within, a unified force."[32] Thus, ideas about administration, including racial divisions, were drawn from across the British Empire. Maintaining hegemony over a multiplicity of ethnic populations across the globe, British colonial policy could not be uniform. Colonial projects developed along different paths across the Empire, however, all of them enforced hierarchies with the British at the top.

Jewish settlement in Palestine was another vague administrative policy that fell under the interpretation of colonial administration. The *Balfour Declaration* of 1917, addressed to Lord Rothschild, had announced:

> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.[33]

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[29] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 295.

[30] Douglas V. Duff, *Bailing with a Teaspoon* (London: John Long Limited 1953), 36.

[31] Hughes, "Banality of Brutality," 333.

[32] Winder, "Policing and Crime in Mandate Palestine," 61.

[33] Arthur James Balfour, "The Balfour Declaration" (1917), *The Rothschild Archive*, accessed June 4, 2021.

In fewer than a hundred words, the *Balfour Declaration* had stated that the rights and political status of local Arabs were not to be infringed. The British were promising the impossible, namely, support for a Zionist state, while also claiming not to be partisan. Jewish settlement was the basic premise of Mandatory Palestine, and by the 1930s Jewish agencies were given access and political legitimacy that similar Arab organizations were denied. While legislation in 1934 expanded municipal powers of town councils in urban settlements, this was not extended to rural villages which were predominantly Arab. The traditional rural leaders, the *mukhtars*, were not given any legal standing, which led to many villages being run informally by one family. When facing rural resistance or revolt, police then did not have a legal infrastructure to deal with and resorted to collective punishment and violence.[34] Duff's own experiences in Shweikeh/Shuweikah and Lifta show the informal means police employed when punishing villagers without due process. While "the British way" was nominally about bringing law and order to the colonies, in the case of Palestine, the Arabs' lack of formally recognized law and organization thus reduced them to subaltern status.

Duff seemed to have his own mixed feelings on Jewish settlement, but his own accounts suggest that he decisively acted against Arabs. He claims to have had no feelings either way on Zionism, but then—on the next page—opines that Palestine's fertile valleys would have room for a million Jews and that the Arabs would "benefit from the higher standard of life exhibited by their neighbours."[35] One time, when he had to break up a Jewish riot, he switched to a light baton instead of the usual heavy truncheon he had brought from Ireland. Against Muslim mobs, he opted for "no half-measures" and would even brandish a hammer.[36] For Duff, nothing in Palestine was more worrisome than a public demonstration because of how "they are the root of all riots and disturbances."[37] Police reports from this era frequently blamed rural crime on a concept called *fassad* (meaning "corruption" or "intrigue"), which stereotyped rural Arabs as untrustworthy. One officer stated, "All is complicated further by sub-plots and fragmented passions with greed, hatred and even lust […] It is nearly impossible to live in Palestine without quarrelling *fassad* bringing the police to almost any village."[38] By prejudicially denying that Arab society could work through disputes civilly, Duff and his colleagues opened the door to more violence. Police instincts were to treat Arabs as an uncivilized population, and their actions reflected this.

In addition to collective punishment, Duff brought with him from Ireland interrogation techniques that bordered on torture. After bashing crowds "without

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[34] Matthew Kraig Kelly, "Crime in the Mandate: British and Zionist Criminological Discourse and Arab Nationalist Agitation in Palestine, 1936–39" (PhD diss., UC Los Angeles, 2013), 44-45.

[35] Duff, *Sword for Hire*, 326.

[36] Duff, *Sword for Hire*, 228.

[37] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 176.

[38] Winder, "Policing and Crime in Mandate Palestine," 179-181.

half-measures," Duff was reassigned to a penal colony in the Plains of Armageddon, pending a trial for the use of unnecessary force.[39] According to other policemen, he earned such a reputation for beating prisoners that "Duffing up" became common slang among the force.[40] Although Duff does not elaborate on these beatings in his memoir, he is not modest about his brutality in cases when he felt he had been wronged. Once, when Duff was patrolling the highway, a local Arab attempted to rob him and his company by ambushing them with a rifle. After they caught him, the local claimed he was on the road just to drink from the stream Wadi Zeita. "We decided that as he had come so far for a drink in the brook he had better have it, and stood him on his head in the middle of the shallow stream, continuing the treatment until he told us where his rifle was hidden."[41] Even after Duff had been officially reprimanded for unnecessary force, he still had men under his command and the jurisdiction to continue harsh police tactics. Duff was not a lone actor, however, he was part of a system that routinely used violence to coerce colonial subjects.

Although Duff does not admit to personally committing the systemic sort of violence used for counterinsurgency, he does claim to have witnessed it. After an Anglican Bishop and an American tourist had been robbed by highwaymen, Duff describes the methods of beating and water-boarding used on nearby villagers. While he states that the British officers usually stood away from the beatings, he continues: "I am not holding my hands in shocked protest, for I witnessed hundreds of bastinadoings during my years in the Palestine police and many scores of cases where the 'Hoist', or the 'water-can', was employed."[42] Regardless of Duff's personal involvement, police abuse was systemic in Palestine. When Duff was finally brought to trial and dismissed from service in 1931, it was not because of his own personal involvement in these beatings. On October 22, 1931, the High Commissioner affirmed the court's ruling that "[Duff] was found guilty of having 'counselled [sic] and procured Sergeant Ishak Ahmed Nejib,' a member of the Palestine Police, to 'exercise ill-treatment and to do acts which occasioned bodily distress to Farid Muhammad Sheikh Ibrahim'."[43] The problem of torture went beyond Duff, and while he may have been convicted, the law was flexible enough to change with the circumstances.

The unofficial, ambiguous counterinsurgency tactics which had permeated the Palestinian Police gained official sanctioning in the face of a unified Arab front during the Arab Revolt of 1936. After Sir Charles Tegart had been transferred from India to advise the Inspector General, he oversaw the construction of seventy-seven new "Arab Investigation Centers." In these centers, suspects were

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[39] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 254.

[40] Cahill, "Going Beserk," 64.

[41] Duff, *Sword for Hire,* 318.

[42] Duff, *Bailing with a Teaspoon,* 168.

[43] Cahill, "Going Beserk," 64.

repeatedly beaten and tortured with water-boarding techniques similar to those Duff describes in his memoir. In one instance, an officer was reprimanded because he brought in a suspect unharmed after he had been ordered to "Duff up" the man.[44] While one of these centers was closed after a complaint to the High Commissioner, the majority remained in operation throughout British rule. Duff may have been dismissed for his extrajudicial punishments before the revolt, but war made law malleable. Colonial officials launched an internal investigation during the late 1930s and 1940s to determine the extent of Black-and-Tan tactics in the Palestinian Police, and the entire service was acquitted.[45] The official channels, which had mostly turned a blind eye during the 1920s, were now fully complicit during "wartime," meanwhile contesting that this was, in fact, "wartime."

Britain refused to call the Arab Revolt of 1936 a national insurrection for fear of legitimizing the Arab cause and nominally dealt with it as a criminal matter. According to Matthew Kraig Kelly, "[h]aving neglected to extend legal recognition to any Arab Palestinian entity advancing an agenda of national autonomy, the mandatory government effectively rendered all nationalist activity 'criminal'."[46] This legal distinction guaranteed less scrutiny than a full-scale war and downplayed the severity of the revolt. Additionally, the 1933 *Prevention of Crime Ordinance* gave extensive power to district commanders who could legally target suspects without any evidence other than "known character." When locals wanted to challenge these arrests through proper channels, they had no legal recourse.[47] Policing methods during the revolt may have been arbitrary, oppressive, and brutal, but they were essentially legal in the eyes of the Empire.

When the British military intervened in the revolt, earlier tactics of collective punishment against Arab villages became routine. In light of the ongoing rebellion, the military considered it justified to terrorize rural Arabs in their homes in search of rebels. British soldiers reportedly smashed furniture, tore women's clothes off, destroyed food stores, defaced holy books, and beat innocents: "Particularly recalcitrant villages would be entirely demolished, reduced to 'mangled masonry,' as happened to the village of Mi'ar north of Acre in October 1938."[48] Police were not idle in the countryside either; they were ordered to gather exorbitant "fines" from resisting villagers that these could never hope to pay. When villagers did not pay, the Palestinian Police confiscated livestock and food, similar to Duff's tactics a decade earlier.[49] Arab village life was permanently devastated by the rebellion, and it was done in the name of British law and order.

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[44] Hughes, "Banality of Brutality," 331-332.

[45] Laleh Khalili, "The Location of Palestine in Global Counterinsurgencies," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42, no. 3 (2010): 413-433, here 416.

[46] Kelly, "Crime in the Mandate," 42.

[47] Kelly, "Crime in the Mandate", 43.

[48] Hughes, "Banality of Brutality," 323-324.

[49] Hughes, "Banality of Brutality," 325.

*Conclusion*

No matter how "legal" the British Empire was or was not, the way it maintained order in the colonies was by means of force. In his 2012 work, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, Tony Ballantyne describes the British response to the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny in India as follows: "The key feature of the suppression of the revolt in India was the unrestrained retribution visited upon sepoys and their supporters by the [British East India] Company's army. The circulation of stories recounting the horrors of Lucknow and especially Kanpur created a seemingly insatiable appetite for death and destruction."[50] The evidence for the actions of the British colonial police in Ireland and Palestine mirrors this description. Wanton destruction of civilian property was not an unfortunate occurrence in colonial policy, it was the bedrock. Actors like Douglas Valder Duff cannot be excused for the violence in which they participated, but the imperial bureaucracy itself is also responsible for enabling, protecting, and at times ordering colonial police into violence. "The British way" was not law and order; it was the adaptability of the law and the personnel who administered it to justify torture and collective punishment.

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[50] Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), 170.

Danielle Bennett

# *"All I wanted was to be a good citizen": Fred Lau's Chinese Diasporic Experience in 1920s-1950s California*

ABSTRACT: *This article explores the Chinese diasporic experience in 1920s-1950s California from the perspective of cultural expectations, individual identity, and familial bonds and obligations. Focusing on the insights provided by the oral history of a Chinese American narrator, Mr. Fred Lau (1911-2005), it argues that Mr. Lau's diasporic experience strengthened his identity-building process, as well as his familial ties in both China and the U.S., and molded him into an American citizen.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; China; U.S.; California; Santa Ana, California; diaspora; identity; family; oral history; Fred Lau*

## *Introduction*

> The general pattern is straightforward: The sojourner who left to try his luck elsewhere was expected to return home for marriage, to spend years of mourning in the native place on the death of either parent, to make all the money he could in as short a time as possible and go back home, and at least return for burial in the native place where his ancestors were buried.[1]

The diasporic experience during the era of Chinese exclusion from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries in the U.S. has been summarized by one label: sojourner. The quote above, taken from Yucheng Qin's 2016 monograph, *The Cultural Clash: Chinese Traditional Native-Place Sentiment and the Anti-Chinese Movement*, emphasizes the transience of the sojourner's stay abroad and the firm ties to the latter's native place in China. While migratory travel characterized the diasporic experience of many Chinese laborers during the late nineteenth century, the sojourner label fails to define those individuals who did not fit this mold and—instead—established roots in the U.S., experienced multiculturalization, and eventually obtained American citizenship.

This article analyzes the diasporic experience of a Chinese individual in California from the 1920s to the 1950s. How did the diasporic experience form and solidify this individual's personal identity and familial ties in both mainland China and the U.S.? Why did the individual choose to leave China in the first place? Why was return not an option? And to what degree did the larger context of Chinese exclusion shape this individual's diasporic experience? The article follows the diasporic experience of Mr. Fred Lau (1911-2005), the son of a poor farming family, a third-generation Chinese migrant, a veteran of World War II, a small-business owner, and a Chinese American. Born in the rural Guangdong Province of China, Mr. Lau, his father, and his grandfather all set out for California in search of profitable work to financially care for the Lau family in China.[2] Mr.

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[1] Yucheng Qin, *The Cultural Clash: Chinese Traditional Native-Place Sentiment and the Anti-Chinese Movement* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2016), 198 of 7495, Kindle.

[2] The beginning dates of the Lau men's diasporic travels between China and the U.S. are 1884 for grandfather Lau's journey, 1918 for Mr. Lau's father's journey, and 1927 for the narrator Mr.

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Lau pursued a high school education and entrepreneurial opportunities, achieved bilingualism in English and Chinese, registered for service in the U.S. Army, and opened his own grocery stores in Merced and Santa Ana. All these pursuits and milestones were driven by his humble personal aspirations.[3]

The primary evidence for this article comes from the seventy-four-page transcript of four interviews conducted with Fred Lau in 1983 as part of a joint oral history project sponsored by the Chinese American Council of the Bowers Museum Foundation in Santa Ana and CSU Fullerton's Oral History Program (now the Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History). Like similar joint ethnic oral history projects, this project intended to preserve and highlight Chinese Americans' agricultural, economic, social, and cultural contributions to Orange County. Mr. Lau's oral history is the only one in the project—due to the exodus of the Chinese American Council during a 1985 Santa Ana city council reordering of the Bowers Museum and its volunteer organization.[4]

Throughout the research process, it became clear that scholars of the Chinese diasporic communities tend to focus on only one or two of the three lenses through which this article examines this ethnocultural phenomenon: the particular characteristics of an individual or group's diasporic experience, individual cultural identity, and family bonds.[5] Scholarship on diasporic migration and cultural identity tends to use diasporic migration as a tie to an ethnic community's identity, which is subject to different economic, political, and personal circumstances. Immigration historians like Adam McKeown frequently contextualize the cultural identities of diasporic and transnational communities within the larger diasporic travel experience.[6] The sojourner narrative has its roots in scholarship that deals mostly with the era of Chinese exclusion in the U.S. and

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Lau's journey. The diasporic experiences of Mr. Lau's father and grandfather are most like the sojourner experience defined by the introductory quote from Qin, *Cultural Clash*, 198 of 7495, Kindle. All three Lau men's diasporic experiences were shaped by the global implications of a U.S. federal law known as the *Chinese Exclusion Act* of 1882, the 1943 repeal of the *Chinese Exclusion Act*, and the rise to power by the Chinese Communist Party after the conclusion of the Chinese Communist Revolution in 1953. Fred Lau, interview by Marian Parks, 1983, Oral History (OH) 1879, transcript, Chinese American Council Oral History Project, Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

[3] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 21.

[4] Herman Wong, "New Cultural Foundation: Ethnic Councils Quit Bowers for Irvine," *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1987.

[5] See, for example, Adam McKeown, "Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas, 1842 to 1949," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (1999): 306-337; Gordon H. Chang, "Not So Simple Life Choices," *American Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (2017): 551-557; Bernard P. Wong, "Globalization and Localization of the Chinese Diaspora in the USA," in *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Diaspora*, ed. Chee-Beng Tan (first published 2012; New York: Routledge, 2013), 290-309.

[6] McKeown, "Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas," 306-337; Adam McKeown, "Transnational Chinese Families and Chinese Exclusion, 1875-1943," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18, no. 2 (1999): 73-110.

the resulting establishment of Chinatowns. Qin's monograph centers on a Chinese sojourner narrative characterized by a lack of assimilability, frequent travel abroad for economic opportunity, and eventual return to the native place of origin.[7] As for familial networks and bonds, there is abundant research on which members of a Chinese family were permitted to go abroad to financially support the family back home, as well as how a family maintained power and claim to the businesses and earnings of its entrepreneurial members.[8] This case study of Mr. Lau's particular diasporic experience draws all three foci together and establishes them as interconnected—rather than isolated—phenomena.

This article's first part (*Diaspora*) focuses on how Mr. Lau's migrant experience both parallels and diverges from the sojourner narrative. The second part (*Identity*) concentrates on the development of Mr. Lau's personal identity throughout his diasporic experience, characterized by civic responsibility, entrepreneurial opportunism, and familial responsibility. The third part (*Family*) demonstrates that familial obligations both in China and the U.S. played the most significant role in shaping Mr. Lau's diasporic experience. Focusing on the more macroscopic aspect of diaspora first lays the groundwork for later shifting the attention to the more microscopic aspects of identity and family. I argue that Mr. Lau's diasporic experience strengthened his own identity differentiation, his familial ties, both in China and in the U.S., and molded him into an American citizen.

*I. Diaspora*

Although this article views the past microscopically through Mr. Lau's oral history, it is necessary to first define how the term diaspora is used in this section and then address how the macroscopic historical event of Chinese exclusion shaped Mr. Lau's diasporic experience. My definition of diaspora does not refer to the forced geographic displacement of a cohesive ethnic or cultural group but—instead—to the geographic dispersal of individuals who utilize interpersonal connections and transnational networks formed from an established sense of belonging, as individuals within the framework of the Chinese diaspora were not just scattered to the four winds and left without a sense of belonging.[9]

In his first interview, Mr. Lau traces his own diasporic experience back to the circumstances under which his grandfather and father had participated in the greater diaspora.[10] Due to the passage of a U.S. federal law known as the *Chinese Exclusion Act* of 1882, which was made permanent in 1902, there were increased legal restrictions as to which members of Chinese society would be allowed entry to the U.S. and which family members these Chinese migrants would later be

[7] Qin, *Cultural Clash*, 198 of 7495, Kindle.

[8] Chang, "Not So Simple Life Choices," 551-557; Xin Chun Li, Ling Chen, Jess H. Chua, Bradley L. Kirkman, Sara Rynes-Weller, and Luis Gomez-Mejia, "Research on Chinese Family Businesses: Perspectives," *Management and Organization Review* 11, no. 4 (2015): 579-597.

[9] McKeown, "Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas," 311.

[10] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 1-15.

allowed to bring over. The female members of Mr. Lau's family, such as his mother, his sisters, and his grandmother, were prohibited from accompanying their male family members to the U.S. due to financial and legislative barriers.[11] Since Mr. Lau's family was not of a protected classification, the Lau men had to come illegally as laborers—in the grandfather and father Lau's cases—or, in Mr. Lau's own legally dubious case, as a student adopted by a merchant.[12] Thus, the Lau men's initial travels to California were shaped by the gendered and economic policies of the *Chinese Exclusion Act*. Due to their origins in a poor rural province in China, the financial feasibility of sending more members of the Lau family to the U.S. had been limited even before exclusionary legislation. Since the Laus, until 1943, were not financially or legally able to bring female family members to the U.S., only a few of the family's older males were able to travel abroad for work.

Until its repeal in 1943, the *Chinese Exclusion Act* of 1882 prevented most members of Mr. Lau's family to pursue a better life in the U.S., as he explains in his first interview:

> If my grandfather could have been an American citizen, my family would have moved straight ahead and gone up as far as we could go—just like the airplane. But we were not citizens. That's why it took my family so long and so much struggle to survive; otherwise we would never amount to anything. We'd have stayed in the hole and never come up to see Christ. If my grandfather is a European, my father would have automatically been an American citizen. My grandfather never would be.[13]

Mr. Lau recognized how U.S. immigration policy and ethnic alienation limited his and his family's opportunity for socioeconomic advancement. Until the *Chinese Exclusion Act*'s repeal, there was no practical path to legal permanent residency and naturalization in the U.S. for Mr. Lau or other Chinese in California who harbored similar aspirations.

The impact of ethnic exclusion legislation on the diasporic experience has long been the subject of scholarly discourse. McKeown has argued that the obstacles and opportunities inherent in exclusionary U.S. immigration policy were felt by both men and women as laborers were not allowed to bring their families with them, and, after 1924, protected classes like merchants and students were not permitted to bring their Chinese wives and children.[14] All three generations of Lau men were subjected to these restrictions on familial migration. Scholars have also recognized the other factor that limited greater opportunities for migration, namely, the poverty in China's Guangdong Province. Bernard P. Wong has argued that the movements of the region's menfolk were meant to be temporary fortune-finding excursions to provide more financial stability and increase the quality of

[11] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 3-4.

[12] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 19.

[13] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 7.

[14] McKeown, "Transnational Chinese Families," 74.

life in their native village.[15] Fortunately, in Mr. Lau's case, a family friend was able to adopt him, claim him as a student, and bring him to the U.S. as a favor to both grandfather and father Lau. This legally dubious method of immigration became fairly common after the 1909 San Francisco earthquake and fire had destroyed all immigration and census information, allowing Chinese individuals to come as "paper sons," namely, adopted sons who could then travel to the U.S. legally.[16]

During a time of nativist hostility, the desire to adapt to American society for the sake of greater access to opportunity characterized Mr. Lau's early diasporic experience. In his second and fourth interviews, Mr. Lau addresses his pursuit of education. When he first arrived in San Francisco, Mr. Lau was eager and anxious to be able to speak English. In those days, he said, "[I was] not trying to get rich. I wasn't trying to be a councilman or mayor or senator. All I wanted was to be a good citizen and understand what was going on."[17] First attending a Chinese-only grammar school in San Francisco's Chinatown and then attending night school on top of his daytime schooling, Mr. Lau soon became more comfortable conversing in English with other English speakers in Chinatown. When the interviewer, Marian Parks, inquired after the purpose of these schools, whether they were primarily intended to teach the language or, also, to "find the American way" and foster greater integration into American society, Mr. Lau acknowledged that they served as places for both lingual and cultural education, and added: "[I] tried to educate myself in order to merge into American society as an American, and not be limited to Chinatown."[18] Thus Mr. Lau viewed Chinatown as limiting to his personal economic and autonomous aspirations, namely, to start and grow his own businesses.[19]

The cultural context of San Francisco's Chinatown and the national context of the U.S. during World War II shaped Mr. Lau's educational and later military experience. During the era of Chinese exclusion, Chinatowns served as ethnocultural havens to preserve Chinese culture and protect Chinese migrants' livelihoods as they were facing discrimination and hostility from white Americans. Chinese adolescents who wished to learn English were allowed to do so in Chinatown's Chinese-only schools. Some of these Chinatown schools also served as Chinese cultural reinforcement.[20] Further education could be pursued through the public high school system which allowed for more Americanization.

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[15] Wong, "Globalization and Localization," 291; Qin, *Cultural Clash*, 226 of 7495, Kindle.

[16] Roger Daniels, "Chinese Exclusion: Causes and Consequences, 1882-1943," in *Who Belongs in America? Presidents, Rhetoric, and Immigration*, ed. Vanessa B. Beasley (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 89-106, here 101.

[17] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 21.

[18] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 25.

[19] This entrepreneurial spark and the cultural contexts surrounding it are discussed below.

[20] Philip A. Kuhn, *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 230.

The national context of the U.S. preparing to enter World War II offered enlistment as an opportunity to Mr. Lau to financially benefit himself and his family. Without the ongoing war preparations, it is doubtful he would have felt the need to enlist; instead, he probably would have grown his own businesses sooner.

Mr. Lau's diasporic experience between 1929 and 1939 contradicts the common sojourner narrative in that he did not necessarily see his future in China: he saw it in the U.S.[21] Even in the San Francisco Chinatown, Mr. Lau felt the need to live beyond the cultural confines and become a member of American society as an American. His efforts to not limit himself to Chinatown did not stem from a desire to abandon his Chinese identity and background in favor of a wholly American identity but, rather, from a place of individual agency where he had the choice to pursue the best opportunities for himself and his family and occasionally diverge from those cultural norms and expectations to which he was still subjected.[22]

As the U.S. became more industrialized during the later nineteenth century and needed more laborers, poor rural Chinese families allowed some of their males to leave their home villages and head to the U.S. to seek economic prosperity in order to financially support their families back in China. In the third interview, Mr. Lau recalls that his family in China showed neither great support nor great opposition to his and his father's travels outside of China to pursue work in the U.S., yet still benefitted financially from their earnings. Mr. Lau accounted for this benign indifference as an amalgamation of generational differences. According to Mr. Lau, his "grandmother didn't really care a lot […] they [grandmother and grandfather Lau] were alike. She was not progressive either."[23] On the other hand, Mr. Lau's aunt and uncle were more supportive of Mr. Lau's father leaving China for the U.S., and Mr. Lau's father himself was enthusiastically supportive of his son joining him in the U.S.[24] With regard to the money Mr. Lau sent back to his family and neighbors, these funds would be used by the recipients to better their lives in China, including, for example, grandmother Lau spending extravagantly on items she wanted, home and property repairs, and purchasing gifts for family members to show familial affection and appreciation.[25]

This aspect of Mr. Lau's diasporic experience may be attributed to the cultural context into which he had been born. Chinese familial culture expected a son to financially take care of his family and village.[26] Another cultural expectation was

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[21] Chang, "Not So Simple Life Choices," 553.

[22] Chang, "Not So Simple Life Choices," 552.

[23] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 33-34.

[24] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 33-34.

[25] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 33, 36.

[26] Kuhn, *Chinese among Others*, 204; Erika Lee, "Defying Exclusion: Chinese Immigrants and Their Strategies During the Exclusion Era," in *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era*, ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 1-21, here 3.

that the journey to make money abroad would culminate in the son's eventual return to his family and village. While on his fortune-finding journey, a male family member remained culturally obligated to take care of his family back in China. Mr. Lau's experience aligned with this aspect of the sojourner narrative, as he continued to financially support his family members in China. Although he did not return to China to retire and live out the rest of his life, Mr. Lau maintained his familial and cultural connection to China through his financial support. The significance of Mr. Lau's family network both in the U.S. and at home in China cannot be underestimated as it enabled him to gain legal passage to the U.S. and facilitated his search of employment to financially support his family back home.[27]

*II. Identity*

According to the oral history transcript, three components of Mr. Lau's identity were shaped by his diasporic experience: his identity as a good citizen, as an avid student and entrepreneur, and as a generous family man developed as he reached different milestones in his life. Thus far, we have seen Mr. Lau's good-citizen identity in the cultural and local context of the Chinese diaspora during his first decade in the U.S. We now revisit this part of Mr. Lau's life to emphasize how his identity as a good citizen changed from when he was a child in China to when he became a young man in the U.S.

Mr. Lau's conceptualization of a "good citizen" had begun in his native place and traveled with him. The second and fourth interviews provide insight into how his good-citizen concept developed in the course of his diasporic experience. As a child, he had attended school in China to learn the language and Chinese cultural values.[28] At that time, he had benefitted from the Chinese education system under Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), which emphasized democratic and republican political ideals in a revised educational curriculum. In 1927, when he arrived in the U.S., Mr. Lau was eager to master English and become a member of American society.[29] Meanwhile, he kept his societal commitments in both the U.S. and China. While in the U.S., he worked at the *Shanghai Low* with his father and sent some money home, saving the rest to support his family members in California.[30] Earlier in his youth, he had been betrothed to a girl in his home village. In 1935, Mr. Lau returned to China to marry his fiancée, keeping his marital commitment and honoring both the in-law family and his own family.[31]

The cultural context of Mr. Lau's identity played a most significant role in his concept of a good citizen. To him, during childhood and adolescence, the major characteristics of a good citizen had been the pursuit of and investment in

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[27] Daniels, "Chinese Exclusion," 101.

[28] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 16.

[29] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 25.

[30] The *Shanghai Low* was a night club run by a company owned by one of Mr. Lau's uncles.

[31] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 26-28.

education, being able to know what was happening around him by being fluent in the dominant language of his place of residence, and, as an adult, fulfilling his financial and social commitments to his family and village.[32] Such characteristics are cross-cultural and can easily be integrated into an individual's multicultural understanding of self and identity and facilitate integration into an adopted culture and society.[33] Mr. Lau's willingness to embrace multiculturalism in the U.S. contributed to his concept of a good citizen in that it allowed him to shift between his two cultural identities with greater ease and comfort.[34]

In contrast to the sojourner and settler narratives, Mr. Lau's transcultural priorities with regard to education and societal commitments illustrate a multicultural dimension to his overall identity. The sojourner narrative rejects most, if not all, cultural offerings made by a host society, while the settler narrative abandons most, if not all, original cultural values, thus resulting in a purist new identity. The commitments to one's family, one's country of residence, and one's personal value system form the basis of how one identifies oneself as a good citizen.

In his younger years, defined as age fifteen to thirty, Mr. Lau readily identified himself through his pursuit and prioritization of education and entrepreneurial opportunities. His identity as an avid student and entrepreneur are discernible in his second and third interviews. Once he had arrived in the U.S., he immediately attended school to learn English but acknowledged that his level of lingual proficiency remained insufficient to adequately converse with other English speakers. To remedy this, Mr. Lau told his father: "I need to go to night school."[35] This evening schooling was added to his daytime schooling and continued for two years after his initial arrival.[36] At the time of the interview (1983), Mr. Lau was seventy-two years old and claimed, "even today I am still learning. I want to go on to college, even though I am seventy-two."[37]

In 1935, after he had married his wife, Mr. Lau was financially prepared to go to college in China and even move to Nanking. However, this was not to be, since the Shanghai Canton Bank closed unexpectedly and lost Mr. Lau's $10,000 savings toward college.[38] It is reasonable to infer that, had Mr. Lau's savings been preserved, he probably would have established himself in China rather than the U.S., much like other Chinese returning from overseas had done historically.

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[32] Qin, *Cultural Clash*, 198 of 7495, Kindle.

[33] Li Li, "Cultural and Intercultural Functions of Chinese Restaurants in the Mountain West: 'An Insider's Perspective'," *Western Folklore* 61, no. 3 (2002): 329-346, here 343.

[34] Andre A. Pekerti and David C. Thomas, "N-Culturals: Modeling the Multicultural Identity," *Cross Cultural & Strategic Management* 23, no. 1 (2016): 101-127, here 113.

[35] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 21.

[36] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 22.

[37] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 24.

[38] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 28.

Ultimately, this financial loss led Mr. Lau to return to the U.S. two years later, and in 1939, Mr. Lau joined the U.S. Army. Prior to his enlistment, Mr. Lau had been unsatisfied with his employment at the *Shanghai Low* and had wanted to start a business of his own:

> I was just a young man, twenty-nine years old. I was married. I wanted to look for a business I could handle myself. In China when you are thirty you are independent. At that point you do not want to just be a laborer and work for somebody for all your life. Our family had never had a business of their own in America; they had always worked for someone else.[39]

Over the course of four decades, Mr. Lau would establish three grocery stores in Santa Ana and one grocery store in Merced, all of which were at one point owned and operated by Mr. Lau himself and then by his family members.[40]

Cultural context played a prominent role in forming Mr. Lau's identity as a student and as a businessman. The internalized pressure of aligning with American society shaped his persistent attitude regarding academics and linguistic proficiency. Reflecting his Chinese cultural context, once he had reached the age of majority, he demonstrated his personal independence.[41] He extended this personal independence to his line of work and subsequently passed this same independence on to his family in California. The decision to stay in the U.S. was not based on a crisis of personal identity but, rather, with practicality in mind, on an optimistic, opportunistic worldview. It was a decision made to provide himself and his family with the most opportunities to thrive.

Notably, during the entrepreneurial phase of his life, Mr. Lau incorporated American and Chinese cultural values and ideals in such a way that it cemented his role as a generous family man who consistently strove to provide for his family members in China and California. His identity as a family man and provider is evident from his statements in the third and fourth interviews. The motivating factor for him to open his own grocery store was his family. Keeping his wife, grandmother, aunt, and the rest of his family in China and in the U.S. in mind as "a responsible man," Mr. Lau pursued the kind of career that allowed him to provide not necessarily a wealthy, but a better life for his family on both sides of the Pacific Ocean.[42] The Confucian context, which governs Chinese family life to this day, shaped Mr. Lau's family obligations and business ventures. As the oldest child and only son of a father who was still away from his native place, Mr. Lau bore most of the responsibilities to financially provide for his family.[43]

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[39] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 10, 11, 38.

[40] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, interviewer's preface.

[41] Clara C. Park, A. Lin Goodwin, and Stacey J. Lee, *Asian American Identities, Families, and Schooling: Research on the Education of Asian and Pacific Americans* (Greenwich: Information Age Publishing, 2003), 11-12.

[42] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 38.

[43] Qin, *Cultural Clash*, 273 of 7495, Kindle.

Mr. Lau's identity as a generous provider harmoniously combines Confucian familial loyalty with the American desire to provide both socioeconomic prosperity and advancement to one's family. Readily integrating Chinese and American cultural expectations, Mr. Lau's diasporic experience stands out—both at the time of his arrival and when he reached the age of majority—from two perspectives. The first is the perspective of the older sojourners and their family members, such as Mr. Lau's grandfather, according to which a sojourner's family, home, and future was and would always be in China. The second is the perspective of subsequent younger generations of sojourners, such as Mr. Lau and his father, who became ever more open to pursuing a future and laying down roots in their host country, while retaining much of their original Chinese cultural identity. Mr. Lau kept providing for his family in China while doing the same for his family in the U.S., but he did not keep his immediate family, especially his wife and eventually their sons, in China, since he and his financial roots were now firmly established in the U.S.

*III. Family*

According to Yucheng Qin, obligations to family and their native place served as near unbreakable and tangible connections for Chinese sojourners.[44] The external pressures of certain Chinese family values and the internalized desire to preserve familial bonds and fulfill family obligations in China formed the strongest concrete tie to China during Mr. Lau's diasporic experience, stronger than any sentiment with regard to his native place. The notions of diaspora and identity reappear in this third part of the article, but primarily to reinforce the role of family in Mr. Lau's diasporic experience.

After their arrival in the U.S., Mr. Lau and his father became the primary breadwinners for their family members back in China and were responsible for sending remittances to financially support the latter, as well as their village neighbors. In the third and fourth interviews, Mr. Lau provides more details about his financial obligations toward his family back home in China. As we have seen earlier, receiving these remittances improved the lives of Mr. Lau's family in China and showed his filial affection. This was when remittances could still be sent without much interference from the Chinese and American governments. However, after 1952, the sending of remittances, particularly to his mother, became rather impossible for Mr. Lau as the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had successfully taken control of the Chinese government and was backing communist North Korea during the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. It is to this disruption in the familial support network that we now turn.

Mr. Lau's recollections of how communism affected his mother are quite sad and caused him a great deal of distress during the interview.[45] He stated:

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[44] Qin, *Cultural Clash*, 273 of 7495, Kindle.

[45] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 28.

> Well, in communism they want the overseas Chinese, landowner or rich people to give up everything. One must give up things that others haven't got. That's the way they do it. They did that to my family too. They considered I was back from the U.S. Army and figured I made good money. Every year I sent back money, so she must have money. She did and they still thought she had more. They said, "You are going to get killed." And they blackmailed her and threatened her to take her to the People's Public Court. The communists of the local village wrote a letter to me that they wanted me to send them money in two weeks, but there was nothing I could do. There was no transportation back there. There was no way to send money directly.[46]

Mr. Lau later discovered that the blackmailers were farmers from the poorest family in his village—people he had been supporting financially.[47] The collapse of his familial support network, due to its abuse by the communists in his village, ultimately resulted in his mother's suicide in 1952—done in an effort to protect her son from being financially abused and blackmailed by the CCP.[48]

The global context in which communism complicated and abused transnational familial support networks grimly defined Mr. Lau's ties to his family and native place in China in the 1950s. The betrayal by the poor farmers in his village gave Mr. Lau fewer reasons to maintain ties to his village, while his mother's suicide served as a painful deterrent for him to ever return to his native place. Family usually served as a long-distance connection between a local Chinese village and the migrant abroad, however, the disruption of the transnational familial connection had prevented Mr. Lau from sending money to his mother. With the death of his mother, there was no longer a strong family tie to guarantee a prolonged or even a final return to his native place.

Between the 1920s and the 1950s, Mr. Lau repeatedly returned to China to fulfill familial obligations, to help with the land, to make his family's living situation more comfortable, and to contribute to his village community. In the first and second interviews, Mr. Lau explains why he returned to China in 1935 and 1946. In 1935, he went back to China for two years to fulfill his betrothal commitment and visit his family. During this time, he contributed to his village community and his family's needs: he taught English, formed a social club in the village school, "helped the family with the land and made them more comfortable."[49] Later, in 1946, Mr. Lau felt the need to notify his sister of her husband's death in Madera, California, and therefore visited her in China.[50] Both trips met Mr. Lau's cultural obligations in China and helped maintain a good connection with his family there.[51] Still operating within a very close-knit understanding of family dynamics, Mr. Lau chose to honor this part of his cultural

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[46] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 54.

[47] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 55.

[48] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 24.

[49] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 28.

[50] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 17.

[51] Pekerti and Thomas, "N-Culturals," 113; Qin, *Cultural Clash*, 273 of 7495, Kindle.

identity through his sense of responsibility to his family and closest neighbors. The expected return to one's native place to honor one's family and to fulfill community obligations fits both the sojourner narrative and Mr. Lau's diasporic narrative, yet it ultimately does not completely apply to Mr. Lau's experience since he received U.S. citizenship, never retired to China, and was not buried in China.

During his most active entrepreneurial years, between 1939 to 1957, Mr. Lau consistently provided his kin in the U.S. with strong economic opportunities, such as the means to pursue higher education for a well-paying career, or with ownership of or employment opportunities in his grocery stores. Mr. Lau's responses in the third and fourth interviews delve into what his experience was like when he started his own businesses, why he passed ownership and management to his kin, and whether those changes in management were positive or negative for his businesses or his family.

As we have seen earlier, Mr. Lau did not enjoy working at the *Shanghai Low*, even though the business was owned by members of his family, so, when he was entering his thirties, he took a job as an employee in a grocery store in Marysville (north of Sacramento, California) for the sole purpose of gaining experience in the grocery store business.[52] In 1939, he and his cousin began to "just go out and look around […] from one little town to another, on the bus, just staying for a few hours."[53] Finally, in 1941, Mr. Lau opened his first grocery store in Dinuba (southeast of Fresno, California). This grocery store was to be owned through a mutual partnership by Mr. Lau, his two cousins, and his uncle, and the four of them were to be working and operating it together.[54] When Mr. Lau deployed for his military service in 1942, the store was profitable, and he left it in the care of his business partners. However, in 1943, the store's profitability took a hit when it was fined by the Health Department due to the cousins and uncle not caring for its upkeep.[55] After returning from the service, Mr. Lau gave complete ownership of the store to his cousins and uncle to provide them with a financial asset to support themselves, while freeing himself from poor business partners who had not taken care of the business as well as he would have liked.[56]

In the late 1940s, after his wife and two sons had arrived in California, Mr. Lau took them to live in Santa Ana, and he soon opened new grocery stores in Orange County. His grocery stores were doing very well, and by the 1960s and 1970s, he considered turning their management over to his (now three) sons.[57] Initially, he allowed one son to try and manage a store on his own, gradually giving him more responsibilities, but this son made business decisions that Mr. Lau did not like.

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[52] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 39.

[53] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 39.

[54] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 40.

[55] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 41-42.

[56] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 46.

[57] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 67.

According to Mr. Lau, he tried "to remodel the store and wanted to close up all of the windows in the front of the store. They [Mr. Lau's sons] also hired some young box boys who were not as careful as an older person."[58] Mr. Lau criticized his son's recklessness with regard to keeping the store and the workers safe and secure, arguing, "you never know if there might be somebody out there watching."[59] The limited visibility due to the closed-up storefront windows and the box boys' tendency to leave the back door open when tossing the garbage increased the likelihood of an armed robbery. Sadly, the latter did happen in 1977, and during this robbery Mrs. Lau was shot and killed by one of four shotgun-wielding robbers who held her, two of her sons, and the box boys at gunpoint in a walk-in freezer.[60]

Although Mr. Lau's devotion to his family's well-being and financial prosperity was all in good faith—and trust in one's family is expected in the Chinese cultural context, it was only "rewarded" by his own family's irresponsible actions.[61] The family-dominated management structures in Mr. Lau's grocery stores facilitated the supporting of family members in California, yet the poor business decisions made by these same family members ultimately led to lost profits, a fine by the Health Department in 1943, and his wife's murder during a store robbery in 1977.

*Conclusion*

Throughout his life in China and the U.S., Mr. Lau consistently exhibited a commitment to his family's needs, and he shaped his personal identity through his diasporic experience and cultural integration. Unlike sojourners and settlers, Mr. Lau appreciated both cultural landscapes and aspired to be both Chinese and American. In his decisions, Mr. Lau kept his own and his family's needs at the forefront of his mind and acted to help and honor his family.

After navigating Mr. Lau's diasporic experience, it is evident that there are further opportunities for research. Some future topics of study could focus on how migrants' personal experiences with spatial displacement shape their identities over the course of their lives; how the personal recollections of migrant experiences change when collected in a series of oral histories over time; and how American exceptionalism spurs negative cultural adaptations in immigrant families, both intact and separated. Efforts to collect ethnocultural oral histories should be redoubled to provide a more complete historical narrative that resists being dominated by nationalistic hegemony. Given Mr. Lau's example of familial care, adaptive multiculturalism, and optimism for the future in the face of exclusion and adversity, there is hope that Americans can still choose to pursue a

[58] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 67.

[59] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 67.

[60] Lau, OH 1879, transcript, 67.

[61] Chun Li, Chen, Chua, Kirkman, Rynes-Weller, and Gomez-Mejia, "Research on Chinese Family Businesses," 586-587.

societal outlook that is more optimistic and that celebrates our differences in culture and background without touting ethnic, cultural, ideological, or nationalistic supremacy.

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Raul Quinonez

# *A Voluntary Exodus?*
# *Self-Repatriation from the U.S. to Mexico during the 1930s*

ABSTRACT: *During the Great Depression of the 1930s, a mass migration of Mexicans and Mexican Americans left the U.S. for Mexico. These migrants either saw themselves forced by local, state, or federal policies; enticed by various promises from the Mexican government to revitalize its country's economy and infrastructure in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution; or prompted by personal reasons. Based on contemporary media accounts and oral histories, this article sets aside the mainstream narrative of forced repatriation to highlight the highly individual considerations that led many to leave on their own.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; 1930s; Great Depression; Mexican Americans; U.S.; California; Mexico; migration; repatriation; oral history*

## *Introduction*

On January 2, 2006, Melissa Block of National Public Radio (NPR) interviewed California State Senator Joe Dunn, a Democrat representing the state's 34th Senate District, including north Orange County. Their conversation focused on the successful passage of a bill Dunn had authored, namely, the *Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program*, in which California acknowledged its role in the repatriation of over two million Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the 1930s.[1] Yet, Senator Dunn's interview did not address the various reasons why these individuals and families had repatriated in the first place. While their number is staggering, the reasons for their repatriation are our focus here.

The repatriation movement can be attributed to three primary factors. The first, and best known of these encompasses the U.S. government's policies, as well as those of local and state governments, toward both Mexican citizens living in the U.S. and American citizens of Mexican descent.[2] The second factor is the Mexican government's active policy of reaching out to Mexicans in the U.S. to convince them to move back to their native land with the promise of land and a stable future.[3] The third and least known factor in the repatriation movement revolves around an individual's choice to leave for personal reasons that ranged from a lack of economic opportunities in the U.S. to a disruption in family dynamic.[4]

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[1] Joe Dunn, interview by Melissa Block, "Remembering California's 'Repatriation Program'," January 2, 2006, *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio, audio (00:04:23) and transcript.

[2] Francisco Arturo Rosales and Daniel T. Simon, "Mexican Immigrant Experience in the Urban Midwest: East Chicago, Indiana, 1919-1945,"*Indiana Magazine of History* 77, no. 4 (December 1981): 333-357, here 348.

[3] "Repatriation Plan Outlined: Mexico Allocates Land for Colonies," *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1939.

[4] Hortencia Martinez de Benítez, interview by Christine Valenciana, La Habra, CA, December 20, 1972, Oral History (OH) 1298, transcript, Mexican American Oral History Project, Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

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Apart from contemporary newspaper articles, the evidence for my investigation comes primarily from oral histories, particularly the interviews of Herbert Sanchez, Carmen Landeros, and Hortencia Martinez de Benítez, as well as Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana and Theresa Martinez Southard, all conducted by Christine Valenciana in the early 1970s for the Mexican American Oral History Project of the Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton. Herbert Sanchez, shares the story of his family, which included his father, step-mother, and three brothers, and how they were affected by the U.S. government's repatriation policy.[5] Carmen Landeros speaks to the role that the Mexican government played in enticing a family member of hers to self-repatriate to Mexico.[6] Hortencia Martinez de Benítez relates that she, her parents, and thirteen siblings made the voluntary move to Mexico by train.[7] These personal accounts, as well as others, provide an in-depth understanding of why these individuals and their families left, and under what circumstances.

Repatriation has received a limited amount of scholarly attention. Abraham Hoffman has been an expert on Mexican and Mexican American repatriation since the 1970s, primarily analyzing the U.S. government's various 1930s policies.[8] In an exemplary regional study, Neil Betten and Raymond A. Mohl have discussed the attitude of a local municipal government and its effect on the immigrant population of Gary, Indiana.[9] Hoffman, meanwhile, has also addressed the Mexican government's role in trying to convince Mexican nationals to return to Mexico voluntarily.[10] The irony of Mexican workers being praised for their labor before the Great Depression, a view that changed dramatically once the U.S. went into economic free fall, has been the focus of Dennis Nodin Valdes's work.[11]

During the interwar years, the Great Depression and the economic recovery due to President Roosevelt's Great New Deal took center stage in U.S. history. Yet, the U.S. government's policy of repatriating Mexican Americans and Mexican citizens back to Mexico, along with the reasons why individuals and their families

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[5] Herbert Sanchez, interview by Christine Valenciana, Los Angeles, CA, August 29, 1971, Oral History (OH) 0752, transcript, Mexican American Oral History Project, Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

[6] Carmen Landeros, interview by Christine Valenciana, Los Angeles, CA, August 7, 1971, Oral History (OH) 0745, transcript, Mexican American Oral History Project, Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

[7] Martinez de Benítez, OH 1298, transcript.

[8] Abraham Hoffman, "Stimulus to Repatriation: The 1931 Federal Deportation Drive and the Los Angeles Community," *Pacific Historical Review* 42, no. 2 (May 1973): 205-219.

[9] Neil Betten and Raymond A. Mohl, "From Discrimination to Repatriation: Mexican Life in Gary, Indiana, during the Depression," *Pacific Historical Review* 42, no. 3 (August 1973): 370-388.

[10] Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939* (first published 1973; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), 84-85.

[11] Dennis Nodin Valdes, "Mexican Revolutionary Nationalism and Repatriation during the Great Depression," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1988): 1-23, here 7.

left, continues to be overlooked. This paper argues that, while forced repatriation is undoubtedly tragic, there were those who decided to leave on their own. Both the Mexican and U.S. governments, as well as state and municipal authorities, played a role in dictating policy during the interwar period, and various policies to support self-repatriation will be addressed first.

*I. U.S. Pressure*

The repatriation movement originated with the federal government and spread to local governments and public organizations as a way to decrease the number of people in need of jobs or unemployment assistance. Those supporting the policy believed that Mexican aliens were a burden and therefore should be removed from the U.S.—an attitude that became an integral part of the repatriation movement and affected many people of Mexican descent throughout the U.S.

In his interview, Mr. Sanchez relates his experience with repatriation and how the U.S. government forced people of Mexican descent back to Mexico because they allegedly were a financial burden to society.[12] While Mr. Sanchez does not remember who exactly was telling Mexican citizens that they had to leave, he recalls that "[t]hey had to go back 'cause they can't take care of people. Like when they, when they come over here, immigration, to live in the state, they have to, they make the people tell them that they [are] not going to be supported by the county."[13] In his work, Hoffman highlights U.S. Secretary of Labor William N. Doak's xenophobic approach to tackling the high unemployment rate, namely, that deporting illegal aliens would lessen the stress on the labor market and therefore improve the chances of American citizens to find a job.[14]

In a speech made on September 7, 1931, in Johnson City, Tennessee, Labor Secretary Doak touted the increase from 180,000 to 760,000 public construction workers, while pointing out the decrease in immigrants then coming into the U.S.[15] In the same speech, he blamed the previously large influx of immigrants for the oversupply of labor in some areas. Doak's strategy of sharing news of positive job growth, while mentioning the allegedly negative impact of immigration on the economy, was intended to sway the public in favor of repatriation measures. Doak stated: "The deportation of these alien enemies of the country requires greater effort than in the case of any other class."[16] Thus, public speeches by members of the U.S. government pushed the narrative that Mexicans and Mexican Americans were to blame for the lack of jobs throughout the country, thereby fueling a pro-repatriation sentiment among a public already battered by the Great Depression.

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[12] Sanchez, OH 0752, transcript.

[13] Sanchez, OH 0752, transcript.

[14] Hoffman, "Stimulus to Repatriation," 205-219.

[15] "Doak Says Upturn Is Due before Long," *New York Times*, September 8, 1931.

[16] "Doak Says Upturn Is Due," *New York Times*, September 8, 1931.

Public sentiment toward those of Mexican descent was quite negative. Betten's and Mohl's 1973 article discusses a related case of racism that occurred in Gary, Indiana. The living conditions in local areas inhabited by Mexicans were deplorable, leading to rampant malnourishment and a rise in tuberculosis of epidemic proportions.[17] Even in the Catholic Church, where one would expect refuge from daily harassment, Mexican Catholics found it difficult to be accepted. Many of them were asked to pay 25 cents at the church door and leave another 25 cents in the collection plate. In response, Mexican Catholics started their own congregations.[18] Discrimination also occurred in the workplace, as those Mexicans who had jobs were forced to bribe their supervisors to retain their jobs, and those whose skin color was deemed too dark were simply not hired. As the idea of repatriation became popular among manufacturing leaders like Horace S. Norton, superintendent of U.S. Steel's Gary Works, H. B. Snyder, president of the Gary Reconstruction Association, and Walter J. Riley, head of the Twin City Manufacturers Organization, the city of Gary, too, began to remove Mexicans from its city limits.[19]

On the West Coast, repatriation was in full swing in states like California, home to a large concentration of Mexicans and Mexican Americans, especially in the Los Angeles area. The *Los Angeles Times* reported on April 16, 1934, that the Welfare Department had scheduled a return of Mexicans for April 25.[20] By stating that the Welfare Department was organizing the deportation, the article led its readers to associate welfare with Mexicans (or the latter's removal). Moreover, the article indicated that the county would provide a stipend to those who would leave voluntarily. Misleadingly, the article asserted that these plans were being made to repatriate "a large number of Mexican citizens from Los Angeles County to the homes across the border."[21] This suggested that those who were being sent back were simply living right across the border when, in fact, the U.S.-Mexican border was almost 2,000 miles long, and post-Revolution Mexico consisted of almost 30 different states, any of which could be the home of those being repatriated.

In cities across the U.S., relief organizations like the American Legion took a stance on repatriation and argued, for example, that the removal of Mexicans from the city of Chicago would reduce the local unemployment rate and therefore solve the economic crisis.[22] A trustee from North Township, Indiana (just south of Chicago), wrote to Labor Secretary Doak: "Here is our problem—to rid this community of Mexicans […] By them leaving, our unemployment problem here

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[17] Betten and Mohl, "From Discrimination to Repatriation," 373.

[18] Betten and Mohl, "From Discrimination to Repatriation," 375-376.

[19] Betten and Mohl, "From Discrimination to Repatriation," 379-380.

[20] "Return of Mexicans Scheduled: Repatriates Will Leave on 25th Inst., Welfare Department Announces," *Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1934.

[21] "Return of Mexicans Scheduled," *Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1934.

[22] Rosales and Simon, "Mexican Immigrant Experience," 347.

in this city, and in fact of almost the entire Lake County would be solved."[23] The problem they faced, though, was that the majority of Mexicans in the East Chicago region could not be deported because this would have violated immigration laws. Since the federal government could not provide the necessary funds to fuel the repatriation project, advocates of the plan were left to seek funds from local sources. The hardships many Mexicans were experiencing caused them to depend on local relief organizations for aid. Yet, this dependence provided the perfect opening to force them to "choose" to leave for Mexico. Many relief organizations made it more difficult for Mexicans to receive aid, and others simply denied them aid altogether.[24] Once they had no choice but to return to Mexico, several railroad lines headed to the central states of Guanajuato, Michoacán, and Jalisco, which were the home states of the majority of Mexicans residing in the Midwest.

In a cruel twist of fate, even Mexicans under medical care were targeted by city officials. According to an article, "Supervisor Seeks Return of ILL Indigents to Mexico," printed in the *Los Angeles Times* on October 24, 1938, Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors member Gordon L. McDonough was reaching out to the Mexican government to approve a plan to repatriate tuberculosis patients who were costing the county $89,500 dollars annually.[25] Authorized by the Board of Supervisors, McDonough traveled to Mexico to convince the authorities to accept the repatriation of 148 Mexican-born tuberculosis patients who, at the time, were being cared for at the Olive View Sanatorium in Sylmar. The article addresses the history of the repatriation program, stating that, over the years, more than 14,000 "indigents" had been returned to Mexico.[26] It suggests that Los Angeles County representatives were optimistic that their plan to repatriate tuberculosis patients would be welcomed by Mexican officials because of the repatriation program's prior success and Mexico's acceptance of repatriates. The audacity of these local officials who were considering a plan where human beings, who were receiving medical care, would be rounded up and sent back to a country where the health care they would receive might well be inadequate is simply despicable. Yet, this was just another example of the lack of empathy that ran rampant through the city of Los Angeles when it came to Mexicans.

Years earlier, another incident in Los Angeles had been the raid at La Placita Olvera. On February 26, 1931, under orders from the local superintendent of Immigration services, Walter E. Carr, immigration agents from San Diego, San Francisco, and even Nogales, Arizona, joined Los Angeles agents to conduct a planned operation to round up illegal immigrants at La Placita Olvera.[27] The raid

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[23] Rosales and Simon, "Mexican Immigrant Experience," 347.

[24] Rosales and Simon, "Mexican Immigrant Experience," 348.

[25] "Supervisor Seeks Return of ILL Indigents to Mexico," *Los Angeles Times*, October 24, 1938.

[26] "Supervisor Seeks Return," *Los Angeles Times*, October 24, 1938.

[27] Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1995), 73.

was the first of its kind. As Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez point out, when immigration officials questioned an individual's legal status at a place of business, they pulled them aside one by one. The raid itself was meant to have an adverse psychological effect on the Mexican community. The message was that, out in public, they were not safe from the authorities. Unlike previous instances, when local authorities had worked with Mexican officials on issues of immigration, this raid was the exact opposite. As soon as word got out that the raid was taking place, Mexican Vice Consuls Ricardo G. Hill and Joel Quiñones went to La Placita Olvera to help their harassed countrymen and were themselves mistreated until they announced their diplomatic status.[28] When Quiñones questioned Carr about the raid, Carr responded that the raid was not targeting Mexicans and gave as proof that three individuals of European descent and one of Asian descent had also been apprehended.[29]

While raids like the one at La Placita Olvera in 1931 made front-page news, Melita Marie Garza has shown that 1931 was the peak of repatriation to Mexico.[30] The following year, 77,453 Mexicans were repatriated, roughly half the number of the year before, and there was a continuing downward trend of Mexicans being repatriated, month after month, up until 1937.[31] In 1930, over 1.4 million Mexicans had been living in the U.S., and three-fourths of them had been concentrated in the southwestern states of California, Texas, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico.[32] The agricultural sector in these states had attracted Mexican migrants who still had jobs during the Great Depression, and this made them a target.

The hypocrisy of government officials like Labor Secretary Doak, who claimed that deporting Mexicans would improve the economy, was bad enough. Worse, though, this assertion was accepted by state and municipal leaders who then pursued their own xenophobic repatriation programs. The scapegoating of Mexicans as the reason for the lack of jobs was easily embraced by suffering and dejected members of the American working class. The U.S. government's propaganda led to the systematic targeting of an entire ethnic group, regardless of immigration status, which, in turn, provided the Mexican government with a platform to reach out to its expatriates and entice them to return home.

*II. A New Beginning in a Familiar Place*

Unlike the strategies evident in the U.S. repatriation program, the Mexican government could not force its expatriates to return home. The pressure put on Mexicans and Mexican American citizens to leave the U.S. for Mexico was actually

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[28] Balderrama and Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal*, 74.

[29] Balderrama and Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal*, 74.

[30] Melita Marie Garza, "They Came to Toil: News Frames of Wanted and Unwanted Mexicans in the Great Depression" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2012), 182.

[31] Garza, "They Came to Toil," 182.

[32] Zaragosa Vargas, *Labor Rights Are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America* (first published 2005; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 16.

alleviated by the Mexican government through the promise of a better life by offering arable land and economic opportunity. What is more, Mexico proclaimed itself a safe haven once again, since hundreds of thousands of Mexicans had fled to the U.S. during the Mexican Revolution of 1910.[33] To propagate its message to Mexicans living in the U.S., the Mexican government worked hand in hand with its northern neighbors and initiated a number of outreach programs.

Individuals found that the opportunity of gaining land and the possibility of becoming self-reliant after experiencing economic turmoil in the U.S. was a chance they could not pass up. From Carmen Landeros's interview, we learn that her sister left for Mexico on her own, without being forced by local or U.S. authorities, based on the promise of a better life in Mexico. Her sister, a teacher, ended up obtaining land from the Mexican government with the goal of building her own school. Mrs. Landeros describes her sister's ordeal with building the school in her interview: "They gave her land to build a school. There was never a school in that place, and she built it from the trunks of palms […] and then she would go and find the skins of the snakes inside buildings. But she built her school and she taught there for about seven years."[34]

During the administration of President Lázaro Cárdenas del Río between 1934 and 1940, the Mexican government prepared for the possibility of an influx of compatriots from the U.S.[35] Cárdenas, a former governor of the state of Michoacán, one of the areas hardest hit with high levels of migration, knew that this influx was inevitable. Indeed, by the end of 1934, Los Angeles County was on the verge of deporting between 15,000 to 20,000 families back to Mexico.[36] A strategy had to be laid out to make the whole process of accepting repatriates back into the country as seamless as possible. Thus, the incoming Minister of Industry and Commerce (*Secretario de la Economía Nacional*), Francisco J. Múgica, launched a system of gathering information on which individuals would be migrating back, what skills they possessed, and what their economic potential was.[37] In the case of Mrs. Landeros's sister, her profession as a teacher proved to be valuable to the Mexican government, and she thus found an opportunity to establish her roots.

On October 31, 1938, the *Los Angeles Times* published a story that Ricardo G. Hill, the former Mexican Consul in Los Angeles, who had been present during the La Placita Raid, was introducing a bill to encourage repatriation in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies as a Representative from the state of Sonora. This bill, Hill

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[33] Camille Guerin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 42.

[34] Landeros, OH 0745, transcript.

[35] Fernando Saúl Alanís Enciso, *They Should Stay There: The Story of Mexican Migration and Repatriation during the Great Depression*, trans. Russ Davidson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 51.

[36] Enciso, *They Should Stay There*, 52.

[37] Enciso, *They Should Stay There*, 53.

stated, would only apply to Mexicans who were "at present unemployed and in dire financial straits."[38] The bill itself was rather vague and originally asked for "various Mexicans" without giving an exact number of those who might be suffering economically at that time. At any rate, that Mexican authorities were playing an active role in trying to reach out to potential Mexican repatriates and to accommodate them once they arrived home.

Over a year later, as reported by the *Los Angeles Times* on January 30, 1939, five Mexican consuls from California met in Los Angeles to hammer out how to deal with the escalating issue of "indigent" Mexican citizens. The article stressed that Mexico had to first prepare for the potential of a large number of Mexican repatriates before a more concrete plan could be adopted.[39] The Mexican government used their consuls in two primary ways that proved to be vital in the repatriation process. It introduced a plan by which federally owned land would be given to repatriates to create agricultural colonies only after going through a vetting process headed by the consuls.[40] Secondly, consuls actively supervised the departure of repatriates back to Mexico from California, Texas, and other states.[41] In light of the racism toward Mexican nationals in the U.S., having their own consuls supervise their transportation back to Mexico provided some comfort to these repatriates. The chance to return home, own land, and do so without a racist environment was an opportunity many Mexicans found hard to ignore. When local officials floated the idea of repatriation in the Los Angeles area, Mexican Consul Rafael de la Colina welcomed the prospect of playing a role in the process. Moving forward, he implemented a policy by which an official member of the Mexican Consulate would accompany large groups of repatriates as they embarked on their journey back to Mexico.[42]

On April 19, 1939, the *Los Angeles Times* announced that the repatriation plan had finally been outlined by the Mexican Undersecretary of State Ramón Beteta Quintana. Under the new plan, any person over the age of 18 would receive a maximum of 20 acres of irrigated land or a maximum of 50 acres that was tillable but unirrigated. This land would be located in three recently established agricultural colonies, namely in the state of Tamaulipas, in Mexicali, and in the state of Sinaloa.[43] In addition to the enticing opportunity to own property, the

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[38] "Repatriation Asked for Mexicans Here," *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 1938.

[39] "Mexican Consuls Confer on Return of Indigents," *Los Angeles Times*, January 30, 1939.

[40] R. Reynolds McKay, "Texas Mexican Repatriation during the Great Depression" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma at Norman, 1982), 42.

[41] McKay, "Texas Mexican Repatriation," 41.

[42] Brian Gratton and Emily Merchant, "Immigration, Repatriation, and Deportation: The Mexican-Origin Population in the United States, 1920-1950," *The International Migration Review* 47, no. 4 (2013): 944-975, here 950.

[43] "Repatriation Plan Outlined," *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1939.

Mexican government also guaranteed loans from the National Bank from the time repatriates would arrive on their land until the first harvest.[44]

Along with Mexican government officials taking a hands-on approach in the U.S. to support those who wanted to repatriate, there was also an active social movement. Considered the top muralist in the world, Diego Rivera was very active in Detroit, Michigan, during the early 1930s. From April 1932 to March 1933, Rivera was commissioned to complete artwork for the Detroit Institute of Arts.[45] His works paid tribute to Detroit manufacturing and the various cultures that had helped it grow over the years. Rivera then started the League of Mexican Laborers and Farm Workers organization which worked with the authorities of both Mexico and Michigan to coordinate the repatriation of Mexican citizens.[46]

The support system put in place by the Mexican government for returning compatriots was well-intentioned and well planned. It not only created a welcoming environment through the creation of agricultural colonies but also gave migrants the opportunity to thrive by offering them a guaranteed loan. It would seem that the risk of staying in the U.S., where they were unjustly targeted simply for being Mexicans, far outweighed the risk of failing in these new colonies. Yet, there were also those Mexican families who the U.S. "on their own" for personal reasons.

*III. Personal Reasons*

When reporting how many Mexicans were being deported back to Mexico, local newspapers in the U.S. rarely provided much context. They primarily publicized the numbers of those who were deported and the frequency with which deportations were taking place. Local sentiments definitely leaned against Mexicans, and this played a part in how local governments took charge of their repatriation programs. Usually overlooked, there were many instances of Mexicans leaving the U.S. for Mexico for either economic or personal reasons, and without being forced or coerced by the federal, state, or local governments.

In her interview, Hortencia Martinez de Benítez shares that she, her parents, and her thirteen siblings made the move to Mexico via train. She relates that her father paid the train fare for everyone himself. She also emphasizes that they were able to acquire land and a ranch to live at, and that it was their own.[47] Like many other families in the U.S. during the Great Depression, Mrs. Martinez de Benítez's family was experiencing economic difficulties. As she points out, there were instances when individuals made the decision to repatriate for personal reasons and not—or not primarily—due to intimidation or coercion. In her case, one cannot overlook that the sheer size of her family and the lack of economic

[44] "Repatriation Plan Outlined," *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1939.

[45] Garza, "They Came to Toil," 199.

[46] Garza, "They Came to Toil," 200.

[47] Martinez de Benítez, OH 1298, transcript.

opportunities in the U.S. played an integral role in her father's decision to move the family back to Mexico.

When the repatriation movement gained steam between 1930 and 1931, many Mexicans had already been returning to Mexico on their own for months. Apart from the obvious economic factors, many took advantage of the Mexican government's offer for the duty-free admittance of vehicles and agricultural implements.[48] This relatively minor offer of waiving fees meant a lot since many of those returning were already poor and had little to their names.

On the basis of individual accounts, we can clearly see that many Mexican families considered other personal factors to leave the U.S. for Mexico, like a change in the family structure or a sense of national pride. In her interview, Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana shares that a personal tragedy, namely, the loss of her mother, shook her family to their core. Her father now had to take care of the family while being unemployed and living on welfare. When asked why her father did not apply for U.S. citizenship, she responds that his love for his home country was unwavering and that—to him—becoming an American citizen would have been the equivalent of stepping on the Mexican flag. His only recourse, partly due to his sense of national pride, was to take his family back to Mexico where he could potentially find a job in his trade and no longer depend on welfare.[49]

It was common for repatriates to have experienced economic distress during the early 1930s. Yet, at times, secondary factors, such as a sense of national pride, were decisive to make the move to leave for Mexico. Aside from the personal tragedy in Mrs. Castaneda de Valenciana's family, it is noteworthy that, for her father, American citizenship was out of the question. His personal viewpoint is reflected in the fact that the Mexican ethnic group ranked lowest with regard to becoming naturalized U.S. citizens among all major immigrant ethnic groups.[50] The reluctance of Mexican residents who were living in the U.S. legally to become naturalized citizens was seen in a negative light by Americans. However, the fact that U.S. citizens of Mexican descent were still being discriminated against only confirmed the notion that, no matter what a Mexican was doing in the U.S., discrimination would always be the norm—regardless of legal status.

There are other cases of families who decided to make the trek back to Mexico for personal reasons. In the case of Theresa Martinez Southard, she and her family of eleven moved back to Mexico not for a lack of money but, rather, due to the untimely death of her sister.[51] Mrs. Southard's family decided to leave for Mexico

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[48] Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans*, 84-85.

[49] Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana, interview by Christine Valenciana, La Mirada, CA, September 8, 1971, Oral History (OH) 0700, transcript, Mexican American Oral History Project, Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

[50] Valdes, "Mexican Revolutionary Nationalism," 11.

[51] Theresa Martinez Southard, interview by Christine Valenciana, Los Angeles, CA, September 1, 1971, Oral History (OH) 0753, transcript, Mexican American Oral History Project, Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

because of the heartache that her sister's death caused for her father. He had a steady job as a foreman, under contract with a wealthy landowner, and was responsible for paying his crew. In her interview, Mrs. Southard shares that they departed abruptly, leaving all their possessions behind and only taking their clothes. She explains that adapting to life in Mexico was difficult, and that she always yearned for the opportunity to return to the U.S. When this opportunity presented itself in 1951, she had been living in Mexico for twenty years and already had a family of her own.[52]

Personal situation as a key reason why a family or an individual returned to Mexico should not be underestimated. In 1934, after interviewing 108 people who were repatriating back to Mexico, James Carl Gilbert found that 19 of them (or 17%) gave as their main reason a desire to be with their family, either a mother or a father. According to Gilbert, a good number of people who repatriated back to Mexico had come to the U.S. after the Mexican Revolution.[53] Gilbert's study affirms how much family was valued by those Mexicans who decided to return. While his sample study is rather small and only considers a mere 108 individuals who repatriated, its findings are confirmed by several of the oral histories cited above. As Gilbert has pointed out, the yearning for a family member was, at times, the deciding factor when it came to repatriating back to Mexico.

*Conclusion*

Considering that the U.S. and the world—due to the COVID-19 pandemic—may yet be facing an economic disaster comparable to the Great Depression, it is imperative to fully understand what occurred back then and how we, as a country, failed an entire ethnic group, including American citizens, by making them the scapegoat for the economic hardships shared by all. As we reflect on what occurred during the repatriation period of the Great Depression, we acknowledge that there were three key factors that led to the mass migration of Mexican repatriates: firstly, the U.S. government—through the rhetoric of its officials and their support for local authorities who were facilitating the deportation of Mexicans; secondly, the Mexican government—through its agricultural reforms intended to entice Mexican nationals to return with the promise of arable land and economic opportunity; and thirdly, much less known but clearly deserving of more attention, personal reasons—ranging from economic considerations via individual tragedies to the strong desire to reunite with family. All three factors are important to obtain an accurate picture of why and how repatriation took place.

It is well known how Mexicans were treated in the U.S. and that the Mexican government wanted them to return to Mexico. Future research might consider

[52] Southard, OH 0753, transcript.

[53] James Carl Gilbert, "A Field Study in Mexico of the Mexican Repatriation Movement" (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1934), 25.

how those who migrated back to Mexico were treated by the locals: Were they seen as traitors or as Americanized Mexicans because they had left in the first place? It is of great concern that those in power can control and push narratives that paint individuals or entire groups as scapegoats for failures of security or economic hardships. One can only hope that those who know their history and have a sense of logic will prevail over those who spew hatred and bigotry.

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Diego Barros

# *The Mighty Ninety: Black Americans Championing the Cause of Freedom in Republican Spain*

ABSTRACT: *This article assesses the experience of the ninety African Americans who volunteered to fight against the Fascists during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Based on these veterans' testimonies, it argues that they went to Spain believing that they were fighting the same oppressive forces that were behind Jim Crow and segregation in the U.S.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Second Spanish Republic; Spanish Civil War; U.S.; African Americans; Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Oliver Law; Fascism; Communism; testimonies*

## *Introduction*

The military rebellion that challenged the democratically elected government of Spain in 1936 was a Nationalist coup that followed in the footsteps of Italian and German fascist takeovers. Invading the Iberian Peninsula from its colony in Morocco, the Nationalists unleashed a savagery on Spain that would become a catalyst for the atrocities of World War II. Democracies around the world failed to come to the aid of Spain, but individual citizens with a strong conviction against this unlawful attack decided to take action. Among these volunteers were ninety African Americans who, while facing significant challenges in their own country, determined that the fight in Spain was their fight. Spain became the place where they could confront the same forces that were oppressing them at home.

The African Americans who fought in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) had long been on the receiving end of a prejudiced system. They could and did relate to a Spanish working class that had everything to lose from a Nationalist takeover. Those Black Americans who went to Spain did not leave behind a peaceful existence. Official and unofficial government policies were treating them as second-class citizens from Harlem to Montgomery, discriminating against them at every level. The lynching of African Americans was not an uncommon occurrence in the 1930s. The heavily biased and unfair American judicial system would condemn African Americans to death based on the flimsiest of evidence, as in the Scottsboro case of 1931, when eight teenagers were sentenced to death in Alabama after being accused of raping a White woman on a train.[1] Similar racism and prejudice against Blacks across the Atlantic had allowed fascist Italy to use poison gas on Ethiopians with no real repercussions from other "civilized" nations who themselves possessed colonies overseas. These same Italian Fascists were now enabling General Francisco Franco's Nationalists in Spain.

There was no single reason why African Americans volunteered to fight in Spain. Some were outraged by Italian atrocities in Ethiopia and frustrated at their inability to do more. Others believed there would be no place for them in a fascist

[1] Peter N. Carroll, *The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 39.

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world. Edwin Rolfe (1909-1954), a journalist and eyewitness of the Spanish Civil War, commented that "the bridge between the impulse and the act (of volunteering) is a highly personal process, one that men rarely divulge to others […] there is a no man's land between conviction and action into which the great majority of humankind never venture."[2] Many African Americans certainly opposed the Nationalist invasion of Spain but few considered taking an active part in its defense. Those who volunteered to fight in Spain had a lot in common, and when looking at them as a whole, certain patterns emerge. Very much forebears of the Civil Rights leaders of the 1960s, they were not individuals who would be content with waiting for change. The one characteristic that Black volunteers shared was their confrontational stance against the injustices being committed around them. Most volunteers had led or participated in protests against established segregation or unjust labor and housing practices that were keeping African Americans living in abject poverty. In other words, African American volunteers were vocal activists.

*I. Historiography*

The most extensive academic work on the topic considered here is Victor A. Berch's *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War: "This Ain't Ethiopia but It'll Do"* (1992). One of the few publications solely dedicated to the African American volunteers, it is a collection of reports, testimonies, and interviews from the volunteers themselves. Berch praises the Black volunteers and does not shy away from their links to Communism, no matter how detrimental these later became during the Cold War. He denounces the United States (U.S.) government for its unjust policies toward the "Lincolns," as the volunteers of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were known, and addresses the fact that Republican Spain itself had a checkered human rights record.[3] Republican Spain maintained a colony in Morocco and had no intention of giving it up during the war. In the 1920s, a large section of the Spanish population had rallied around General Miguel Primo de Rivera's pacification of the Rif tribes in North Africa.[4] This begs the question, why did these African Americans go to Spain? What caused them to identify with the Spanish Republic? This article argues that the African Americans who went to fight Fascism in Spain believed they were fighting the same oppressive forces that were behind Jim Crow and segregation.

The aforementioned Edwin Rolfe served as a war correspondent during the Spanish Civil War, and his work, *The Lincoln Battalion* (1939), was the first

[2] Edwin Rolfe, *The Lincoln Battalion: The Story of the Americans Who Fought in Spain in the International Brigades* (New York: Random House, 1939), 15.

[3] Victor A. Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War: "This Ain't Ethiopia but It'll Do"*, ed. Danny Duncan Collum (New York: G. K. Hall and Co., 1992), 32.

[4] Nigel Townson, "The Contested Quest for Modernization, 1914-1936," in *The History of Modern Spain: Chronologies, Themes, Individuals*, ed. Adrian Shubert and José Alvarez Junco (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 64-81, here 73.

published account of these American volunteers.[5] Rolfe set a precedent for future authors, exemplifying the Lincolns' selfless behavior but avoiding some of the more complicated aspects concerning the Republic, especially its colonialism. He provided numerous examples of African American participation but did not focus on them in particular, since this was not the subject of his book. With its exceptional attention to detail, Rolfe's account of the African Americans displays a dignity unusual for its time. Subsequent authors, such as Paul Preston, Antony Beevor, and Adam Hochschild, have certainly acknowledged the Black Lincolns, but their works are not entirely devoted to the African American volunteers.[6] This is not unusual or meant to discredit the Black volunteers. It simply reflects the fact that out of the 3,200 American volunteers only ninety, or 4%, were Black.

American author and a Lincoln veteran himself, Arthur H. Landis (1917-1986) captured the true importance of these volunteers when he stated that "from the very beginning, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was an integrated unit,"[7] pointing out that "the concepts of real freedom embodied in the general antifascist philosophy […] precluded any idea of racial superiority or minority discrimination."[8] These important distinctions marked the ideological beliefs that these volunteers brought with them to Spain and embodied their communal spirit.

Peter N. Carroll, one of the foremost experts on the Lincoln Brigade, discusses the role of African Americans in his monograph, *The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* (1994).[9] He devotes a dozen or so pages to the Black volunteers, providing much praise but also criticism, as in the case of the high-ranking Communist Party member Harry Haywood (1898-1985). Carroll's book is extensively researched and one of the most complete accounts of the Lincolns. Carroll makes an astute observation when he notes that, "without exception, the African Americans who served in the Lincoln Brigade could testify to the double burden of economic hardship and racial injustice."[10]

Americans typically do not know much about these "premature anti-Fascists" who fought in the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s.[11] The World War that followed right on its heels would and still does capture more of the public's attention. Thus, even today, a fair representation of what took place is hard to come by. Authors

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[5] Rolfe, *Lincoln Battalion*.

[6] Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution, and Revenge* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2006); Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain* (New York: Penguin Press, 1982); Adam Hochschild, *Spain in our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (New York: Mariner Books, 2016).

[7] Arthur H. Landis, *The Abraham Lincoln Brigade* (first published 1967; New York: The Citadel Press, 1968), 73.

[8] Landis, *Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, 73.

[9] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*. Closer to a Battalion in size, the Lincoln Battalion was a subordinate unit of the 15th International Brigade of the Spanish Republican Army.

[10] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 27.

[11] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 250.

who bother to cover the Spanish Civil War disproportionately glorify the Republic, while avoiding some of its more troublesome aspects, such as atrocities against the civilian population, a racist attitude toward the Moroccan troops serving in the Army of Africa under Franco, and an unwillingness to liberate Spanish Morocco during the conflict. The Spanish Civil War does not garner much attention beyond a casual mention of the Nazi-sponsored Condor Legion or of the famous authors Ernest Hemingway and George Orwell who both participated in the conflict. America was too preoccupied with domestic issues like the Great Depression to concern itself with what was going on in Spain. No U.S. administration would have survived the vast expenditure of money that would have been required to save the Spanish Republic at a time when unemployment in America hovered around 14%. By 1939, U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt may have regretted not doing enough to save Republican Spain, for it was now painfully obvious that the Nationalist victory made Europe far less stable than anyone could have ever imagined.[12] England would pay a heavy price for its non-intervention, with Germany using the Spanish ports of Vigo and Cádiz as resupply bases for its U-boats during World War II.[13]

*II. The War in Spain*

A complicated mosaic of political parties, ideologies, and ethnic groups had divided Spain for generations before the Civil War broke out in 1936. Very much a declining power by the end of the nineteenth century, Spain had undergone profound changes in its government that ranged from a parliamentary monarchy to a military dictatorship under General Primo de Rivera from 1923 to 1931. The Spanish King Alfonso XIII (r. 1886-1931), who had aligned himself to this unstable entity, lacked the political support to save himself when the Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed in April 1931 and had to go into exile. The Second Republic (1931-1939) gave a voice to some powerful new arrivals on the Left, including the General Union of Workers (*Unión General de Trabajadores*) and the Anarchist National Confederation of Labor (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*). These organizations maintained militias that would play a significant role in the coming Civil War. Communist organizations also made an appearance, with the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (*Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista*) and the Soviet-backed Communist Party of Spain (*Partido Comunista de España*) being the two dominant groups. Yet, despite these newcomers, the moderate Socialist organizations formed the backbone of the Spanish Republic that ruled the country from 1931 until the end of the Civil War in 1939. Ethnic minorities, such as the Basques and the Catalans, were concerned about autonomy and generally sided with the more tolerant Republic, and so did a majority of the working population

[12] Hochschild, *Spain in our Hearts*, 353.

[13] Charles B. Burdick, "The Resupply of German Submarines in Spain, 1939-1942," *Central European History* 3, no. 3 (September 1970): 256-284.

in Madrid and Barcelona. The Nationalists that constituted the Spanish Right comprised Catholics, Monarchists, Fascists, and most of the country's monolithic military, particularly those stationed in the colonial outpost of Morocco.

Both sides were quite fragmented, but the Right proved far more capable of setting their differences aside during the conflict. The Republicans continuously fought among themselves even during the war, for example, during the May Days of 1937 in Barcelona. The Nationalists also succeeded in other ways that were not so obvious. They were far more successful at lobbying foreign support, which came in the way of tanks, airplanes, and troops from Italy and Germany. Sympathetic American businesses provided oil and trucks to the Nationalists on credit.[14] Perhaps the biggest Nationalist diplomatic victory was not antagonizing the Western democracies into joining the conflict on the side of the Republic.

The Second Spanish Republic was a progressive, reform-minded government body that initiated programs intended to break the land monopoly of the country's landowning barons while advocating in favor of a liberal agenda in the areas of education, women's suffrage, and workers' rights. The Republic's fatal mistake was implementing these reforms far too quickly for the general public to keep up or support. It must be remembered that Spain had not developed at the same pace as other Western European countries. Even African American volunteers arriving in Spain at the height of the Great Depression commented on the shocking levels of poverty that were the reality in the Spanish countryside in the 1930s. Fears of a Communist revolution similar to the one that had taken place in Russia bordered on paranoia in the upper echelons of Spanish society despite the fact that the Communist Party was only a minor player in Spanish politics before the war. American volunteers would have to tread carefully in this political minefield.

*III. The Communist Connection*

It is imperative to understand the role of the Communist Party in getting American volunteers to Spain, as many of them could not have afforded the travel. The collapse of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929 is an integral part of this story. This singular event left millions of Americans unemployed for a generation. It worsened an already bad situation for African Americans, a minority group "already plagued by high rates of poverty, poor living conditions, low wages, and race, gender, and class discrimination."[15] American historian Robin D. G. Kelley explains that the "enlightened attitude of the Russian Bolshevik toward national minorities and the Communist Party's support of Black male leadership and cultural expression motivated a small group of Black intellectuals and working-class laborers to join the Communist Party."[16]

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[14] Hochschild, *Spain in our Hearts,* 358.

[15] Joe William Trotter, Jr., *From a Raw Deal to a New Deal? African Americans, 1925-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 8.

[16] Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 112.

This phenomenon has to be viewed through the lenses of the 1930s, when the Soviet Union was still a credible force that attracted a respectable following, including union leaders and academics. Seattle native and Lincoln volunteer Albert Chisholm (1913-1998) recalled that "no one in Seattle was standing up for the rights of Blacks at the time. The Communists were the only ones who did. I never would have gone to sea if not for the Young Communist League," referring to his employment on a passenger liner to the Far East in the early 1930s.[17] Sociologists St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton have remarked that the Depression "prompted many Black Chicagoans to seek assistance from Leftist organizations […] when faced with unemployment and housing evictions, it was not unusual for a mother to shout to the children 'Run quick and find the Reds!'"[18]

Communist organizers began recruiting for the Spanish Republic largely in secret, "not because Communists harbored a devious conspiracy to overthrow the government […] but because party leaders did not wish to be caught violating American recruitment laws."[19] The Communists seemed to be the only organization willing to assist the Spanish Republic. Since August 1936, most Western democracies had decided on a policy of non-intervention, and early Nationalist victories at San Sebastián and Alcázar had alarmed the Soviets. Peter Carroll notes that "the speed with which the American Communist party assumed leadership in directing personnel and material aid to Republican Spain reflected its apocalyptic ideology."[20] It also reflected a geopolitical reality that the Soviet Union could not ignore, lest it be the next victim of a fascist Europe. Now would be the time for "the legions of the proletariat […] to defend their class interests."[21] Fascists in Italy and Germany had consolidated their power by making an enemy out of Bolshevism, and the situation continued to deteriorate now that they were firmly established. The Soviet Union faced a real threat to its existence. Communism and its desire to unite the workers of the world had certainly provoked the Spanish Nationalists who were painting the Republic as a staunchly Communist entity, even though there were many political groups represented in the Second Republic. It was a convenient excuse, but it was a generalization. The Communist alliance with the Soviet Union simply posed the biggest threat to Nationalist success, so they bore the brunt of conservative abuse, particularly in propaganda. The Nationalists capitalized on this Bolshevik-phobia by blaming the country's failures on an obscure Jewish-Masonic-Communist conspiracy, the defeat of which was their primary reason for invading the Peninsula. The vast

[17] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 39.

[18] St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945), 87.

[19] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 64.

[20] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, 71.

[21] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, 71.

amounts of aid provided to the Republic by the Soviet Union certainly did not help the matter, but the Jewish connection was pure fascist propaganda.

Black Nationalist groups such as the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) already existed to promote the rights of African Americans. It was largely due to their ineffectiveness that some Blacks turned to the Communist Party. Lincoln veteran and Harlem Black activist Vaughn Love (1907-1990) expressed that "the NAACP had nothing of interest for the rank and file of Blacks. They might get you into college but for the masses of people, they had nothing for you."[22] Love seriously considered enlisting in the Ethiopian Army in 1936 "but, he later explained, the contacts weren't good and the war didn't last long."[23] African Americans united with sympathetic Whites against the common class enemy, and the "Communist Party welcomed disaffected Blacks and strove to eliminate every vestige of discrimination."[24] That the American Communist Party was controlled and funded by the Soviet Union was hardly a secret, as the experience of one former Lincoln by the name of Admiral Kilpatrick (1898-1992) illustrates.

Kilpatrick was a politically active worker from Cleveland, Ohio, who had joined the American Communist Party early in its existence. Accustomed to serving at the forefront of unions and labor movements, he joined the Party in 1927 and attended school in the Soviet Union in 1934.[25] Several other prominent members of the Lincoln Brigade spent time in the Soviet Union, including the Berkeley-educated Robert Hale Merriman (1908-1938) and the aforementioned Harry Haywood of the American Communist Party. As for the adventurous Kilpatrick, he returned to America in 1935 only to volunteer for the Spanish Civil War two years later. The Communist Party played a vital role in financing these voyages. Another Black volunteer by the name of Oscar Hunter (1908-1983) described the process. Already a member of the Communist Party in New York City, Hunter approached a district organizer by the name of Morris Chiles and expressed his interest in going to Spain. "And it was all settled,"[26] noted the nonchalant Hunter, as if joining a volunteer army overseas was the most natural thing to do. With Communist assistance, he would cross the Atlantic alongside fellow Lincoln volunteer Oliver Law (1900-1937) in the early months of 1937.

*IV. Oliver Law and the Volunteers*

The radical activist and Lincoln Brigade veteran Steve Nelson (1903-1993) declared that "someday, the working class of America will properly acknowledge the role [the] brave Negro Communist played in the fight for freedom," referring

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[22] Vaughn Love, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 173.

[23] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 55.

[24] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 55.

[25] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War,* 82.

[26] Oscar Hunter, "Testimonies,"in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War,* 159.

specifically to Oliver Law.[27] Before volunteering for Spain, Law had served in the U.S. Army for six years after the Great War. He had then returned to Chicago and become a prominent trade unionist and advocate for the unemployed. According to Berch, his organizing work "resulted in frequent run-ins with the Chicago Police Red Squad and he was once seriously injured by a police beating."[28] Before departing for Spain in 1937, "Law was arrested while leading a protest march against the Italian Fascist invasion of Ethiopia."[29] His pre-war record indicates that he was a capable organizer, unafraid of taking to the streets and confronting the police. He was committed to the cause of the worker, certainly a man who stood out from his peers and destined to lead. Out of the approximately ninety African American volunteers, he was the one selected to command the Lincoln Battalion after other leaders had been wounded or incapacitated.

The fear of capture or going to jail did not deter these men, but they were not common criminals. These outspoken defenders of liberty were surprisingly patriotic. Spanish volunteer Crawford Morgan (1910-1976) saw no difference between the lynching of African Americans in the South and the fascist atrocities taking place across the ocean. He noted that "there are a lot of people in the United States like myself […] that is going to fight with all we have to see that the Constitution is upheld—those lynchings and the other discrimination—that is a violation of the Constitution."[30] Fellow Lincoln volunteer Albert Chisholm explained that, "when Italy attacked Ethiopia, the majority of Black people wanted to assist the Ethiopians. But the administration of the United States said no."[31] What facilitated the transition from talk into action was, once again, the Communist Party. When asked by a party member in 1937 whether he would like to go to Spain, Chisolm said, "Sure, I'd be glad to go."[32] What mattered to him most was an opportunity to fight against these global injustices, whether it be Fascism in Europe or the Jim Crow laws in America. Fellow volunteer Vaughn Love felt the same way. Love was a college-educated Black activist who had been involved in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the Southern Labor Committee.[33] Dismayed at the U.S. government for not supporting the Spanish Republic and lacking faith in the progress of the Black and labor movements, Vaughn Love tried "to figure out some kind of way to get to Spain […] to hell with it—this is the most important thing to me."[34] He left for Spain in February 1937.

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[27] Quoted in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War,* 5.

[28] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War,* 83.

[29] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War,* 83.

[30] Crawford Morgan, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 179.

[31] Albert Chisholm, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 147.

[32] Albert Chisholm, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 147.

[33] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 85.

[34] Vaughn Love, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 173.

Patrick Roosevelt (1903-1982) was another African American volunteer who had defied the odds before coming to Spain, learning how to fly airplanes at a time when Blacks were prohibited from joining the profession. He barnstormed[35] all over the country, avoiding the Southern states for obvious reasons. Italy's attack on Ethiopia had infuriated him. In his words, Roosevelt "wanted to see if I could help these little people out against a big war machine."[36] Other Black aviators who volunteered for Spain were James Peck (1912-1996) and Paul Williams (1907-1987). Peck explained his reason for going to the *People's World* magazine: "What we were fighting in Spain was a species of that thing which at home had kept me, a trained pilot, grounded while keeping hundreds of thousands of other Negro youths from being what they wanted to be."[37] It is remarkable that of the four or five licensed Black pilots in America at that time, three volunteered to go to Spain! On a similar note, Los Angeles native Frank Alexander (1911-1996) explained that the primary reason he wanted to go to Spain was to "fight back" against global injustices. Interestingly, he remarked that "the American people would learn much faster when America became involved in that struggle, that they would wise up to the problems that were here."[38] When asked whether he was interested in going, Alexander showed no hesitation, and he left for Spain in February 1937.

Perhaps the most unusual Black volunteer was Salaria Kea (1917-1990), a nurse from Harlem, who went to Spain to help the Republic. Kea was an orphan from Akron, Ohio, who overcame a great deal of adversity and discrimination to earn a nursing degree from the Harlem Hospital Training School in 1934. She befriended other progressive nurses who attended "lectures and discussions on civic affairs, local, national, [and] international."[39] This resulted in her active support for the Ethiopians in their cause against the Italians by collecting donations to secure a seventy-five-bed field hospital for Emperor Haile Selassie after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The Ethiopians were defeated in that struggle but, when "Mussolini advanced his Italian troops from Ethiopia into Spain, she understood that this was the same fight."[40] Kea volunteered to go to Spain with a humanitarian mission headed by Dr. Edward Barsky (1895-1975) from the Beth Israel Hospital in New York City. Her friends from Harlem, surprised at her decision to go into an active war zone protested in astonishment: "What! You're going to Spain in wartime, and alone?" "Sure," Kea said, "I wasn't born twins. I have to go alone."[41]

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[35] Barnstorming was a form of entertainment in which pilots performed aeronautical stunts for audiences on the ground.

[36] Patrick Roosevelt, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 185.

[37] James Peck, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 89.

[38] Frank Alexander, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 142.

[39] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 127.

[40] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 127.

[41] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 69.

*V. The Journey Overseas*

The voyage to Spain was quite an ordeal. The American Communist Party financed much of the operation, providing each volunteer with a "black cardboard suitcase with a yellow strap, along with other items such as razors, instant coffee and Lucky Strikes cigarettes"—Communist handlers apparently did not consider how conspicuous they all looked traveling with the same suitcase.[42] They made their way from New York harbor to the French Port of Le Havre, keeping their final destinations a close secret, as it was illegal for Americans to serve in foreign armies. After looking at "suitcases packed with khaki," customs inspectors at Le Havre quickly figured out their destinations and whispered to each other: "Ils sont volontaires pour l'Espagne."[43] The volunteers then proceeded to do what most tourists do when they arrive in Europe, wandering the town and looking for a hotel and a place to exchange dollars for the local currency. They frequented local bars and wandered into the red-light district where they interacted with working women who, to the Americans' surprise, "carried union cards."[44] Rolfe mentions that they were welcomed by the people, including an accordion player, who asked them to sing American songs while he accompanied them."[45]

The African American volunteers were well received in France. Albert Chisholm remembered that the French "were so human; they acted like they were used to Black people. You could go meet a White girl and just walk down the street. There was nothing to it. Here, you'd get lynched."[46] On the train ride to the city of Perpignan on the Spanish border, Rolfe noted that "twenty nationalities had been represented in the train, all, except the Americans, from Europe."[47] This is an important observation. Of the approximately 35,000 to 40,000 international volunteers who went to fight in Spain, less than 3,200 were Americans. The rest came from France, Germany, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, and Hungary.[48] Individuals from all over the world, united in their fight against Fascism, were sharing cigarettes and talking on that train as it was passing the vineyards and rolling hills of the French countryside. According to historian Antony Beevor, "wine was passed round, food shared, and the 'Internationale' sung endlessly" on this train ride south.[49]

Crossing the border into Spain itself could be tricky. Albert Chisholm explained that "the French border guards were pro, and some were against us. We

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[42] Caleb Crain, "Lost Illusions: The Americans who fought in the Spanish Civil War," *The New Yorker*, April 11 (online) and 18 (print), 2016.

[43] "They are volunteers for Spain." Rolfe, *Lincoln Battalion*, 22.

[44] Rolfe, *Lincoln Battalion*, 22.

[45] Rolfe, *Lincoln Battalion*, 22.

[46] Albert Chisholm, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 147.

[47] Rolfe, *Lincoln Battalion,* 23.

[48] Rolfe, *Lincoln Battalion,* 23.

[49] Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 160.

were lucky; there were a lot of border guards who saw us, and they just turned their heads away."[50] Crossing the Pyrenees was still relatively easy in early 1937 but became harder as the war dragged on and France increased the security along its borders. Many eventually had to hike into Spain over dangerous mountain passes that became snow-clogged during the winter. Harry Haywood was left behind as his group crossed the Pyrenees and "had to spend a night alone with a special guide," something that brought him much embarrassment.[51] The intellectual Haywood was not a model soldier, despite his previous wartime experience, and he quickly made enemies out of the other volunteers who considered him a dandy with his tailored clothes and knee-high boots.[52] Even the gracious Rolfe, who knew him personally, dismissed him as a "coward and a shit."[53] American volunteers continued to the border town of Figueres on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees and from there to the Catalan capital of Barcelona.

*VI. Jarama Valley*

Volunteers arriving in February 1937 were diverted to the town of Albacete in central Spain for additional military training. Since October 1936, Albacete had served as the headquarters and staging area for the International Brigades. By the following year, the situation was dire. The Nationalist Army had crossed the Mediterranean from Morocco and slowly moved up the Peninsula, consolidating their gains as they approached the Spanish capital. They arrived in Madrid on November 6, 1936, and were halted by Republican forces with the help of the recently arrived International Brigades. The Nationalists then laid siege to the city, and both sides dug defensive positions on the outskirts of the capital. The Republican government had already fled to the city of Valencia on the Mediterranean coast. Keeping the vital road between Valencia and Madrid open was essential for supplying the capital. It was here, in the defense of the Jarama Valley just east of Madrid, that the Lincolns would experience their first action.

The fighting on the Jarama Front began on February 6, 1937. Rolfe recorded that "the enemy had attacked with three columns, numbering three thousand men each […] supported by heavy artillery fire and numerous tanks, they drove the Republican forces back to the edge of the Jarama River."[54] The Republican Army and four International Battalions had been fighting a running battle against the Nationalists south of the capital, retreating eastward to avoid being caught in the onslaught. Arriving the night of February 15, the American volunteers were instructed to dig a defensive perimeter and await a possible enemy advance. "In

[50] Albert Chisolm, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 147.

[51] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 133.

[52] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 133.

[53] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 133.

[54] Rolfe, *Lincoln Battalion*, 37.

their ignorance," Carroll informs us, "they dug against the skyline,"[55] silhouetting themselves to the enemy on top of a hill. "At dawn, artillery shells and machine-gun bullets smashed into their positions."[56] Soon, Italian planes were spotted heading toward their line. Oliver Law caught a glimpse of the aircraft and alerted Robert Merriman: "Look boss, they're dropping propaganda leaflets."[57] When these leaflets turned out to be bombs landing close to their position, Law looked back at Merriman and said, "Them sure was powerful leaflets."[58]

When their position became untenable, the Brigade leadership asked for a detail to dig a new defensive line behind the exposed one. Among the men who volunteered were Oscar Hunter and fellow African American Doug Roach (1909-1938). Hunter remembered "running through a set of olive trees, and we got to a point where we started to dig. Doug and I were both workers, not high school kids, not college boys, but workers and we really dug, see […] they'd always say when you'd get to the part of the trenches where Doug and Oscar are, be sure and have a ladder, 'cause you're going to have to climb down. It was funny as hell. But we survived and they didn't."[59]

A serious lack of understanding about the tactical situation at Jarama led the 15th International Brigade to order the Lincoln Battalion into several pointless advances that resulted in heavy casualties, including the wounding of Commander Robert Merriman.[60] The Fascists' advance to cut the road between Valencia and Madrid failed, but the casualties on the Republican side were severe, including 127 Americans killed and almost 200 wounded.[61] The Lincolns manned these trenches for months afterwards, engaging in multiple skirmishes against Nationalist troops. It was during this time that Oliver Law served with particular distinction, being recognized and promoted to group leader in a machine gun company in the Lincoln Battalion. Martin Hourihan (1913-1995), the Lincoln Battalion Commander who replaced Merriman, noted that Law had earned a promotion based on his "good record as officer at [the] front. Showed good morale and discipline under fire."[62] When Hourihan himself became ill, Law replaced him as Commander of the Lincoln Battalion, making history as the first African American in charge of an integrated unit.

By April 1937, the Nationalist *Generalissimo* Francisco Franco was making significant gains in the Basque region in the country's northeast, threatening the Basque capital of Bilbao. Republican leaders devised a plan to relieve the pressure

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[55] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 99.

[56] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 99.

[57] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 99.

[58] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 99.

[59] Oscar Hunter, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 160.

[60] Landis, *Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 82-85.

[61] Rolfe, *Lincoln Battalion*, 57.

[62] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 136.

in that sector by attacking the Nationalists in Estremadura, a region in the country's southwest that borders Portugal. A peculiar incident happened at this juncture. Soviet advisors had openly opposed the Estremadura plan because it took the focus away from the fighting around Madrid. Soviet representatives informed Prime Minister Francisco Largo Caballero's Republican government that "neither their tanks nor their aircraft would support the Estremadura offensive," effectively dooming the venture.[63] It was at this point that many Republican officers became aware of the disproportionate Soviet influence at the highest echelons of the Republican Army. According to Beevor, Republican officers "were horrified by the Party's infiltration of the command structure and its vitriolic campaigns against any officer who resisted."[64] The upcoming offensive would take place near Madrid. As Beevor explains, due to propaganda purposes, the Soviets were "as obsessed with the capital as Franco had been over the previous six months."[65] Thus, the Soviets were essentially in control of strategy, and their assistance would come at a cost.

The International Brigades were pushed to their absolute limits during the offensive that followed at Brunete (west of Madrid). The overwhelming combination of Germany's Condor Legion and Italian and Moroccan infantry tilted the scales in favor of the Nationalists. The disparity in modern weaponry between the two combatant armies was taking its toll on the International Brigades, and without proper resupply, there was only one way the war would end. Watching the Condor Legion's non-stop aerial bombardments, Lincoln volunteer Morris Mickenberg (1908-1960) observed that "the Fascists had everything and we had nothing […] we never had a chance, we lost this war long ago."[66] The International Brigades attempted to stem the tide by carrying out desperate frontal attacks that had little chance of succeeding. During one such attack conducted on the morning of July 9, 1937, Oliver Law advanced ahead of his men, waving a pistol and urging them forward."[67] Several eyewitnesses confirmed what happened next, as "Oliver Law was dropped by a fascist bullet to the chest."[68]

As Carroll points out, not all the Lincolns agreed with this version of events. Carroll mentions a lamentable account made by a fellow volunteer by the name of William Herrick (1915-2004), who published a controversial version of what had happened at Brunete. Although he was not an eyewitness, Herrick recalled that "one of the disgruntled Lincolns, angry and frightened by Law's incompetence,

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[63] Beevor, *Battle for Spain,* 274.

[64] Beevor, *Battle for Spain,* 275.

[65] Beevor, *Battle for Spain,* 274.

[66] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 142.

[67] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 142.

[68] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 142.

fired the bullet that killed him […] subsequently urinating on his corpse."[69] Firsthand witnesses fervently denied this outrageous story, but it was not the only account of the potential ineptitude of the Black commander. Law was rumored to have been completely out of his depth before being killed at a place known as Mosquito Ridge. Carroll quotes another Lincoln officer who insisted on remaining anonymous and stated that "Law was cowardly at Brunete, he was completely inexperienced."[70] Volunteer Morris Mickenberg collaborates this, calling Law an "incompetent commander," and hinting that there might have been something to the charges made against him.[71] Experience leading labor strikes and protests does not directly translate into leading men in battle. What training Law did have was six years in a segregated Army that strongly discouraged African American leadership. West Point cadets who undergo four years of formal leadership training have been known to fail in the heat of battle, and Oliver Law had no such advantage. One should not criticize him too harshly. The extraordinary circumstances of combat bring out the best and worst in people. Oliver Law may have found himself overwhelmed by his responsibilities, but he stayed loyal to the cause and made a valiant effort to lead his troops to victory until the very end.

Fellow African American combatant Walter Garland (1913-1974) was also injured at Brunete and had to be evacuated to a nearby field hospital. The Lincolns were decimated at Brunete, and the strategic objective of saving the Basque capital failed as well. Republican leadership adopted the strategy of maintaining offensive operations to shift the focus away from Madrid, and Franco and his allies obliged, defeating these attacks, which unnecessarily prolonged the war, wherever they materialized. The Republic continued these futile attacks until the very end, a questionable strategy given the risks involved in offensive operations. Perhaps they would have done much better had they maintained a defensive posture, but the Republican leadership did not adopt this course of action and would continue its costly advances until its armies disintegrated at the Battle of the Ebro River. The International Brigades would pay dearly for these decisions.

It is no small irony that, during these battles, African Americans were often facing fellow Africans in the form of the Rif tribesmen serving in the Nationalist Army.[72] The Nationalists had recruited these Moroccans to fight against the Spanish Republic. Berch mentions that "Loyalist propaganda directed at North African troops was so venomous that it was interpreted as racism pure and simple."[73] Republican troops were even known to fire at the African American volunteers in the mistaken belief that they were Moors (the label commonly used

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[69] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 138.

[70] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 138.

[71] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 138.

[72] Rif tribesmen were ethnic Berbers who adopted Islam in the seventh Century during the Arab expansion into North Africa.

[73] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 32.

for the Rif tribesmen).[74] African Americans may have gone to Spain to support a progressive movement that looked beyond racial differences, but there certainly remained some deeply ingrained racial prejudices that even motivated one Spanish peasant to look at Black volunteer Vaugh Love and exclaim, "los esclavos!"[75] Despite this confusion, there is no question that African Americans were treated better in Spain than in their native country, as veteran Crawford Morgan informed the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1954. Morgan testified that "from the time I arrived in Spain until the time I left, I felt like a human being, like a man. People didn't look at me with hatred in their eyes because I was Black […] when you have been in the world for quite a long time and have been treated worse than people treat their dogs, it is quite a nice feeling to go someplace and feel like a human being."[76]

African American volunteers continued to fight in Spain until the Spanish government, in 1938, decided to send the International Brigades home, in the hope that the Nationalists would follow suit. They were present at Quinto, Belchite, Teruel, and at the Ebro, distinguishing themselves along the way. Eluard McDaniels (1912-1985) became so proficient at lobbing grenades at the enemy that the Spanish soldiers nicknamed him "el fantastico" for his athletic prowess.[77] Claude Pringle (1894-1959) not only survived the sinking of the ship *Ciudad de Barcelona* off the coast of Malgrat de Mar, he was also "decorated as a loyal, well-disciplined soldier of the Spanish People's Army" for his actions at Teruel in 1938.[78] The Lincolns and most international volunteers departed Spain in October 1938, but their struggles were far from over. Some African American volunteers would find themselves in the segregated American military during World War II. After they had proved themselves as able combatants in the Spanish Civil War, this was a major blow.

Official American indifference to the Lincolns would turn into open hostility during the Cold War years. Veterans established support groups such as the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB). This group continued to advocate against Franco at home in the U.S., which became a problem at the end of World War II when Franco was redesigning his image as the first Cold Warrior against Bolshevism. *Realpolitik* prevailed, and Spain eagerly joined the anti-Communist alliance that included much of Western Europe. By 1950, the State Department even authorized "a sizable loan to the Franco government."[79] African American volunteers suffered along with the rest of the Lincolns. The FBI visited

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[74] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 32.

[75] "The slaves!" Vaughn Love, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 85.

[76] Crawford Morgan, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 176.

[77] "The fantastic." Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 86.

[78] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 89.

[79] Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* 293.

them at their places of employment, oftentimes resulting in a prompt dismissal. Many struggled to find work. The Truman administration officially declared the VALB a "subversive" organization, and more calamities soon followed, including arrests, trials, and the loss of employment for some of the Black Lincolns. Eluard McDaniels was fired from the Coast Guard after his service with the Lincolns was discovered. He believed himself a victim of both racial and political discrimination, as he considered the Coast Guard policy "not just political, but more racial discrimination than anything else."[80] African American labor unionist and civil rights activist Asa Philip Randolph aptly characterized this predicament when he said that "negroes cannot afford to add to the handicap of being Black […] the handicap of being Red."[81] Service in the Spanish Civil War resulted in significant adversity for veterans, especially Black veterans, after the war.

*Conclusion*

African Americans went to Spain to fight against the same injustices they were facing at home. They could not accept an attitude of non-intervention at a time when Black liberties were being trampled in both Ethiopia and the American South. Picking up a gun and standing up against every American Southerner was out of the question, but when the opportunity presented itself to oppose that same intolerant ideology in the context of a legitimate struggle in Europe, they took it. They recognized European Fascism as the xenophobic ideology that it was. It hardly mattered to them that the Communists were financing their voyage to Spain. To them, alliances of convenience in the spirit of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" was a strategic necessity, and the United States itself would become an ally of the Soviet Union during World War II. Despite repeated instances of racial prejudice and violence, no African American volunteer regretted his service in the Spanish Civil War. Berch notes that "not one single Black Lincoln veteran who was brought before the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) or the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) turned informant."[82] Both committees had been set up to investigate potential Communist activities in the U.S. during the McCarty era. Having volunteered for Spain, many Lincolns fell victim to this dragnet that could often ruin lives. Speaking long after the war, Admiral Kilpatrick remained proud of his service in Spain. Other Black Lincoln veterans shared his sentiments when he expressed that "I don't have to have no damn praise or be remembered by anybody about going to Spain. I'd go today […] I was doing it because I was a member of the movement that believes in that type of struggle. That's it."[83] And that's what it was. African Americans went to fight

[80] Quoted in Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, 311.

[81] Quoted in Paula F. Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph: Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 40.

[82] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 43.

[83] Admiral Kilpatrick, "Testimonies," in Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 168.

in Spain for their liberation, their own sense of freedom. The courageous actions of these soldiers overseas would go on to influence African American youth at home—perhaps even a particular twelve-year-old boy from Harlem, who wrote his earliest essay on the Spanish Revolution, and who went on to become one of the most prominent figures in the ongoing battle for Black and gay liberation: his name was James Arthur Baldwin.[84]

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[84] Berch, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War*, 43.

Michael Anderson

# *Swing Reich:*
# *A Cultural Analysis of Jazz during World War II*

ABSTRACT: *This article explores the culture of jazz and its various functions during World War II. Considering the music's roots in the folk and blues songs of American slaves and sharecroppers, it argues that jazz's oppressed, racially-charged heritage allowed for its unique presence in wartime, highlighting its role as entertainment, its use as propaganda, and its function as a tool of resistance.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; World War II; Nazi Germany; France; England; U.S.; jazz; Nazi propaganda; Theresienstadt (Terezín); cultural history*

## *Introduction*

In May 1940, the Nazis began their invasion of France as the inhabitants of Paris were listening in on the radio. While there was disbelief, there was also still confidence that the capital would not fall to the German army. Among the civilians glued to the radio was Django Reinhardt (1910-1953), a Romani jazz musician who was well aware that his ethnicity and lifestyle placed him in immediate danger should Paris surrender. Fearing for his life, he fled with fellow musicians to the south of France, where he felt he could survive in hiding.[1] Meanwhile, as the Nazi army occupied Paris and the nightclubs boarded up their windows and doors, Josef Goebbels, Nazi Germany's Minister of Propaganda, set out to make the now-depressed capital "its old self again." The city would become the "Wehrmacht's brothel," a reward for the German soldiers who were doing their part in defending the Reich. Paris would become a haven of entertainment for the Germans—complete with "wine, women, and even jazz"—as its restaurants and cabarets reopened their doors to civilians and soldiers alike. After hearing about this, and despite his heritage, Django returned to the capital where he soon found a new audience. Night after night, during the Nazi occupation of France, he looked out onto a sea of German soldiers and quickly became a main attraction on the stage, while fearing for his life offstage. "[F]or Django, it was a coup," his method of resistance.[2] Django's story, while unique, presents a fascinating example of the complex nature of jazz as a wartime phenomenon.

Historians have written a great deal about wartime jazz, and while there is plenty of insight into this curiosity, the music's heritage in connection to its cultural significance tends to be overlooked. While jazz's history is rooted in the struggles of African Americans in the United States, its rise in popularity in the first half of the twentieth century was a testament to its value as a genuine and treasured art form. Therefore, it is no coincidence that by the time the Nazi Party

[1] Michael Dregni, *Django: The Life and Music of a Gypsy Legend* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 156.

[2] Dregni, *Django*, 158-159.

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rose to power in the 1930s, what had been an "ethnic" music had evolved into a cornerstone of entertainment in both civil society as well as the military. With a specific focus on Germany, England, France, and the United States, this article sets out to examine how jazz infiltrated the war. The story of how and why this supposedly—in the language of the Nazis—"degenerate" music became so significant deserves more attention.[3] Jazz arguably has an inherent quality that ensured its survival—especially under the Third Reich, leading to its cultural appropriation as both entertainment and propaganda. While jazz was considered a nuisance by conservatives in both Germany and Britain, it managed to establish itself as a vital component of the war effort and proved that it was more than just a novelty.[4] This article looks behind jazz's façade and zooms in on its cultural trajectory that brought it into the mainstream and, eventually, into World War II; it examines jazz's unique culture and history in connection to its presence in wartime through its role as entertainment, its use as propaganda, and its function as a tool of resistance.

*I. Entertainment*

By the mid-twentieth century, jazz had made it into the Western world's mainstream entertainment industry. Its adoption into popular culture was based on the turbulence of racial oppression in the United States and the challenges it faced as it honed and perfected its craft. Jazz was born on the streets of Louisiana, in New Orleans' red-light district, in the late nineteenth century and quickly became a staple of this vibrant city.[5] It reverberated with the emotion of its African American creators who would eventually ride this wave of musical fervor into the homes of White America. In this environment, swing became the standard for entertainment, as White musicians like Benny Goodman (1909-1986) and Bix Beiderbecke (1903-1931) presented the music with a more "acceptable" appearance, precipitating its growing popularity.[6] The United States' racially oppressive culture of the early and mid-twentieth century facilitated the White appropriation of jazz, easing the reception and embrace of what had initially been considered a "substandard" style of music. There were, of course, White musicians who had a genuine appreciation for the music's heritage and significance. Prior to jazz's surge in popularity, pioneering Black artists like Duke Ellington (1899-1974) and Louis Armstrong (1901-1971) were victimized by the climate of racism and

[3] "Degenerate" was a term used by the Nazis to describe modern, non-traditional, non-classical, un-German, threatening, or subversive art that did not support the ideals of Nazism. See Horst J. P. Bergmeier and Rainer E. Lotz, *Hitler's Airwaves: The Inside Story of Nazi Radio Broadcasting and Propaganda Swing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), chapter 5.

[4] Will Studdert, *The Jazz War: Radio, Nazism, and the Struggle for the Airwaves in World War II* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2018), 41-42.

[5] Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 31.

[6] Gioia, *History of Jazz*, 137. Swing is a form of jazz that was most popular throughout the 1920s and 30s. See Gioia, *History of Jazz*, chapter 5.

segregation that hindered their initial trajectory. New York's Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s awakened White audiences to jazz, solidifying its desirability in the world of music and nightlife entertainment.[7] Eventually, this new form of popular music made its way across the Atlantic Ocean and found a new audience and home in Europe.

The end of the Great War (1918) brought a fresh wave of arts and alternative culture to Germany's newly established Weimar Republic. This environment consisted of an exciting nightlife, filling Berlin's cabarets with music and entertainment that jazz would organically infiltrate as its reputation and fame expanded.[8] Jazz made its way to Germany at the end of World War I, after German prisoners of war had been exposed to it in French camps.[9] Prior to the war, few Germans would have had any consistent or significant interaction with people of African heritage, which added to ethnic music's polarized reception during the Weimar era.[10] Even with the acceptance of jazz, it was common for Black musicians to be relegated to the periphery.[11] This segregation of Black performers reflected the racial sentiment of the times, but jazz's popularity could not be denied. While jazz was a hit in nightclubs and cabarets, German conservatives still considered the music below their "moral standards."[12] This distaste became more apparent as nationalist sentiments hardened and the uneasiness with jazz came to a head.

By 1932, German Chancellor Franz von Papen's cabinet had outlawed the hiring of "colored" musicians.[13] Even though jazz itself was not banned, such policies and attitudes reflected the palpable nature of jazz's ambiguity. As astonishing as this must have been, the demand for jazz could not be ignored, and even Papen's autocratic government had to make concessions in its attempt to control the music. The restrictive approach toward jazz continued when Germany shifted from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich. Yet, as the Nazi Party implemented its totalitarian control, it, too, had to appease the public's continued demand for the music. Considering its immense popularity, jazz would serve a variety of purposes as the Reich had no choice but to accommodate it.

Although Goebbels detested the music, he never officially banned it. Jazz was "the rage in German homes as well as nightclubs, as popular among the nation's housewives as with German soldiers and the Military High Command, who threw

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[7] Gioia, *History of Jazz*, 123. The Harlem Renaissance was a 1920s artistic, cultural, and intellectual movement in New York's Harlem neighborhood. See Gioia, *History of Jazz*, chapter 4.

[8] Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3, 4.

[9] Kater, *Different Drummers*, 5.

[10] Bergmeier and Lotz, *Hitler's Airwaves*, 137.

[11] Kater, *Different Drummers*, 18-19.

[12] Bergmeier and Lotz, *Hitler's Airwaves*, 137.

[13] Kater, *Different Drummers*, 19.

their *Reichsmarks* like confetti to buy champagne in Berlin's cabarets."[14] Goebbels understood the futility of any effort to move against this current, so jazz, in the entertainment culture of the Nazi regime, played multiple roles. One such role was the leisure of civilians, soldiers, and the High Command. Following the establishment of the Reich Chamber of Culture (RKK) in 1933, foreign and ethnic musicians were the first to be targeted by restrictions.[15] Jews in particular were a focal point for Goebbels, as the Nazis saw a link between "racially inferior Blacks and Jews," and the notion that the latter were exceptionally gifted jazz musicians gave credence to the theory of a "Jewish-Negro" plot to corrupt German "Aryan" culture.[16] With such radical views in place, one would think that jazz would have been suppressed on all levels to thwart any risk of "contaminating" society. However, this was not to be. Instead of ridding "Aryan" culture of this "substandard" music, it was permitted to exist under a certain level of Nazi censorship. Unsurprisingly, the desire for jazz was experienced not only in Germany, but especially in Paris, where music and entertainment would flourish in the Parisian nightlife for the German army.

The Reich's acceptance of Django Reinhardt as a wartime entertainer during the Nazi occupation of France speaks volumes. According to Nazi ideology, Django presumably posed two threats to the "Aryan" race. Firstly, his Romani people were considered "elusive" and deceptive, perceived as "Hungarians or Jews or both, or they could be Romanian or Slavic, or they might deny their racial origins all together and pose as decent Germans."[17] Secondly, he was a jazz musician. Not only did he perform "decadent" music, but he was relatively famous and thus, one would assume, doubly dangerous. Instead, Django was so well admired that his growing celebrity brought him a new level of wealth and fame, allowing him to live freely in Paris to flourish as a beloved musician. Sadly, while Django was thriving under Nazi occupation, most of his Romani people were being rounded up for extermination. Of the 20,000 French Romani sent to death camps, an estimated 18,000 were murdered.[18] This is part of the paradox that consumed jazz under the Third Reich. Regardless of Django's heritage, his musical prowess trumped any concern over his "threatening" presence and further proved the power of jazz's significance within society. It is remarkable that even the brutality of the Nazi machine had its rare limits, and when it came to entertainment, jazz was hard to beat. With Paris booming and its nightlife uninhibited, jazz's reach would even be felt in an unlikely place like the "model" concentration camp of Theresienstadt (Terezín) in Czechoslovakia, which would provide a bizarre environment of entertainment for German soldiers.

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[14] Dregni, *Django*, 157.

[15] Kater, *Different Drummers*, 36.

[16] Kater, *Different Drummers*, 20, 24; Bergmeier and Lotz, *Hitler's Airwaves*, 136.

[17] Dregni, *Django*, 38.

[18] Dregni, *Django*, 167-169.

The Theresienstadt camp was a peculiar place during the war. Located in the fortress town of Terezín, in the Nazi-occupied Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (present-day Czech Republic), the camp initially comprised Jewish volunteers working as an *Aufbaukommando*, or building detail, to prepare for incoming prisoner transports.[19] The camp was set up in November 1941 to demonstrate to the International Red Cross that the rumors of Nazi death camps, consisting of gas chambers, slave labor, and inhumane living conditions, were a lie (which, of course, they were not). A German propaganda film, "The Führer Gives the Jews a City," pushes the narrative that Terezín was a relatively free prisoner experience, complete with sports, gardening, and cultural activities that included orchestral and jazz music.[20] Within limits, this depiction was accurate: what had begun as inmates singing folk songs in their barracks in the evenings eventually turned into a vigorous music scene that even the SS came to enjoy.[21]

The growing number of transports to Terezín meant a growing number of musicians, which, in turn, led to organized musical programs, first operating in secret. The Nazis eventually caught on and decided to permit these performances as *Kameradschaftabende*, or evenings of fellowship, and, in early 1942, officially endorsed *Freizeitgestaltung*, or Free Time Activities. These accommodations resulted in the formation of the Terezín prisoner jazz band, the "Ghetto Swingers." Their members, since they participated in musical activities, were considered "employees" and thus exempt from manual work.[22] While life in Terezín may have appeared as relatively easy-going to outsiders, the prisoners' reality was still grim and overshadowed by the prospect of eventual transport to Auschwitz. In 1944, the "Ghetto Swingers" met this fate when many of the band members were deported to Auschwitz and murdered in the gas chambers.[23] Thus, the inmates of Theresienstadt were no exception on the path toward the Nazi's "Final Solution." While Terezín further highlights the multifaceted use of jazz as entertainment, it also reveals the music's ambiguity as an example of propaganda, a topic to which we now turn.

*II. Propaganda*

Jazz's use as propaganda during the war was not a natural move on either side of the conflict. It was especially counterintuitive for Nazi Germany to incorporate ethnic music not just for entertainment but also as a weapon against the Allies. Jazz's adoption mainly served two functions: to boost morale and invigorate the troops and the home front, and to serve as a subversive element in an attempt to

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[19] Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945*, 2nd ed. (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2008), 9.

[20] Amanda Petrusich, "The Jewish Trumpeter Who Entertained the Nazis to Survive the Holocaust," *The New Yorker*, April 22, 2019; "The Führer Gives the Jews a City: World War II German Propaganda Film 19064" [www.PeriscopeFilm.com], *YouTube* video, 21:47, May 24, 2019.

[21] Karas, *Music in Terezín*, 11.

[22] Karas, *Music in Terezín*, 11-16.

[23] Petrusich, "Jewish Trumpeter."

undermine enemy listeners. However, before either of these tactics could be implemented, the Axis and Allied powers had to come to terms with their own opinions on jazz which they commonly perceived as inferior or substandard. While this sentiment was mostly shared by the German and British High Command, soldiers and civilians soon highlighted the music's significance, eventually bringing it into the war. Before long, jazz was heavily incorporated into radio broadcasts as a vessel for both morale-boosting and subversion.

The process of embracing jazz in Nazi Germany unfolded in several stages. As we have seen, jazz was permitted to function under a certain level of censorship, but there was a great deal of philosophical debate that led to its eventual acceptance, focusing on four areas of concern. Firstly, there was the question whether the "African continent or the United States should be deplored as the historic home of jazz." The purpose of this question was to accurately understand the origins of the genre before properly discriminating against it. Secondly, the music's rhythm, characterized by syncopation, was considered "unsuitable for marching" and therefore "un-German." This argument faltered once "musicologists remembered that even J[ohann]. S[ebastian]. Bach [the most famous German composer of the Baroque era] had utilized the syncope." Thus, in the case of jazz, the issue would not be the rhythm itself but the way in which it was used. Thirdly, the saxophone, often a prominent instrument in jazz music, was a "natural culprit" that appeared relatively foreign to German musicians. This argument, too, hit several roadblocks once it was realized that classical compositions had commonly incorporated the saxophone into arrangements. Moreover, it was initially believed that the instrument had been invented by a German-born Belgian, Adolphe Sax (1814-1894), who, as it later turned out, was actually not German-born but simply Belgian. Fourthly, and most compellingly, there were the "insidious sexual powers of jazz:" the music was deemed to have a corrupting influence on national morality through its alluring, promiscuous sensuality. This argument carried the most weight with the Nazis as there appeared to be no real counterargument to this (strange) line of reasoning.[24]

Clearly, there was plenty for the German High Command to consider. The fact that there was so much investigation into the possible threats of jazz only illustrates the music's (in reality) harmless nature. Arguments in favor of suppressing jazz were nothing more than racial bias, and the claim pertaining to jazz's "sexual powers" was a mere matter of moral opinion. Regardless of all these deliberations, jazz was eventually embraced in Germany, as there was no realistic way to suppress it. The British process of "understanding" jazz would be different, but it did have a few surprising parallels to the Nazis' approach.

The racial environment in Great Britain during the war years was somewhat hazy. While the Allies were fighting a war in the name of liberty and democracy, a distinct level of ethnic prejudice surfaced in their response to jazz music. Even

[24] See Kater, *Different Drummers*, 31-32, for all direct quotes in this paragraph.

the British music magazine *Melody Maker,* with its progressive stance toward race, had controversial opinions on jazz. With regard to music playing a role in soldiers' morale, the magazine's technical editor, Dan S. Ingman, wrote that, "music has been used as an incentive to fighting men from time immemorial. If we are to believe that the savages of the jungle are merely a reflection of our earlier selves, then we can say with confidence that from the earliest dawn of time mankind has used music to stir himself up."[25] *DownBeat* magazine, one of the main proponents of jazz on the radio, nonetheless "generally refrained from featuring African American musicians on its covers."[26] Then there were, of course, conservative political opinions about jazz, as evidenced by British Labour MP Andrew MacLaren's statement in favor of so-called British music on the radio versus "degenerate" American-style music: "[T]hey come here from the backwoods of America and have the rhythm of the nigger running through them, with all that it implies. They do not belong to our people."[27] These ideas and opinions would not prove significant enough, however, as jazz eventually became a prominent feature on the airwaves.

It was also realized that the BBC's meager broadcasting of jazz had a more profound effect on the troops than the High Command had anticipated. Emerging from the "cultural blackout," as part of British air-raid precautions in 1939, radio broadcasts were strictly limited, and criticism arose immediately in favor of more consistent entertainment, deemed essential for the "spirits of the populace." Furthermore, there was a mounting concern over listeners tuning into "the violent anti-British propaganda" of German broadcasts. After a brief ban against dance music, the BBC gave in to demands and criticism, allowing jazz to be broadcast on Sundays.[28] In January 1940, BBC Director General Frederick W. Ogilvie paid a visit to the British Expeditionary Force in France and noticed a curious scene. He observed young soldiers listening to BBC broadcasts and realized it was a different audience than those on the home front. As a result of Ogilvie's visit, the BBC affirmed the desirability of "light entertainment" and established its "Forces Programme," which included sports, dance music, and jazz every evening.[29]

The use of radio entertainment during the war became increasingly important as the conflict persisted. For the Germans and the British, radio broadcasts provided a useful distraction for soldiers as well as civilians who were in need of such diversions.[30] The appeal of music on the radio was a first step toward realizing the powerful capabilities of jazz as both entertainment and propaganda. In this context, entertainment and propaganda were interwoven as both sides used

[25] Quoted in Studdert, *Jazz War*, 8.

[26] Quoted in Studdert, *Jazz War*, 25.

[27] Quoted in Studdert, *Jazz War*, 41.

[28] Studdert, *Jazz War*, 9-14.

[29] Studdert, *Jazz War*, 14-15.

[30] Studdert, *Jazz War*, 14; Kater, *Different Drummers*, 47.

the desire for music to draw in potential dissidents. With regard to jazz, "radio warfare" was a reciprocal process between the two belligerents in the form of "call and response:" first the British understood its significance, then the Nazis followed with their inevitable counterreaction.[31]

This counterreaction emerged as Goebbels became increasingly concerned with German listeners tuning into Allied radio broadcasts to quench their thirst for jazz music. Even though he had banned the listening of such stations, he was aware that civilians and military personnel were still listening in. Goebbels's concern was justified, as the BBC "estimated [in 1943] that between one and three million Germans were tuning into its special programs." The RKK had already been reorganized between 1941 and 1942 to allow for a regulated amount of German-sponsored jazz.[32] Soon, with similar goals in mind, both sides offered broadcasts intended for enemy listeners. One of these German broadcasts was that of radio personality "Axis Sally," an American by the name of Mildred Gillars (1900-1988), based out of Berlin and broadcasting for the Nazis during the war. Her programs consisted of jazz music to lure in Allied listeners, followed by pro-Axis propaganda to sway their allegiance. Most Allied listeners, however, found the Nazi rhetoric to be nothing more than ridiculous and amusing.[33] "Axis Sally" is just one example of the various strategies used to undermine the opposing side.

Another strategy employed by the Nazis was to take familiar jazz songs and rewrite their lyrics with anti-Allied messages. In 1928, Gus Kahn (1886-1941) and Walter Donaldson (1893-1947) had written the jazz song, "Makin Whoopee," for the Broadway show *Whoopee!,* performed by Eddie Cantor.[34] While this song had been recorded by various artists over time, Goebbels had a different goal in mind when he developed the idea for "Charlie and His Orchestra," a propaganda jazz band intended for radio broadcasts.[35] Charlie's songs took aim at the Allied leadership, such as British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, but mostly centered around anti-Semitism. Their cover of "Makin' Whoopee" includes such modified lyrics as, "Another war, another profit, another Jewish business trick, another season, another reason for makin' whoopee." Additional lyrics contain racial epithets and messages, blaming the Jews and the Allies for starting the war. The recording even opens with an announcement that Eddie Cantor had been asked to rewrite the music with new lyrics, at which point the propaganda version of "Makin' Whoopee" follows.[36] These examples illustrate the "call and response" system that affected the Allies

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[31] Studdert, *Jazz War*, 2.

[32] Kater, *Different Drummers*, 122-124.

[33] Edward van Dyne, "No Other Gal Like Axis Sal," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 15, 1944.

[34] Sandra Burlingame, "Makin' Whoopee (1928)," JazzStandards.com.

[35] Studdert, *Jazz War*, 55.

[36] "German Propaganda Swing: Charlie & His Orchestra: Makin' Whoopee," *YouTube* video, 3:09, June 8, 2008.

and the Axis. Yet, while jazz proved to be an important form of propaganda for the warring nations, it also served as a form of resistance, allowing ordinary civilians to contribute to the war effort.

*III. Resistance*

Music's expressive nature is embedded deeply in its fibers. The notion that it can be manipulated to serve various functions for an individual or a target audience only underscores its significance. Two of these functions—entertainment and propaganda—have already been discussed, but one of the most crucial functions of music during the war was resistance. The thought of a beautiful melody as a dangerous weapon may seem somewhat absurd. However, it is not always the song itself but, rather, its message or even the people associated with it. Jazz was such a weapon. Its free-spirited nature made it a formidable tool that people sought to embrace, even if they had been ordered otherwise. This rebellious quality was rooted in jazz's origins of African Americans struggling within the oppressive and segregated confines of their country. The music was a natural weapon for anyone looking to adopt it. While jazz could be utilized as a means of resistance in various ways, one specific way was the cover that it provided for musicians who were able to operate without drawing suspicion.

Josephine Baker (1906-1975), for example, was able to provide valuable services due to her celebrity as a jazz entertainer. An American expatriate living in Paris, Baker had joined the French Resistance after the German invasion of Poland in 1939. She was recruited by the *Deuxième Bureau* (French Military Intelligence), and she showed no hesitation when asked to aid the Allies in defeating Hitler, even with the possibility of capture, torture, and death. In fact, she was already wearing a crucifix around her neck, filled with poison, in case she would be arrested.[37] Her role as a celebrity agent mostly consisted of mingling with Axis political figures at parties where she would gather information, either through eavesdropping or seduction. One of her more notable contributions was a brief affair with an Italian diplomat which afforded her the opportunity to steal a German-Italian codebook from a drawer in his office.[38] She soon began to move around Europe and northern Africa and was able to work in Spain, Portugal, and Morocco under her cover as an entertainer "on tour."[39] She stayed out of harm's way and, as the war was coming to an end, returned to Paris where she was awarded the *Croix de Guerre*, a French military medal bestowed for heroism.[40] Baker's contribution was unique, and while she played an active part in the French Resistance, other groups in France were also able to contribute to the war effort.

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[37] Sherry Jones, *Josephine Baker's Last Dance* (New York: Gallery Books, 2018), 262-266.

[38] Jones, *Josephine Baker's Last Dance*, 272.

[39] Jones, *Josephine Baker's Last Dance*, 313.

[40] Tim Murari, "From the Archive, August 26, 1974: An Interview with Josephine Baker," *The Guardian,* August 26, 2015.

The *Hot Club de France* was created in the early 1930s to spread the awareness of jazz in France by developing magazines, organizing radio programs, and setting up performances.[41] When the Nazis occupied Paris, Charles Delaunay (1911-1988), co-founder of the *Hot Club*, used his cover in the music industry to travel around France. He organized lectures and set up concerts while secretly making contacts with the French Resistance and then carrying intelligence information back to Paris. From there, he would hand the details off to a British Special Operations executive who went by the code name of "Pauline." Another co-founder of the *Hot Club*, Jacques Bureau (1912-2008), used his radio expertise to work with the "British in Lebanon, spending long hours scanning airwaves for German transmissions, then tracing their locations to plot bombing runs or commando raids."[42] These may seem like minor contributions, but all these civilian jazz aficionados were risking their lives in the most effective way they could to combat the Nazi machine. The evidence of resistance in the French jazz scene is underscored by the actions of these individuals, but further exploration reveals other, more subtle groups who were defiantly embracing jazz's magnetic allure.

One such group was the "Swing Youth" in Hamburg, Germany. This largely teenage contingent was known by several idioms, including "Swing-Heinis," "Swing-Boys," "Swing-Babies," and "Swing-Kids." As jazz music became more popular throughout Germany in the 1930s, a style of dance began to evolve with the music. The introduction of new dances, such as the foxtrot, was a growing concern for social-dance functionaries working within the RKK. This led to the search for a "German alternative to the foreign, allegedly 'Nigger' and 'Jewish'" style that was developing among the youth. Although there were attempts to incorporate a more rigid, traditional German folk style, nothing could substitute the craze of the swing dance. As prohibitions against such dancing were implemented around 1937-1938, the youth reacted with a new level of vigor. Soon, there were tight cliques whose embrace of the scene hardened with every attempt by the authorities to suppress it. Under close surveillance by the Hitler Youth, this young crowd of jazz fans mostly came from upper-class families and had been raised in an environment that "emphasized cultural entertainment, sophisticated enlightenment, relaxed living supported by expensive tastes, and liberal politics." When Hitler Youth membership became mandatory in 1939, it was instinctual for the "Swing Youth" to reject such a demand and continue their rebellious movement in the shadowy confines of underground taverns and cafes.[43] While seemingly insignificant, these resistance movements provided a crucial service for the populace. They found their own ways to oppose the Nazi regime, standing up for their freedom and liberty in the face of tyranny.

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[41] Dregni, *Django*, 78.

[42] Dregni, *Django*, 180-181.

[43] See Kater, *Different Drummers*, 102, 104, 105-106, 109, for all direct quotes in this paragraph.

*Conclusion*

Jazz could not have taken any other path during the war. Deeply rooted in the folk and blues songs of American slaves and sharecroppers, the genre's history illustrates its cultural impact. Prior to the development of jazz, their own traditional work songs had in many cases provided slaves and sharecroppers with an escape from the hardships of oppression, poverty, and violence.[44] Jazz music was and is resilience music. Thus, it was only natural that, when the Nazis sought to enforce political, social, and cultural conformity, the continued suppression of this expressive art form would be met with resistance. It is no coincidence that the plight of African and African American people transcended their own socio-political realm and connected, via their music, to the plight of others. Perhaps people are subconsciously moved by jazz, or maybe it is the sense of liberation that jazz provides to the individual—whatever the case may be, there is something undeniably special about this intoxicating music.

So, why jazz? Was it just the right place and the right time? It is conceivable that jazz was elevated in popular culture just in time to accompany the war. Or, it could be argued, there is something organic in this music's makeup that facilitates its ability to take on this kind of role. Even if there had been no war, no crisis, jazz would have been ready. Classical music, the only other competitor to jazz during this time of war, stood no chance of meeting the needs of such large and diverse groups of listeners on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. It was there, yet it received no such call. There was something in the spirit of jazz that spoke to individuals and invigorated their souls during this time of crisis.

By the 1930s, its rise in popularity had earned jazz a place in the mainstream, proving that it had more to offer than any other genre to date. Jazz—as entertainment—evolved to play an increasingly meaningful role in the lives of the younger generation who embraced it. During the war, jazz instilled strength and vitality on both the home front as well as the front lines. Appropriated as propaganda, jazz was used in ways unforeseeable by its creators, even in ways that debased the music and turned it into a racialized weapon: this ethnic music was turned into a subversive device and mutilated by the Nazis to spread their message of "Aryan" supremacy. However, it was also consumed by the very same people who were trying to destroy everything it stood for. It may be this ambiguity that separates jazz from other genres. But it was its most natural role—resistance—that allowed jazz to truly be itself. Representing what the Allies were fighting for, jazz became a true symbol of liberty.

American jazz pianist Earl Hines (1903-1983) once declared, "Jazz expresses the hope of a free people who hunger for a better life. It is based on individuality, which is contrary to the very fundamentals of Nazism."[45] Another American jazz

[44] Gioia, *History of Jazz*, 8.

[45] Quoted in *Jazz*, directed by Ken Burns, Episode 7 (" Dedicated to Chaos") (PBS, 2000), 00:48:00 to 00:48:30.

pianist, Dave Brubeck (1920-2012), said that, "when you get a group of musicians really playing, and in the days of the swing bands, it was this feeling of freedom. And then a guy would get a solo, and this was his expression of freedom … and then they were completely free, away from the constriction of the written music, but improvising on top of it. And this is the thing I love most about jazz … it expresses freedom."[46] The correlation between the freedom that jazz embodies and the soul of democracy cannot be ignored. It is in this spirit that, in this time in history, jazz's paradox can also not be ignored. It is easy to believe in liberty when all of its benefits are within one's reach, but for the African Americans, ethnic minorities, and oppressed people around the world who were fighting in World War II this belief did not come so easy. It is certainly tragic that, much like jazz was culturally appropriated by the White entertainment industry, it was also appropriated by White governments as a tool during the war. While beautifully representing hope, freedom, and democracy overseas, the people responsible for jazz's conception would have to continue fighting for their own victory at home long after the war.

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[46] Quoted in *Jazz*, directed by Burns, Episode 7, 01:40:47 to 01:41:41.

Jovanee Castrejon

# *Out-of-This-World Thrills: The Psychological and Social Aspects of American Astronauts' Life in Space*

ABSTRACT: *This article focuses on sixty years of space exploration (1960-2020) by analyzing the factors that push astronauts to seek such "out-of-this-world" thrills. Based on the astronauts' memoirs and footage from the International Space Station (ISS), it examines the selection and training of astronauts, addresses their daily activities, and discusses the future of space exploration. The author argues that space travelers derive their primary motivation from the extreme training they receive, from the adrenaline rush that comes with living in zero gravity, and from the assurance that their missions will be continued by future generations.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; U.S.; National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA); astronauts; Apollo 11; Skylab; International Space Station (ISS); Buzz Aldrin; Michael Collins; Joseph Kerwin*

## *Introduction*

On day three of *Apollo 11*'s 1969 lunar landing mission, as the space crew moved closer into the shadow of the moon, U.S. astronaut Buzz Aldrin recalls marveling at the "moon's protruding ridges and the impressions of craters, almost adding a 3-D sensation to our view."[1] Experiences like this are shared by all space travelers as they chase the thrill of life outside of Earth. Like the technology used, these experiences have evolved due to advancements that facilitate a more "Earth-like" environment in space. Yet, regardless of the surge in innovations, astronauts base their career choice on the notion that they will experience drastic differences in habitat: the expected change in environment actually increases their enthusiasm.

For this reason, every new objective set by the *National Aeronautics and Space Administration* (*NASA*) since its establishment in 1958 has ignited an increased interest in exploring new dimensions of space.[2] What we know about life outside of Earth is that it is arduous and requires many adjustments by and for the astronauts: from the food they eat to the way they carry out mundane daily activities, life in space is more challenging than we can imagine. Likewise, the selection process of astronauts replicates the trials of life in space. From every one of its missions, *NASA* gathers new data that facilitate more realistic training, allowing the agency to narrow the possibility of selecting an unsuitable person.

By looking at astronauts' memoirs, which contain anecdotes about the space explorers' life and time in space, in combination with streamed footage from the *International Space Station* (*ISS*), which shows us the realities that come with living in space, we can develop a deeper understanding of the thrill that pushes

[1] Buzz Aldrin and Ken Abraham, *Magnificent Desolation: The Long Journey Home from the Moon* (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2009), 10.

[2] Neal Thompson, *Light This Candle: The Life and Times of Alan Shepard* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2004), 159.

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astronauts into a career in space exploration.[3] Each individual, even those participating in the same mission, have a unique story. Also, each mission differs in many aspects, and by taking these differences into consideration, we are able to gain a deeper understanding of what drives each astronaut.

While life in space is not a major subject of historical scholarship (yet), it draws the interest of many other academic disciplines. For example, psychiatrist Patricia Santy[4] and psychologist Albert Harrison[5] have discussed the psychological aspect of selecting astronauts, and whether *NASA* is prepared to identify people for long-term missions that can take from several months to a few years. Psychiatrist Nick Kanas[6] and journalist Neal Thompson[7] both tackle the issues of life in space from a social viewpoint, discussing the types of behaviors that might arise when crew members interact in close quarters. Journalist Giovanni Caprara[8] and freelance writer John Catchpole[9] have attempted to map out the future of space exploration and what is needed to have sustainable life outside of Earth.

By examining the vetting and training process that enables astronauts to engage in communal living outside of Earth, as well as the prospects for habitable life in outer space with the continuance of programs such as the *International Space Station* (*ISS*), we can dive into the psyche of astronauts to learn about their motivation. This article argues that space travelers derive their primary motivation from the extreme training they receive, from the adrenaline rush that comes with living in zero gravity, and from the assurance that their missions will be continued by future generations.

## *I. Selecting the Right "Stuff"*

Astronaut selection plays a significant role in the success of a mission, and for this reason the vetting process is complicated and consists of training and tests that push people to the extreme. It is here that the thrill of an adventure starts for future space travelers. Looking at the different psychiatric and psychological evaluations, simulation trainings, and environmental trainings helps us understand the

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[3] kW Space TV, "ISS - International Space Station - Inside ISS - Tour - Q&A – HD," *YouTube* video, 29:16, March 31, 2016.

[4] Patricia A. Santy, *Choosing the Right Stuff: The Psychological Selection of Astronauts and Cosmonauts* (Westport: Prager Publishers, 1994).

[5] Albert A. Harrison and Joshua Summit, "How 'Third Force' Psychology Might View Humans in Space," *Space Power* 10, no. 2 (1991): 185-203.

[6] Nick Kanas, "Psychosocial Issues Affecting Crews during Long-Duration International Space Missions," *Acta Astronautica* 42, no. 1-8 (January-April 1998): 339-361.

[7] Thompson, *Light This Candle.*

[8] Giovanni Caprara, *Living in Space: From Science Fiction to the International Space Station* (Buffalo: Firefly Books (U.S.) Inc., 2000).

[9] John E. Catchpole, *The International Space Station: Building for the Future* (Chichester: Praxis Publishing, 2008).

importance of scouting qualified candidates who can surpass their limits before being sent off on a mission.

Psychiatric and psychological evaluations are a vital aspect of astronaut selection. Joseph Kerwin served as a pilot for the 1973 *Skylab 2* mission. *Skylab* became America's first space station and functioned as a long-term space residency program. In his memoir, Kerwin discusses the time he was passed up by the *Mercury* astronaut selection process due to him failing the psychiatric examination. Kerwin recounts, "I'll show that son of a gun who's psychologically unsuited for what," as he discusses his immense drive of going to space even after his rejection.[10] Kerwin's psyche was positively affected by his initial rejection, and because of this, he was able to return and pass the preliminary psychological examination. In reality, this is the type of drive needed from astronauts to have successful careers in *NASA*. Michael Collins, Neil Armstrong, and Buzz Aldrin were the first American astronauts to embark on the first moon landing mission. Collins's primary role was to fly the command module that would take all three men back home after the lunar landing.[11] He discusses two psychological tests in his memoir, one being the "Wechsler Adult Intelligence Test," where the group's mean was 132.1, and the "Miller Analogies Test," which measures a person's verbal skills, in which he scored the highest out of the group.[12] Many astronauts see these tests as a hurdle, yet the tests make sure individuals are mentally fit for the rigorous, stressful, and detailed work they will do—work that, if done wrongly, can compromise the mission. Many who choose to apply never pass the initial mental evaluations. Only a select few can handle the intensity and rigor that comes with such the job of an astronaut.

Philosopher Thomas Brouwer discusses the psychological effect that rejection can have on a person. While many see rejection as a negative thing, for some individuals it changes their psyche and serves as an ideological enrichment.[13] Perhaps Kerwin needed that push to get him onto the same mental level as other applicants. In her research, Patricia Santy reviews the criteria used during the *Mercury* psychological selection, which consisted of establishing the job requirements, determining personal-characteristics requirements, devising suitable assessment strategies, and validating the selection criteria.[14] Candidates received eleven psychometric tests that astronauts for the *Apollo* missions were required to pass, and this gave applicants a determined rating which was then

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[10] David Hitt, Owen Garriott, and Joe Kerwin, *Homesteading Space: The Skylab Story* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 40.

[11] Michael Collins, *Carrying the Fire: An Astronaut's Journey* (Toronto: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974), 268.

[12] Collins, *Carrying the Fire*, 42.

[13] Thomas N. P. A. Brouwer, "A Paradox of Rejection," *Synthese* 191, no. 18 (2014): 4451-4464, here 4452.

[14] Santy, *Choosing the Right Stuff*, 11.

broken down into subscales.[15] Different skills, aptitudes, and leadership potentials were identified during these psychological evaluations, allowing *NASA* to determine the competencies that each individual could potentially bring to a mission.[16] Recognizing superior aptitudes gives *NASA* insight into any potential problem that an astronaut might have during a mission. Once individuals embark on a mission, they must be prepared to react quickly to any potential problem that might hinder the completion of the task at hand. While everyone is different, finding the candidates with the right skillsets is something these psychological tests attempt to do. The evidence points to a system that still needs a lot of revising. However, overall, it has proven to be successful: the collected data give *NASA* engineers an idea of the human body's limitations and how much further it can be pushed. The vetting procedure is vital to ensure that the right group is selected. Even after rejection, people who truly seek the thrill and experience of life outside of Earth will continue to look for ways to make it into a space program.

Once astronauts pass the psychiatric and psychological evaluation process, the real work begins, as they embark on trainings and simulations that test their resiliency. Astronaut David Scott, the pilot for the *Apollo 15* mission, recalls his excitement as he was training: "[P]art of the beauty of flying is that feeling of becoming part of a beautiful machine which makes you more powerful, able to transcend the limitation of the human body."[17] Astronaut Michael Collins, command module pilot of the 1969 *Apollo 11* mission, recalls that "underwater simulation of weightlessness was just then coming into vogue, and proposals were made to duplicate all my EVA tasks in a water tank and analyze any difficulties which might develop."[18] Extravehicular activity (EVA) simulations are a valuable tool for *NASA* as they can recreate many possible scenarios that astronauts might have to face. They help *NASA* train astronauts to complete any repair needed to the outside of a spacecraft while on mission.

Jim Lovell, command module pilot of the 1968 *Apollo 8* mission, writes,

> [o]n tap for the compliant pilots over the next seven days were blood studies, cardiac x-rays, electroencephalograms, electromyograms, electrocardiograms, gastric analyses, hyperventilation tests, hydrostatic weighing test, vestibular balance test, whole-body radiation tests, liver function test, bicycle stress test, treadmill stress test, visual perception test, pulmonary function test, fertility test, urine test, and intestinal tests.[19]

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[15] Santy, *Choosing the Right Stuff*, 33.

[16] Timothy R. Brock, "Training Nasa Astronauts for Deep Space Exploration Missions: A Research Study to Develop and Validate a Competency-Based Training Framework" (PhD diss., Capella University, 2017), 137.

[17] David Scott, Alexei Leonov, and Christine Toomey, *Two Sides of the Moon* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martin's Press, 2004), 29.

[18] Collins, *Carrying the Fire*, 193-194.

[19] Jim Lovell, and Jeffrey Kluger, *Lost Moon: The Perilous Voyage of Apollo 13* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994), 180.

The examination process can be brutal and both physically and mentally stressful for the astronaut. In many cases, the body is injected numerous times with different medications that let scientists know how strong and resilient an individual is. Yet, while the examination process might seem rough, once completed and knowing one has been selected can be a huge ego boost, as it suggests that one's body is capable of withstanding the challenges of space.

With regard to the astronauts' adaptability to the type of work they do, Albert Harrison emphasizes that "adaptation is a function of the person and the environment," adding that individual factors, such as predispositions, help astronauts excel during their training.[20] Timothy Brock, in his Ph.D. dissertation, stresses the significance of these high-level examinations, writing that "this research is important because it addresses a neglected domain for the potential application of competency-based training research and practice—space exploration."[21] Astronauts cannot have any physical limitations, and creating examinations that will catch any issues before they are being sent off on a mission is essential. In his M.A. thesis, Michael Johnson describes the training of *NASA*'s *Mercury* and *Gemini* programs as being "complicated and with a steep learning curve."[22] Tyler Peterson's doctoral dissertation also focuses on the *Mercury* program, highlighting the benefits that the physical evaluations of astronauts provide *NASA* in their mission success.[23] All these studies show that, despite the discouraging extremes that many astronauts face as they train to be space cadets, the results are rewarding. Life in space needs to be handled with a unique delicacy, and a person must be prepared to address the challenges that come with it. A spaceship could be hit by a meteor at any moment, power could go out due to solar bursts, and there is a high chance of floating off into space during spacewalks. These considerations, while challenging, are motivators for astronauts. Training induces a profound connection to the type of work astronauts will be performing, and it is during this time of training that we see the excitement push individuals to new extremes.

A considerable portion of the training process is conducted in areas which best resemble the environments and atmospheres the astronauts will face, and this plays an important role in ensuring that trainees are prepared for the intense situations they will encounter in space. Dr. George Muller discusses his 1969 training experience at *NASA*'s Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Alabama, and he recalls the extreme fatigue he felt with every movement inside

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[20] Albert A. Harrison, *Spacefaring: The Human Dimension* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 26.

[21] Brock, "Training Nasa Astronauts," 25.

[22] Michael P. Johnson, "Skylab: The Human Side of a Scientific Mission" (master's thesis, University of North Texas, 2007), 20.

[23] Tyler David Peterson, "A Fire to be Lighted: The Training of American Astronauts from 1959 to the Present" (PhD diss., Texas A&M University, 2017), 5.

his space suit as he tried to maneuver his tools in an atmosphere of weightlessness, all of this while being underwater.[24] According to *Apollo 11* astronaut Michael Collins, "the heavy emphasis on the western United States lies in the fact that this region tends to be less densely covered with obfuscating vegetation, and more nearly resembles the moon."[25] Trips to geological terrains that resemble those in outer space create a true-to-life training environment that can be helpful in a dire situation while on mission.

Psychologist Mary Connors has researched the challenges of trying to simulate space-like environments on Earth, and one point she brings up is the need to gather sufficient data to help astronauts have an almost real experience.[26] Historian Tyler Peterson has examined the U.S. Air Force Survival School which puts astronauts through a five-day program: each individual receives a survival kit which resembles the kit they would have in their space shuttle, including "first aid supplies, distress signals, a signal mirror, a radio, matches, a whistle, 10 feet of nylon cord, a knife, a flashlight and six pints of water."[27] They are then sent into the desert where they must learn to survive in heat that can exceed 105 degrees. One of the main reasons for doing this, besides preparing the astronauts for danger, is to analyze their potential. The way people react in simulations is different from how they react in real-life scenarios. There are only a few areas on Earth, such as subaquatic dwellings and polar stations during the winter months, that can be used as training stations to collect data for future space missions. Therefore, scientists cannot predict all future problems that might occur during manned space missions, including those that last for longer periods of time. Much of the data for the latter are collected in submarine and artic bases, which gives us an idea of the risks astronauts might face during long periods of isolation and confinement. Even with such data, it is still difficult to pin-point the exact problems that might arise during longer space missions as technology advances.[28] The astronaut selection process provides us with a deeper understanding how men and women are pushed to have a successful mission. The ability to adapt to space is essential, and having this skill is crucial to secure selection.

*II. There Is No Place Like Home?*

Even though life outside of Earth is challenging and requires adjustments to ensure a successful mission, many astronauts find themselves chasing the thrill of living in space time and again. As *NASA* scrambles to create technology that helps ease the transition into a comfortable life in zero gravity, it is impossible, at the

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[24] Hitt, Garriott, and Kerwin, *Homesteading Space*, 1.

[25] Collins, *Carrying the Fire*, 79-80.

[26] Mary M. Connors, Albert A. Harrison, and Faren R. Akins, *Living Aloft: Human Requirements for Extended Spaceflight* (Washington: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1985), 11.

[27] Peterson, "Fire to be Lighted," 60.

[28] Connors, Harrison, and Akins, *Living Aloft*, 16.

moment, to exactly replicate life on Earth in space. While this might divert many from pursuing a career as an astronaut, it becomes a new challenge that generates a plethora of new skills, sensations, and experiences unlike any here on Earth. These challenges include the carrying out of daily tasks, social-interpersonal stressors, and physical stressors that might arise both internally or externally.

Life in zero gravity captivates the imagination. However, for astronauts, it is a reality full of exciting and innovative challenges. In a 2016 *NASA* tour video posted on the kW Space TV *YouTube* channel, American astronaut Sunita Williams gives us a walkthrough of her (then) home aboard the *International Space Station*, where she excitedly provides details of her daily activities such as brushing her teeth, sleeping, and even using the restroom.[29] As we see her floating in zero gravity—her hair shooting straight up, Williams explains mundane activities and how they are done in space. The video communicates some of the uneasiness of life in space. When discussing the restroom situation, Williams points out the color-coordinated process: she pulls out a tube with a yellow tip, intended to receive urine, and then shows us a small hole, intended for defecating. The whole time, she is joking about the process and shares what could happen if this is not done correctly.[30] In another section, she takes us to the location where food is stored, saying, "we have all this type of food, some of it is dehydrated, so we have to hydrate it and fill it up with water, and some already made, so all we have to do is heat it."[31] Williams describes the food they carry, which is stored in plastic pockets on the side of a module wall. Sleeping arrangements in space are unique, and Williams shows us the small compartments where they have to strap themselves in to avoid floating away while they sleep. Outside of these compartments is the area where they brush their teeth. Williams then begins to brush her teeth, showing us the difficulties of placing water on the toothbrush. As some bubbles float up into the air, she is forced to catch them with her mouth.

In a 2008 article, physician-astronauts Joseph Kerwin and Rhea Seddon discuss the importance of food selection for astronauts during long space missions: "[T]he fact that for any nutritional regimen to work, it must consider the limitations and taste buds of the individuals involved […] the best diet design generated by their work may never become consumed."[32] Space-Bio-scientist Funmilola Adebisisi Oluwafemi and other scholars have researched food for long-term missions, focusing in particular on the importance of keeping astronauts "alive, jolly, and healthy."[33] Creating comfortable living conditions for space residents is extremely

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[29] kW Space TV, "ISS - International Space Station - Inside ISS - Tour - Q&A – HD," 02:17-06:14.

[30] kW Space TV, "ISS - International Space Station - Inside ISS - Tour - Q&A – HD," 05:13-07:27.

[31] kW Space TV, "ISS - International Space Station - Inside ISS - Tour - Q&A – HD," 07:50-09:20.

[32] Joseph Kerwin, and Rhea Seddon, "Eating in Space-from an Astronaut's Perspective," *Nutrition* 18, no. 10, (2002): 921-925, here 921.

[33] Funmilola Adebisi Oluwafemi, Andrea De La Torre, Esther Morayo Afolayan, Bolanle Margret Olalekan-Ajayi, Bal Dhital, Jose G. Mora-Almanza, George Potrivitu, Jessica Creech, and

important. Management scholar Erica Varese and food commercialization manager Paola Cane have examined the benefits of investing in space-food research. Not only can we make food more savory for astronauts, we can simultaneously find new ways to feed humans on Earth in the future.[34] While in space, astronauts must also maintain a healthy regiment to avoid getting injured or losing muscle mass. Food scientist Elena Venir and others have developed a freeze-dried yoghurt that carries the needed amount of calcium to fortify the bones of astronauts while on mission.[35] Scientist Sara Zwart and others discuss a two-way analysis that directs astronauts toward creating a balanced meal with the nutrients and supplements needed to ensure good health.[36] Carrying out daily tasks must include a modicum of enjoyment for the astronauts, especially as missions extend over longer periods. Therefore, scientists are developing technological innovations that help improve the life of astronauts in space, giving them a more pleasant stay aboard.

Forming a sense of comradeship in space is part of the experience. The tight, cramped quarters, as well as isolation from family and friends, can have a significant impact on a space traveler. Astronauts' memoirs allow us to better understand their social behaviors. David Scott, commander of the 1963 *Apollo 15* program, writes, "we became a pretty close-knit bunch during the first year," and he recounts social details of his mission both in space and with the crew below, describing the deep connections he made.[37] Forming a strong team is imperative for the success of space missions, and this includes creating the kind of relationship that surpasses that of just coworkers with your travel companions. Buzz Aldrin, a member of the 1969 *Apollo 11* moon landing mission and the second person to set foot on the moon, remembers, "this was no time for celebration, but in the exhilaration of the moment, I reached over and gripped Neil's hand […] we made it!"[38] Sharing significant moments like this can build a strong connection between people, and in Aldrin's case, this connection occurred during their landing on the moon. Such moments can galvanize a life-long friendship and bond via the shared experience. However, not every mission goes smoothly. Astronaut

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Aureliano Rivolta, "Space Food and Nutrition in a Long-Term Manned Mission," *Advances in Astronautics Science and Technology* 1, no. 1 (2018): 1-21, here 1.

[34] Erica Varese, and Paola Cane, "From Space Food Research and Innovation to Immediate Advantages for Earth Eating Habits: An Aerospace-Food Producer Company Case Study," *British Food Journal* 119, no. 11 (2017): 2448-2461, here 456.

[35] Elena Venir, Manuela Del Torre, Mara Lucia Stecchini, Enrico Maltini, and Paolo Di Nardo, "Preparation of Freeze-Dried Yoghurt as a Space Food," *Journal of Food Engineering* 80, no. 2 (2007): 402-407, here 402-403.

[36] Sara R. Zwart, Vickie L. Kloeris, Michele H. Perchonok, Leslie Braby, and Scott M. Smith, "Assessment of Nutrient Stability in Foods from the Space Food System After Long-Duration Spaceflight on the ISS," *Journal of Food and Science* 74, no. 7 (2009): 215-216.

[37] Scott, Leonov, and Toomey, *Two Sides of the Moon,* 91.

[38] Aldrin and Abraham, *Magnificent Desolation*, 22.

Michael Collins, who flew the command module of the 1969 *Apollo 11* moon landing, gives details of the disagreements between him and the crew: "[W]hen it came time to sleep, an argument usually ensued about the cabin temperature, which was too cold for the commander and too warm for the space walker."[39] Such arguments are bound to be more common during longer missions, but astronauts nonetheless push forward to work together for the success of the mission.

Physician William Douglas explains the social stressors that might manifest themselves in the course of long-duration missions, such as cultural differences, gender differences, and even the amount of work allotted to each individual.[40] Neal Thompson remembers the competition between Allan Shepard and John Glenn before *NASA* selected the person who, in 1961, would become the first American in space. Thompson talks about the similarities and passions these men shared that made them compete against each other, even calling them the *yin* and *yang*.[41] Nick Kanas and others have discussed the cultural differences between crew members, for example, the difference in communication styles between an American and Russian astronaut. Russian astronauts tend to discuss their problems more openly, while Americans tend to keep things to themselves.[42] Such cultural differences can potentially cause issues that can lead to mission failure. Differences in personality also play a considerable role. Groups in space are even more affected by this than groups here on Earth due to the close quarters they share, as well as other stressors that might impact them individually. As crewmembers become increasingly diverse, missions like the *International Space Station* serve as hosts for a wide range of individuals from all over the globe. This has a potential for conflict but can also lead to lifelong friendships.

On long-duration missions, external and internal physical stressors must be recognized. According to Buzz Aldrin, remembering his *Apollo 11* mission to the moon, "we were trained to accept such risks, even the risk of not returning."[43] Jim Lovell, the command module pilot of the *Apollo 8* mission, writes, "for the next two hours, the fatigued crew in the busted ship performed the chores the ground ordered them to perform, only afterward getting the O.K. to go to sleep."[44] In this instance, Lovell is depicting a stressor—the lack of sleep—that can severely hinder a mission and its completion. Joseph Kerwin, a member of the 1963 *Skylab* space station, recalls, "we are farting a lot but not belching much," as he describes the

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[39] Collins, *Carrying the Fire*, 119-120.

[40] William K. Douglas, "Psychological and Sociological Aspects of Manned Spaceflight," in *From Antarctica to Outer Space: Life in Isolation and Confinement*, ed. Albert A. Harrison, Yvonne A. Clearwater, and Christopher P. McKay (New York: Springer, 1991), 81-88.

[41] Thompson, *Light This Candle,* 181.

[42] Nick Kanas, Vyacheslav Salnitskiy, Ellen M. Grund, Daniel S. Weiss, Vadim Gushin, Olga Kozerenko, Alexander Sled, and Charles R. Marmar, "Human Interactions in Space: Results from Shuttle/Mir," *Acta Astronautica* 49, no. 3-10 (August-November 2001): 243-260, here 257.

[43] Aldrin and Abraham, *Magnificent Desolation,* 4.

[44] Lovell, and Kluger, *Lost Moon*, 248.

immense intestinal gas he experienced during his mission.[45] Problems like gas, nausea, or cramps are common in space. They can impact the astronauts' performance and, thus, the quality of their work and their overall mission

Physician Stefano Geuna, psychologist Francesco Brunelli, and scientist Maria Perino discuss the concept of stress and the consequences of long-duration space missions, including physical illness, that might deter people from considering a career as an astronaut.[46] Other potential forms of stressors are emotional responses to anxiety, hostility, and depression.[47] Being in confined quarters for long periods can cause both physical and psychological issues. According to studies done both on Earth and in space, such physical issues can include insomnia, stomach problems such as diarrhea or constipation, and extreme fatigue.[48] The stressful scenarios that astronauts have to face daily can have a lasting impact; however, astronauts make a career out of this stressful way of living—to them, it is a life full of adventure and change, very much unlike an ordinary life on Earth.

Looking at how astronauts cope with life in space shows the extremes to which they push themselves to complete their missions. Once individuals are up in space, it is very hard to bring them back to Earth prior to their scheduled return. No matter how much training—both physical and psychological—someone receives, numerous issues can still arise. Yet, from adjusting to life in space via creating connections with crewmembers to overcoming stressors, astronauts will look past all these to catch a glimpse of their home planet as they chase the thrill of space.

*III. To Go Where No Man Has Gone Before*

Understanding the potential future of space exploration can help us visualize how astronauts will have to adapt as we venture into new worlds. Pushing further into space will require cutting-edge technology to deliver a successful mission. Likewise, ensuring the safety of astronauts in every possible regard will play a crucial role in the continuance of space programs. While *NASA* increasingly utilizes artificial intelligence and rovers as explorers, we cannot downplay the significance of human involvement in interplanetary missions. Looking toward the future of space travel, we must consider space stations as research models that help scientists and engineers discover new ways of making space missions feel more like life on Earth. Civilians are also interested in living in outer space, which creates a new wave of public demand that works in favor of *NASA* when requesting funding. As we set our eyes toward new horizons, we also continue to devote a vast amount of research toward the possibility of sending humans to Mars. All these programs give us a keen awareness of the thrill that space travel

[45] Hitt, Garriott, and Kerwin, *Homesteading Space*, 265.

[46] Stefano Geuna, Francesco Brunelli, and Maria A. Perino, "Stressors, Stress, and Stress Consequences during Long-Duration Manned Space Missions: A Descriptive Model," *Acta Astronautica* 36, no. 6 (September 1995): 347-356, here 347-348.

[47] Geuna, Brunelli, and Perino, "Stressors, Stress, and Stress Consequences," 349.

[48] Connors, Harrison, and Akins, *Living Aloft*, 13-14.

continues to provide, and why our human instinct of exploration will be the driving force in ensuring that these plans, and many others, come to fruition.

Space stations like *Skylab* and the *International Space Station* play an essential role in helping us understand the impact of long-duration missions on humans and address how we can create a more hospitable environment for future space explorers. Astronaut Joseph Kerwin, whose experience stems from his work with *Skylab* in 1973,[49] has emphasized the importance of space stations in comparison to interplanetary missions: "[I]t was so much more valuable, I felt, as far as understanding the future of spaceflight and taking the next step."[50] Before *Skylab*, space missions were short, not really allowing scientists to collect data on the effects of long-duration space missions. Kerwin adds, "*Skylab* was medicine's first, best, chance to unravel the mysteries of weightlessness."[51] When it was decided to launch a space station program, a lot of the information on the effects that space could have on humans was speculative. Thus, having a space station became a powerful tool to deconstruct the complexities of humans living in space. Because of space stations, we begin to push the boundaries, as we develop new programs in which human involvement plays a vital role. Kerwin writes, "[i]f *Skylab* taught the world nothing else, that one legacy alone would have made possible the future of human spaceflight."[52] In addition to *Skylab*, other stations—like the *ISS*—now serve as catalysts for scientific research.

John Catchpole has discussed the immense input that astronauts have as scientists design space stations for future generations, and being involved in this design process can also fuel the drive toward becoming a space cadet. Catchpole describes *Skylab* as a "mixed blessing," considering the data it provided for long-duration space missions, the immense amount of maintenance that was required to keep it running, and the (alleged) first organized astronaut strike.[53] Catchpole also addresses the medical research conducted in space—gone are the days when only military pilots were chosen to serve as astronauts.[54] More and more scientists are taking an interest in research that extends past the effects that space has on humans. Freelance researcher Paul Hardersen, for example, mentions global warming studies that are currently being conducted.[55] Astronauts today are not "just" experiencing life on a space station, in microgravity, they also experience the vastness of space as they routinely conduct spacewalks. In addition, they

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[49] Skylab became America's first space station, a program directed by NASA, and operated for 24 weeks between May 1973 and February 1974. Hitt, Garriott, and Kerwin, *Homesteading Space*, xi.

[50] Hitt, Garriott, and Kerwin, *Homesteading Space*, 463.

[51] Hitt, Garriott, and Kerwin, *Homesteading Space*, 399.

[52] Hitt, Garriott, and Kerwin, *Homesteading Space*, 461.

[53] Catchpole, *International Space Station*, 5.

[54] Catchpole, *International Space Station*, 347.

[55] Paul S. Hardersen, *The Case for Space: Who Benefits from Explorations of the Last Frontier?* (first published 1996; Shrewsbury: ATL Press, 1997), 100.

engage in scientific research that will empower future generations. All these sensations become encapsulated in the continuance of space missions.

Astronauts are not the only stakeholders in space exploration, as there are many civilians who want a taste of the invigorating thrills of life outside of Earth. Astronaut Buzz Aldrin remarks, "I believe mankind must explore or expire," as he reflects on the future of space exploration and possibly having a comfortable life outside Earth for the common man.[56] Since the beginning of humanity, embedded in our DNA is the need to explore, and today we continue to gaze at the possibility of life outside of Earth. Walter Cunningham, the lunar module pilot of the 1968 *Apollo 7* mission, pens, "Many people—astronauts among them—have compared that first trip to the moon with Columbus's voyage to the new world."[57] This comparison is striking because it juxtaposes the idea of space travel to past exploration. Cunningham explicitly names Columbus, then seen as the person who discovered America, as an antecedent of *NASA*, an American program. However, Cunningham reminds us that, "it not only faces the usual technical risks, but it also has a high potential for further eroding *NASA*'s credibility with Congress,"[58] meaning that *NASA* must continuously innovate to ensure funding. Raising funds is a crucial part of the space program because it is what pays the bills. This plays into the idea of having civilians jump on board the space adventure. Public interest plays a vital role in the allotment of funds. At its inception, *NASA* had the public hooked in amazement and awe, as rocket launches were broadcast on live TV. Today, there are numerous launches, and we often have no idea that they are going on. For this reason, *NASA* must find a way to captivate us once more and entrance us with the mystique of life outside of Earth.

Giovanni Caprara considers the idea of space colonies capable of sustaining life, not just for astronauts but also for their families. Taking inspiration from science fiction, we look toward the future to ensure the survival of human life through space exploration.[59] From this perspective, the idea of life outside of Earth would take on a whole new meaning. Perhaps in the future, we will not be subject to microgravity, and we will be able to walk and go about our day as we do here on Earth. Human-performance scholar Jingning Ao has examined the idea of space exploration becoming a marketable touristic attraction. She points out the different factors that would push people to seek space as a future travel destination, including physical motivators, cultural motivators, interpersonal motivators, and prestige motivators.[60] A combination of some or all of these motivators could have

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[56] Aldrin and Abraham, *Magnificent Desolation,* 312.

[57] Walter Cunningham, and Mickey Herskowitz, *The All-American Boys* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1977), 295.

[58] Cunningham, and Herskowitz, *All-American Boys*, 305.

[59] Caprara, *Living in Space,* 196-197.

[60] Jingning Ao, "Ride of a Lifetime: A Netnographic Research to Unveil the Leisure Experience Attached to Orbital Space Tourism" (PhD diss., Middle Tennessee State University, 2018), 31.

a massive marketing effect when trying to capture the public's attention. Ao also considers the potential infrastructure of space tourism with resident populations, as well as the idea of space tourism as a thriving industry.[61] The notion of having civilians in space is refreshing in the sense that it combines the thrill of adventure with that of a family getaway. Future generations may be able to tour the solar system and possibly reside in exotic locations that, today, we can only imagine. Including the public in all this can also create a more technologically advanced world. While life in space may still seem far-fetched, we are closer to launching civilians into the cosmos on a regular basis than ever before. This can help fuel the public passion for space travel and generate funding for a future mission.

Moon exploration ignited a passion for exploring the night skies, and a similar passion will accompany our future missions to Mars. American astronaut David Scott, the pilot of the *Gemini 8* aircraft, explains that "maybe future plans for a mission to Mars will once again ignite enthusiasm for this most extraordinary sphere of human endeavor."[62] The same way space travel to the moon once created intrigue, an interplanetary mission to Mars would do the same. American astronaut Michael Collins, command module pilot of the 1969 *Apollo 11* mission, claims, "the only thing that could have titillated the public and gotten the momentum back was a human-crewed expedition to Mars."[63] This statement is especially true when comparing the start of the space program to the situation today. While the public attention may not be there, there are still many astronauts who are willing to risk their lives to get a taste of life outside of Earth. Collins notes, "someday in the not-too-distant future, when I listen to an earthling step out onto the surface of Mars … I hope I hear him say: 'I come from the United States of America.'"[64] For this, the U.S. must continue to lead the space exploration efforts, and *NASA* must focus on developing a successful mission to Mars.

Hardersen discusses the problems that *NASA* faces as they scramble to secure funding for future missions. This is important to understand, because what was once a heroic career is now seen as just another job, and this decline in public fascination plays a key part in securing a mission to Mars.[65] As *NASA* gets wrapped up in bureaucracy and politics, it loses the public's trust. By creating a manned mission to Mars, *NASA* would once again capture the hearts of America, as well as an interest in space exploration. In a 1998 article, Robert Parkinson discusses the different responses when he talks to children about space exploration. When he asks them about being the next person on the moon, they say they would love to go to the moon. On the other hand, when asked about Mars,

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[61] Ao, "Ride of a Lifetime," 32.

[62] Scott, Leonov, and Toomey, *Two Sides of the Moon,* 375.

[63] Collins, *Carrying the Fire*, 465.

[64] Collins, *Carrying the Fire*, 478.

[65] Hardersen, *Case for Space*, 163-164.

they simply respond by saying, "that hasn't been done yet."[66] Understanding children's perspectives is significant, because they are the future of space exploration. If they remain skeptical when it comes to manned space missions, there is a good chance they will hold on to the same sentiment in their adulthood. Aerospace engineer C. Mark Hempsell argues that the lack of media exposure is to blame for the decline in *NASA*'s popularity.[67] While this may be true, serious planning for a manned space mission to Mars will play a huge role in regaining that much-needed media attention. Space exploration, especially a mission to Mars, will require funding from different sectors to make it possible, and with this comes the need to cast astronauts as heroic American figures, much like they were portrayed in the 1960s during the moon landing. Such an image would further push STEM thrill-seekers to consider careers in interplanetary exploration.

As we reflect upon different ways how *NASA* could re-captivate the public's interest, this does not mean that the future of space exploration is in jeopardy. By continuing to conduct research via space stations, by pushing the limits to have civilians join space travel, and by planning for a manned mission to Mars, we can expect a resurgence in public intrigue—to go where no man has gone before.

*Conclusion*

The three aspects of space exploration considered in this article—the training and vetting process, the details of life in space, and potential future missions—help us understand what it is that drives astronauts to chase the thrill of space travel. All three are steps toward attaining the goal of being able to live outside of Earth. At one point, being an astronaut was almost considered the equivalent of being a superhero. While it may have decreased in popularity, being an astronaut is still regarded a highly exciting profession. A career as an astronaut comes with a lot of pressure and extraordinary requirements. However, all this recedes into the background when astronauts peek through their small window on board their ship and see the planet they are leaving behind. In that moment, euphoria takes over, and they realize that all they have been through has prepared them for this precise moment. The image of Earth from a distance is enough to leave them wanting more, which is why many astronauts seek to venture off into space again.

This article leaves ample room for future research on missions that are currently taking place, as well as the long-term health issues that might arise as more astronauts seek a more permanent home aboard space stations. On February 6, 2020, at 4:42 a.m. Eastern Time, astronaut Christina Koch set a new record by spending a total of 328 days on board the *ISS*.[68] The ongoing push for new records

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[66] Robert C. Parkinson, "Review of Rationales for Space Activity," *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society* 51 (1998): 275-280, here 277-278.

[67] C. Mark Hempsell, "A History of Space and Limits to Growth," *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society* 51 (1998): 323-336, here 335.

[68] Christian Davenport, "Astronaut Christina Koch Returns to Earth After Record-Breaking Stay on International Space Station," *The Washington* Post, February 6, 2020.

bodes well for the future of the program. Future generations will seek to join a space task force that will lead us to pursue interplanetary missions. Thus, it is imperative for *NASA* to continue to be a significant platform and attract the next generation of STEM majors who are willing to risk their lives to be the next American astronauts. Today, rovers are the ones sending data from Mars, but in the near future we will have the capacity to send humans instead, and—with the same excitement that Neil Armstrong felt in 1969 when he set foot on the moon—the world will once again be captivated by man's achievement in space.

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Renee D. Jean

# *Rejection in the Revolution: Leninist Theory and the Weather Underground (1969-1974)*

ABSTRACT: *While U.S. domestic comfort was booming at a time of international turmoil, the militant Weathermen (or Weather Underground Organization) of the late 1960s and 1970s sought to "bring the war home" by employing the theories of small-nation revolutionaries like Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro. Their fervor to support contemporary international movements meant ignoring the theories and methods most applicable to their goals – those of Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Union. The author argues that, in this New-Left rejection of imperialism, Lenin's works were undervalued when needed the most, and that a manipulated legacy at the hands of Lenin's successors led to Weather's failure.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; U.S.; Weathermen (Weather Underground Organization); imperialism; transnationalism; terrorism; New Left; Vladimir Lenin; Ho Chi Minh; Fidel Castro*

## *Introduction*

"It is the oppressed peoples of the world who have created the wealth of this empire, and it is to them that it belongs."[1] Bernardine Dohrn wrote these words, reminiscent of the late Vladimir Lenin, in 1969 as a declaration of revolution in and against the United States. The idea of the *Weather Underground Organization* (or *Weathermen*) was to lead a worldwide communist revolution to fight the imperialistic tendencies of the United States both abroad and at home. Organization of the working class, militant support for the Black Power movement, and enlightening the average American to wartime atrocities in Vietnam were all on their revolutionary agenda.[2] The U.S. Capitol and the Pentagon were bombed, and Dohrn spent three years on the "FBI's Most Wanted" list.[3] However, within five years, *Weather* seemed a distant memory as they all lived underground, undercover lives to avoid arrest and did little else.[4] What could possibly have driven this group to quiet obscurity? There are a number of explanations involving government agencies like the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), but politically violent and terrorist organizations rarely collapse due to counter-terrorism efforts.[5] Rather, ideological and tactical mistakes

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[1] Bernardine Dohrn, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," in *Sing a Battle Song: The Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiqués of the Weather Underground, 1970-1974*, ed. Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers, and Jeff Jones (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), 67-70, here 67.

[2] Dohrn, "You Don't Need a Weatherman," 67.

[3] Ron Jacobs, *The Way the Wind Blew: A History of the Weather Underground* (New York: Verso, 1997), 7.

[4] Mark Rudd, *Underground: My Life with SDS and the Weathermen* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009), 204.

[5] Jacobs, *Way the Wind Blew*, 161; Richard English, *Does Terrorism Work? A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 29.

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within the groups themselves most often spell their downfall. In *Weather*'s case, these young idealists followed revolutionary examples ill-fitted to their circumstances, only correcting their error after leading the movement down an irreparably misguided path. The *26th of July Movement* in Cuba and the Vietnamese *National Liberation Front* did not suit the circumstances of privileged educated youths, yet they were the model for most of the *Weather* movement.[6]

The romantic attitude most Western insurgents had toward Fidel Castro and Ho Chi Minh was unsustainable once put into practice. *Weather* in particular sought to distance themselves from any Soviet connection and therefore emphasized smaller, less internationally powerful revolutions and revolutionaries. However, their fight was against the most militarily advanced and domestically comfortable nation during the Cold War. Not only did they realize too late that a careful study of Lenin's theory would have offered the best possible parallel to their situation, but they misconstrued and underutilized those of Lenin's works they did use initially—as recognized by Dohrn herself.[7] From the perspective of scholarly revolutionary theory, domestic and global circumstances, and ideological motivation, Lenin should have been the most accessible example to *Weather*. However, trends in the overarching New-Left movement, insecurities over wealth and national status, and a disillusionment with the Soviet Union led *Weather* away from tactics that would have benefitted them. This article argues that early failures in applying contemporary ideologies encouraged *Weather* leadership to embrace Leninist theory on privilege and revolutionary cycles to find a more effective role for themselves in their proposed revolution. By including analysis of both *Weather*'s direct and indirect ties to Leninism, especially in publications and practice, this study aims to contextualize New-Left terrorism as part of a larger twentieth-century narrative.[8]

To discuss the troubled relationship between *Weather* and Lenin, one must first understand Lenin's own interpretation and implementation of Marxist theory. Lenin's interpretation provided a way, at least theoretically, for educated, middle to upper-class people to establish themselves as twentieth-century revolutionaries. This study then proceeds to an exploration of why *Weather* was more inclined to

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[6] Rudd, *Underground*, 165.

[7] Bernardine Dohrn, "The Weather Eye: Communiqués from the Weather Underground," in *Sing a Battle Song: The Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiqués of the Weather Underground, 1970-1974*, ed. Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers, and Jeff Jones (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), 131-230, here 135; Christopher Phelps, "The New Left Wasn't So New," *Dissent* 60, no. 4 (2013): 85-91, here 86.

[8] The term "terrorism" used in this study follows the 2004 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1566 definition as being "criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act."

ill-fitting revolutionary examples in its formative years and only later turned to Lenin. To develop context for *Weather*'s beginnings, a review of scholarship on revolutionary theory and terrorism is necessary: from David Rapoport's and Tom Parker's wave and strain theories of terrorism to Richard English's terrorist profiling, these frameworks provide a deeper background to *Weather*'s missteps.[9] This article offers a comparison between the early and later writings of *Weather* to show an increased presence of Leninist thought as time progressed.

*I. The Complexities of Lenin*

Lenin's work on Marxism is exemplary of a recurring revolutionary conundrum. How can Marxism be practical when it is the bourgeoisie that is prepared for the revolution rather than the proletariat? Marx and Engels themselves belonged to the educated class that led the great majority of revolutions and attempted revolutions both before and after their publications.[10] The son of an educated superintendent and teacher, Lenin was not only university-trained but pursued an advanced degree in law.[11] He clearly was an established member of the class he condemned. Lenin himself struggled with how to define his relationship to the revolution, as can be seen in a number of his works.[12] Lenin's early defining work, *What Is to Be Done?* (1902), outlines his plan to incorporate all sectors of society to bring about a revolution. Lenin blames class prejudice and imperialism for keeping the working class unaware of revolutionary benefits.[13] Because the effects of imperialism did not burden "enlightened" upper classes, they could use education to understand such benefits.[14] If those whom the revolution would serve the most were unaware and unorganized, it was therefore up to Lenin and the educated to provide the catalyst for revolutionary change. Once this catalyst succeeded, it would be the role of the bourgeois to abandon their class privilege and education to become part of the proletariat. That is not to say, however, that Lenin condemned intellectualism in the revolution. On the contrary, as this article

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[9] English, *Does Terrorism Work*; Tom Parker and Nick Sitter, "The Four Horsemen of Terrorism: It's Not Waves, It's Strains," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 28, no. 2 (2016): 197-216.

[10] For example, the American Revolution, the French Revolution(s), the Irish Revolutionary War, etc. See Jonathan Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas: An Intellectual History of the French Revolution from The Rights of Man to Robespierre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Jonathan Israel, *The Expanding Blaze: How the American Revolution Ignited the World, 1775-1848: The Expanding Blaze* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); and Jérôme aan de Wiel, "The Shots That Reverberated for a Long Time, 1916-1932: The Irish Revolution, the Bolsheviks, and the European Left," *International History Review* 42, no. 1 (2020): 195-213.

[11] R. D. Rucker, "The Making of the Russian Revolution: Revolutionaries, Workers, and the Marxian Theory of Revolution" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1981), 23.

[12] Vladimir I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* In Vladimir I. Lenin, *Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), first published in 1902, is the most prominent example.

[13] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 50.

[14] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 46.

shows, nearly all of his works laud the use of all skills and privileges possible to move the revolution forward.[15]

However, Lenin did change his tune over time, which has proven problematic in later interpretations and the use of his works. New-Left scholar Christopher Phelps notes that Lenin's later views favored a form of delegation where each class had its own role to play rather than one educating another.[16] Lenin quickly began to think that allowing the working class to take on his theories left room for misinterpretation and unsuccessful implementation.[17] Essentially, while Lenin believed in a more equal standard of living for all, he emphasized that the educated classes should not shirk intellectualism because a completely uneducated "dictatorship of the proletariat" would crumble.[18] Historian Donald Davis notes that Lenin's change grew out of his own self-education, namely, in recognizing that no one sector of society could understand how to perfect every aspect of the revolution.[19] Lenin understood political aspects and goals best and framed his view of the revolution accordingly. However, he grew to recognize that politics is only one aspect of creating a successful revolution. Rather than enlighten the working class to what the intelligentsia and politicians were theorizing about revolution, it was better to delegate different tactics to different participants. This change in ideology appears to have been largely ignored in the revolutionary and terrorist movements of the later twentieth century—even among those who claim Leninist or socialist inspiration.[20]

Particularly important to an analysis of *Weather* is Lenin's own discussion of terrorism in *What Is to Be Done*. Lenin's interpretation is multilayered and far more complicated than appears in *Weather*'s manifesto. While he recognizes that terrorist tactics play an important role in the development of revolutionary "consciousness," he includes some important qualifiers. Arguably the most important of these qualifiers is his emphasis on an "all-sided political agitation."[21] Rather than totally reject the political sphere, Lenin calls for the infiltration of the

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[15] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 51. *What Is to Be Done* mainly differs from Lenin's later works in its description of the role of different classes after the revolution.

[16] Christopher Phelps, "Lenin and American Radicalism," *Science & Society* 60, no. 1 (1996): 80-86.

[17] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 40.

[18] Donald Edward Davis, "Lenin's Theory of War" (PhD. Diss., Indiana University, 1969), 4. For Lenin's theoretical shift over time, see Antonio Negri, *Factory of Strategy: Thirty-Three Lessons on Lenin* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

[19] Davis, "Lenin's Theory of War," 10.

[20] English, *Does Terrorism Work*, 82. Terrorists throughout history have remained notably absent in the political sphere, with abstentionism becoming the popular global trend for revolutionaries. Theoretically, if they reject the government as illegitimate, participating would be counterproductive to their movement. For abstentionism, see Matt Treacy, *The IRA 1956-69: Rethinking the Republic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

[21] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 75.

government on several fronts. He states that terrorists have the potential to catalyze intellectual responsibilities of the revolution—but only in tandem with the working class's economic struggle and political action. By this definition, students would easily fit the profile for Lenin's ideal terrorists if they supported and created a larger political and economic movement. Lenin notes that terrorists too often attempt to act while "[lacking] plans for a broader organization of revolutionary work," thus leading them to repeat mistakes and alienate possible allies.[22] Lenin even notes that, when there is a democratic system in place, it is particularly important to utilize a multi-faceted approach to avoid alienating those who believe in working through the system.[23] By merely utilizing terrorism in a system especially designed for participation, a group completely alienates possible sympathetic peoples and groups.

Another qualifier Lenin addresses is that, in terms of an "all-sided" approach, terrorism must have a goal beyond merely inspiring the working class. Lenin warns that terrorists, as well as the intelligentsia, tend to underestimate the revolutionary sensibilities of the working class.[24] Therefore, if a terrorist organization's entire goal is to call the working class to action, then the revolution will not progress. Lenin recalls the legacy of the Russian anarchist terrorists, labelling their attempt at revolution "simplistic" because they lacked a larger, multi-level "plan of tactics" for their movement.[25] They had, from Lenin's perspective, both a lack of practical knowledge and an incomplete ideology.[26] Meanwhile, according to Lenin, terrorists needed a strong understanding both of their own role as well as how they fit into the larger movement. They could not act completely independently, otherwise their actions could open up opportunities for unrelated movements to latch on to their work. Furthermore, they could not act independently because a purely violent, provocative movement like terrorism offers no complex and sustainable system.

*II. Theoretical Interpretations of Weather*

*Weather*'s significance in the larger narrative of the twentieth century resides in its role in terrorist and revolutionary theory.[27] To understand this significance, a brief discussion of scholarship on terrorism is necessary. On the basis of reactions and wave theories, a clearer picture emerges why exactly *Weather* was, at first, inclined to ignore true Leninism and only later understood its benefits for their specific cause.

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[22] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 49.

[23] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 63.

[24] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 75.

[25] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 49.

[26] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 34.

[27] English himself lectured in 2018 at Queen's University, Belfast, on the importance of a twentieth-century timeline of terrorism, with nearly every group coinciding with multiple other revolutions and ideologies, often creating and inspiring more terrorism.

One of the most widely accepted methods of viewing terrorism in the twentieth century involves the theory of historical cycles. Both David Rapoport's "Four Waves of Terrorism" (2004) and Arthur Schlesinger's *Cycles of American History* (1986) develop the idea that *Weather* and its contemporaries are part of a larger narrative of twentieth-century patterns. While Rapaport's proposed first-wave 1880s terrorists predate Lenin's movement, it is important to acknowledge their impact on Lenin's most formative years and the development of his own terrorist theory.[28] Drawing on Tom Parker's and Nick Sitter's 2016 critique of Rapoport's wave theory, this analysis links Lenin's movement to the supposed first wave of anarchy through "strains" that influenced changing political participation.[29] The first wave of anarchist terrorists aided in bringing about radical socialism in Russia and in developing new tactics for revolutionary change. Most importantly for this study, Rapoport emphasizes the similarities between the third wave, 1970s New-Left terrorism, and first-wave, late-nineteenth century anarchism.[30] The goal of the first and third waves was internal terrorism where groups attacked domestically to impact international policy. Meanwhile, second-wave, 1940s and 1950s anti-imperialist terrorism was largely external with countries like Vietnam, Algeria, and Cuba fighting for self-determination from colonial or puppet governments.[31]

Arthur Schlesinger's theoretical work specifically facilitates an understanding of trends in American history. Schlesinger discusses a political pendulum that may explain *Weather*'s inclination to ally themselves with more vibrant movements of their time. He focuses on New-Left intellectuals, particularly historians within the movement, who condemned earlier American liberals and leftists who had hoped to abandon such political ideologies.[32] If even the most professional of the movement denigrate the American leftist tradition, those they educate are likely to follow suit. Schlesinger's basic argument is that each piece of American history is a reaction to a previous one, forming ideological cycles.[33] In this way, the New Left reacted against the stalwart, American communist Old Left to become far more active and militant. If every American movement is a reaction, then an ideological back-and-forth connects alternating movements. Therefore, the New

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[28] David Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of Grand Strategy*, ed. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46-73.

[29] Parker and Sitter, "Four Horsemen of Terrorism," 200. For the classification and development of terrorism, see *Terrorism in Context,* ed. Martha Crenshaw (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

[30] Rapoport, "Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," 47.

[31] Rapoport, "Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," 50. For wave theory as it pertains to the U.S., see Jerald B. Brown, "The Wave Theory of American Social Movements," *City & Society* 6, no. 1 (1992): 26-45. Alternatively, see Parker and Sitter, "Four Horsemen of Terrorism," 197-216.

[32] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Cycles of American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1986), 72.

[33] Schlesinger, *Cycles of American History,* 45.

Left would be more inclined to act similarly to the anarchist movement prior to the nonviolent Old Left. In confirmation, Dohrn notes in *Weather*'s reflective work *Prairie Fire*, "we inherited a deadening ideology of conformity and gradualism."[34] This gradualism could not carry over to the restless generation that followed.

Schlesinger also notes that similar political priorities influence such reactions.[35] Imperialism happened to be a common thread connecting the New Left and early anarchists. Additionally, *Weather* and a number of organizations ranging from the *Irish Republican Army* to the *Palestinian Liberation Organization* stated that this Old-Left attitude allowed for an increase in imperialism even in supposedly socialist states like the Soviet Union.[36] Thus, small-scale revolutionaries fighting against Cold-War dynamics, like second-wave Castro and Ho, became the vanguard of these movements. Rather than look to their cyclical predecessors in those before the Old-Left, nonviolent, labor-focused movements, *Weather* took their guidance from second-wave revolutionaries. Similar to Rapoport's wave theory, the third wave reacted against the nonviolent attitude of their predecessors whose idea of "change from within" appeared stagnant and unappealing.[37]

Departing from cyclical theory, Richard English's *Does Terrorism Work?* provides useful insights into the educational aspects of terrorism. With both Lenin and *Weather* following the trends of cyclical theory, English notes that it is not uncommon for terrorists or revolutionaries to be highly educated individuals who attempt to use publicity to inform the masses.[38] Even if the terrorists or revolutionaries themselves are not traditionally educated, they tend to emerge from student movements or have an academic leader who guides their action.[39] Oftentimes, English notes, terrorists and revolutionaries latch on to the first pieces of information they study and have very little tolerance for counter-information.[40] He emphasizes that many leftist revolutions only became successful when leaders consulted scholars and revolutionary literature at length, spanning borders in order to find the most applicable theories and tactics.[41] Based on Schlesinger and

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[34] Bernardine Dohrn, "Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism: Political Statement of the Weather Underground," in *Sing a Battle Song: The Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiqués of the Weather Underground, 1970-1974*, ed. Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers, and Jeff Jones (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), 231-388, here 247.

[35] Schlesinger, *Cycles of American History,* 328.

[36] Dohrn, "Prairie Fire," 252. For further examples, see Gerry Adams, *Before the Dawn: An Autobiography* (first published 1996; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018); and Mamdouh Nofal, "Yasir Arafat, the Political Player: A Mixed Legacy," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35, no. 2 (January 2006): 23–37.

[37] Dohrn, "Prairie Fire," 252.

[38] English, *Does Terrorism Work*, 98.

[39] English, *Does Terrorism Work*, 103; Walter Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism* (first published 1977; New York: Little, Brown, 1997), 205.

[40] English, *Does Terrorism Work*, 103.

[41] English, *Does Terrorism Work*, 103.

Parker, a working knowledge of the cyclical and wave nature of violent and revolutionary history is a necessary tool for revolutionaries who hope to be successful. Lenin himself studied both his contemporaries and earlier movements to build a successful revolution.[42] However, because *Weather* limited its revolutionary foundations, it was difficult to understand exactly what sources they should draw from. Their primary publications and memoirs confirm their limitation in sources because they deemed nearly every movement—apart from their own contemporaries—as failed or antirevolutionary.

No study on *Weather* could be complete without historian Van Gosse's rich New-Left research. Gosse's 2005 work, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretative History*, provides a contextual look at *Weather*'s motivations and development.[43] Gosse only briefly mentions the student movements of the late sixties and delves more deeply into the movements that were contemporary to and inspirational for *Weather*. This aids the analysis in developing an understanding as to why Leninist theory was rather unpopular among the American and global Left.[44] Most importantly, both in *Rethinking the New Left* and in *Movements of the New Left*,[45] Gosse's discussion of Black Power provides a better understanding of *Weather*'s proximity to the movement with which it most wanted to align itself.[46]

For scholars of the New Left, there is fortunately no shortage of primary sources in the form of memoirs and a vast number of other publications. For the purposes of this study, the *Weather* manifesto, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows" (1969), and the book *Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism* (1974) provide most of the primary content. To further support this article's arguments, a memoir by *Weather* member and founder Mark Rudd adds a personal confirmation to the academic scholarship. Rudd discusses both the failings of *Weather* and his own disillusionment with the Left that led him personally to militant violence. He also confirms *Weather*'s dedication to contemporary movements and a sort-of rejection of the past.[47] Studying the past appeared as too intellectual, which, *Weather* felt, would separate them from the class with whom they were attempting to integrate.[48] It was this rejection of thorough study that prevented *Weather* from understanding appropriate tactics to develop their movement into a success. Although they were all highly educated, Rudd discusses the guilt they felt for having access to such

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[42] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 50.

[43] Van Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretative History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 192.

[44] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 196.

[45] Van Gosse, *The Movements of the New Left: 1950-1975: A Brief History with Document* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005).

[46] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 83.

[47] Rudd, *Underground*, 78.

[48] Phelps, "New Left," 85.

intellectual resources.[49] Thus, their examples to learn about successful revolution were the contemporary movements commonly discussed in popular media.

*III. From Student Organizing to Terrorist Action*

To introduce *Weather*, one must first understand the circumstances from which it arose. Its parent organization, *Students for a Democratic Society* (*SDS*), was on a collision course for collapse by the late 1960s. Factionalism was abounding, and groups were struggling to build an identity separate from contemporary and previous movements.[50] Traditional American leftists, or the "Old Left," had such a poor reputation in society since the turn of the century that the New-Left movement as a whole was a rebellion against that history. From corrupt labor unions to largely inactive philosophers, America was not exactly an incubator for positive leftist inspiration.[51] The New Left wanted to reinvent itself in accordance with the ideas and methods of successful revolutionaries, not merely failed ideologues.[52] Domestic leftists did not just have a poor reputation; it was difficult to connect any movement with the Soviets due to the political atmosphere in America.[53] Not even the New Left was immune to the country's extreme anti-communism. In response, Carl Oglesby and several anti-war figures of the 1960s propagated a return to pre-Stalin communism and socialism, as the Soviet dictator's actions had seriously tainted the leftist movement.[54] Oglesby's and C. Wright Mills's suggestion of Lenin as an exemplar proved fruitful only in the later part of the decade, after anti-intellectualism had led to often rushed and wrong interpretations of any ideological literature.[55] While Oglesby and Mills were almost divine figures on *SDS* reading lists, their suggestions proved difficult to accept in the political climate of the late 1960s. They found themselves idealized, yet ignored, in the radicalization of the movement because their propositions favored intellectualism, which was becoming increasingly unpopular.[56]

However, the use of any communist or socialist writings with connections to the Soviet Union—which *Weather* condemned as antirevolutionary and imperialistic—was unappealing to idealistic youth, while vibrant figures like Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, and Huey Newton seemed fresh and new. More traditional Marxist factions decried the inclusion of such specific examples, while the *Revolutionary Youth Movement* (*RYM*), later to become *Weather*, argued that they

[49] Rudd, *Underground*, 104.

[50] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 105.

[51] Schlesinger, *Cycles of American History,* 212.

[52] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 107.

[53] Phelps, "New Left," 83.

[54] Phelps, "Lenin and American Radicalism," 87.

[55] Phelps, "Lenin and American Radicalism," 81. See Carl Oglesby, *The New Left Reader* (New York: Grove Press, 1969).

[56] Rudd, *Underground*, 72.

were important as action was more beneficial than having a perfect doctrine.[57] Because imperialism became the popular enemy of the New Left, *RYM* quickly gained the upper hand over the faction that was supporting theory in use by one of the largest imperial states in the world.[58] Changing its name to *Weathermen* (or *Weather Organization*), this action-focused faction split from *SDS* and decried its parent organization's complacency with antirevolutionaries and lack of action.[59] Rudd's memoir in particular discusses the tactic of condemning any criticism of their ideology as antirevolutionary, largely because it was more "romantic" to gain more enemies than it was to incorporate new doctrine and admit mistakes.[60]

This popular radical narrative caused several problems within the New-Left movement, mainly domestically in the United States, as groups like *Weather* were ignoring circumstantial differences globally. Rudd notes that *Weather* made an effort, however unconscious, to avoid more apt early Soviet doctrine and methodology.[61] His memoir discusses the extent to which *Weather* members, or cadre, praised anti-intellectualism; therefore, when they did include Lenin, they only included those of his most popular and quotable works that aligned, shallowly, with their own goals.[62] Basically, instead of learning from the past to create goals, they predetermined their cause and then found justifications. The unofficial New-Left and radical handbook was Régis Debray's 1967 *Revolution in the Revolution* which often represented the extent of the movement's exposure to Lenin.[63] However, the attitudes regarding their own privilege limited the amount *Weather* believed it should read.[64] This limitation kept the full extent of Lenin's influence from informing his spiritual revolutionary successors.

*IV. Weather's Early Doctrine*

*Weather* outlined its early doctrine in a manifesto published in 1969, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows." This text quickly summarizes *Weather*'s main goal as establishing "world communism" with very little description of how it hopes to accomplish such a task.[65] In fact, it outlines its goals in terms of other groups. By stating that "the [oppressed peoples] will continue to set the terms for class struggle in America," *Weather* passes the burden

[57] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 140. For American New Left factions, see Tom Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam* (first published 1994; New York: Open Road Distribution, 2016).

[58] Rudd, *Underground*, 72.

[59] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 141.

[60] Rudd, *Underground*, 107.

[61] Rudd, *Underground*, 132.

[62] Rudd, *Underground*, 130.

[63] Régis Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution?* trans. Bobbye Ortiz (New York: MR Press, 1967).

[64] Rudd, *Underground*, 94.

[65] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 143.

of developing a tactical and strategic plan in the long term.[66] While appearing as an attempt to defer expertise to the interests of the proletariat, it limited what *Weather* could do. In this way, *Weather* followed a quite traditional "dictatorship of the proletariat" approach by ensuring that the working class and oppressed groups would have the only voice that mattered in the revolution.[67] In some sense, *Weather* attempted to portray themselves—White, upper-class students—as devoid of class privilege in order to serve those oppressed in the world. Simultaneously, they brought their "enlightened" sense of revolution to the "brainwashed" imperialist victims to allow them to lead the revolution with *Weather* as their willing army.[68] Their doctrine points to them as fighters for the revolution and class consciousness but not as the ones who should lead any part of it. In short, they present themselves as pawns to a newly conscious proletariat.

The manifesto, besides consistently referencing popular revolutionaries of the time, also provides an in-depth definition of American imperialism. Importantly for this study, the manifesto discusses how American imperialism affects other groups and nations rather than the members of *Weather* themselves. One might argue that the Black Power movement is still part of the United States, however, on multiple occasions throughout the manifesto, *Weather* insists that a Black Nation is a separate, self-determining nation.[69] For purposes of analysis, this article will use *Weather*'s interpretation. Most often, it uses the term "Black colony" and discusses its need for autonomy apart from the United States government.[70] So, having clarified the definition of "other groups and nations," the issue with *Weather*'s doctrine comes to light when considering who they quote. As mentioned previously, *Weather* frequently drew upon Castro and Ho.[71] These two revolutionaries attempted to push out colonial or puppet states, while *Weather* tried to undermine its own government. *Weather*'s revolution was internal with external consequences. Such revolutions often find themselves less accepted by the public as the government does not appear as a common enemy to a majority of people.[72] Particularly in a democratic society—even though *Weather* debated just how representative American democracy really was—internal upheaval becomes increasingly difficult as, theoretically, there are other more peaceful ways to change policy.

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[66] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 142.

[67] Davis, "Lenin's Theory of War," 15.

[68] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 144.

[69] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 139.

[70] Dohrn, "You Don't Need a Weatherman," 68.

[71] They also utilized writings and speeches by Huey Newton, but as his party, at the time, was more invested in community programs than revolution, it is important to focus on the revolutionaries they believe could aid both their own and Newton's goals. For Newton and the New Left, see Kieran Taylor, "Turn to the Working Class: The New Left, Black Liberation, and the U.S. Labor Movement (1967–1981)" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007).

[72] English, *Does Terrorism Work*, 43.

Rudd's memoir once again provides confirmation of much of this doctrine. Because *Weather*'s manifesto stressed placing the leadership of the masses on the working class, anti-intellectualism ran rampant in the ranks.[73] Rudd, as well as several other former members, discussed that being the least-read member was a badge of honor of sorts.[74] This move away from their own backgrounds occurred with the hope that they could integrate with the proletariat. Education born out of an imperialist system could only foster imperialist tendencies in them, thus only immersion into working-class spheres could provide revolutionary-friendly education.[75] Ron Jacobs's work further highlights this rejection of any class privilege that could prove useful later. A better understanding of history, political science, international relations, economics, warfare, and many more fields that could have improved their doctrine and tactics was dismissed as "bourgeois" and imperialist.[76] Because *Weather*'s members learned about these subjects at university—prestigious universities for the most part, they saw their lessons as detrimental to implementing a pure dictatorship of the proletariat.

*V. A Leninist Comparison*

The similarities between the political climate that fostered Lenin's and *Weather*'s movements are apparent in relation to cyclical theory. In each case, the presence of an "Old" movement limited what the groups could and would believe, as well as how they planned to realize those beliefs. Lenin's old-guard rivals mirrored the Old Left in several ways. For one, their dedication to gradual reform frustrated young radicals. In *Weather*'s case, historian Van Gosse notes, "cold war liberalism was moderate ideology repudiating any taint of radicalism," because the idealism of the midcentury created a systemic loyalty.[77] Similarly, in Lenin's case, the Czarist system had created a vacuum of sorts for any political movement to develop without extreme action.[78] Disillusioned with parliamentary or otherwise established politics without some indication of radical change, both Lenin and *Weather* preached collective action.[79] Secondly, image was a problem for the old-guard Left in both cases. *Weather* was facing a fierce anti-communist public and an anti-Soviet New-Left community, therefore their own ideological options were limited due to societal pressures on multiple fronts.[80] Because *Weather* was staunchly anti-imperialistic, they had very few examples outside of Lenin that provided a framework befitting of such circumstances. Similar to Lenin's Social

[73] Rudd, *Underground*, 122.

[74] Rudd, *Underground*, 119.

[75] Rudd, *Underground*, 100.

[76] Jacobs, *Way the Wind Blew*, 104.

[77] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 151.

[78] Phelps, "Lenin and American Radicalism," 85.

[79] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 53.

[80] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 151.

Democrats, this required *Weather* to pull ideology, tactics, and members from outside mildly compatible groups to avoid isolating themselves and to attempt an "all-sided" methodology in a class-diverse nation.[81]

There is evidence of an early, though adapted, attempt at an "all-sided" agitation approach. *Weather* tried to integrate itself as the terrorist wing of economic and political programs, largely of the *Black Panther Party* (*BPP*).[82] The manifesto consistently references its work as a partner of sorts to community programs of the *BPP*.[83] Additionally, the manifesto's emphasis on deferring to political priorities expressed by minorities and oppressed peoples shows at least some attempt to integrate a multi-faceted approach.[84] However, this was not a united front. The manifesto actually states outright that they would not seek a united front as class interests differed too greatly.[85] Lenin, meanwhile, had emphasized the necessity of different wings within the same united front or party; these pieces needed to work in tandem with common goals. *Weather*, however, sought to act as a White terrorist wing of multiple different parties, all with different goals. While it was popular for groups to reference and celebrate each other in speeches and writings, these groups were hardly united in ideology and goals.[86] *Weather* attempted to address many of *BPP*'s goals in their manifesto, yet, they acted independently from its ranks.[87] Lenin had emphasized that each stratum of society had its own role to play, however, there also had to be at least some unity and understanding of common goals. *Weather*'s adaptation overreached its own capacity to unite as a cohesive front, thus allowing for continued disunity and misunderstandings between groups.

Because *Weather*'s revolution was internally based, Lenin's own revolutionary strategy would foresee several problems. For one, Lenin outlines circumstantial tactics that discuss how each specific tactic would work within his own country and government. He drew largely on Russian thinkers or pure theoreticians like Marx and Engels. Davis notes that Lenin adapted and amended his own theory throughout his revolutionary career to include works of contemporaries who were covering topics on which he considered himself weak.[88] Davis's analysis of Lenin's relationship toward his rival Leon Trotsky emphasizes that Lenin was largely

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[81] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 54. Weather's focus on groups in only working-class communities attempted the initial steps of Lenin's "all-sided" approach by incorporating more traditional union-led leftism; however, they stopped short at attempting to sway other middle and upper class actors who could provide a wide variety of capital Lenin calls upon.

[82] Jacobs, *Way the Wind Blew*, 96.

[83] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 139.

[84] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 143.

[85] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 141.

[86] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 145.

[87] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 141.

[88] Davis, "Lenin's Theory of War," 13.

positive with regard to criticism from potential allies and foes.[89] When a contemporary pointed out a flaw or weakness in a publication, Lenin worked to amend it in a later work, ever aware of the circumstantial developments.[90] In *What Is to Be Done*, Lenin notes that he was relatively wary of drawing too much inspiration from other movements, because only those who live through a particular situation fully understand its inner workings.[91]

Particularly during a time of several revolutions, both colonial and internal, Lenin's revolutionary philosophy was an early reflection of *Weather*'s time. *Weather* also came to the forefront during a time of global revolution, but focused on the possibility rather than the plausibility of their own circumstances. There were plenty of examples that made revolution seem possible, but there were not enough circumstantially similar examples to make their doctrine plausible.[92] Largely because there were multiple examples of revolutions and movements far removed from the Cuba and Vietnam models, deeper study, as Lenin suggests multiple times throughout his work, would have shown that the revolutionary attitude was not as universal as *Weather* was preaching.[93] For example, there were numerous anti-communist movements in the late 1960s that are largely ignored in *Weather*'s writings. Czechoslovakia provides one of the most salient examples of this lack of revolutionary globalism.[94]

Possibly the most significant connection to Lenin that *Weather* ignored was his theory on privilege, power, and role delegation. We have already seen some of this when analyzing the "all-sided approach," but at this juncture a look into the treatment of one's own privilege is an interesting addition. *Weather*'s manifesto outlines several classes of American and international society, and how each can benefit the revolution.[95] However, *Weather* discusses how each class has to sacrifice its unique qualities and skillsets in order to incorporate itself into a cohesive, totally equal society.[96] *Weather* hoped that by becoming federal fugitives, they would shirk their White, upper-class privilege and level themselves with minorities.[97] This was arguably the greatest shortcoming of their doctrine, as this misunderstands how privilege operates. As mentioned earlier, Dohrn spent time

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[89] Davis, "Lenin's Theory of War," 17.

[90] Phelps, "Lenin and American Radicalism," 85.

[91] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 52.

[92] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 143.

[93] Czechoslovakia's revolt, the Prague Spring, was also an example of fighting to remove an imperialist, puppet state and gain more autonomy for one's own government. In this way, it aligns with Castro and Ho's revolutions but shows that the doctrine and reason behind revolution was not at all universal. For this distinction, see Jiří Suk, "The Utopian Rationalism of the Prague Spring of 1968," *The American Historical Review* 123, no. 3 (June 2018): 764-768.

[94] Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Random House, 2004), 36.

[95] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 142.

[96] Dohrn, "Weather Eye," 143.

[97] Jacobs, *Way the Wind Blew*, 88.

on the "FBI's Most Wanted" list, yet she never served a prison sentence. By comparison, *Black-Panthers* co-founder Bobby Seale and Angela Davis, also a *Black Panther* and supporter of the Soledad Brothers, to name only two, served substantial prison time despite having similar track records.[98] Just because they committed crimes and became fugitives did not erase the privilege that *Weather* had as White, upper-class individuals. Lenin, though choosing to live a life materially similar to the average working-class person, recognized that privilege had afforded him several educational and legal benefits.[99]

*VI. Weather's Last Stand*

*Prairie Fire* was *Weather*'s recognition of their revolutionary ideological shortcomings and represents their most overt adoption of Leninist ideology. Published in 1974, it was *Weather*'s conscious attempt to incorporate Leninism into their doctrine and provided far more historical, researched examples than their initial manifesto.[100] Jacobs's comprehensive book on *Weather* even describes an awakening to the pitfalls of rejecting intellectualism, evidence of intensive study, and the incorporation of counter-arguments.[101] Several studies note that a budding two-tier system of *Weather* worked together to build a far more Leninist policy. *Prairie Fire* first lists its accomplishments with a critical view of how they could be improved by following better, more fitting tactics. Dohrn notes that, largely because of guilt from privilege, the members of *Weather* had acted rashly and largely unprepared in the face of the "terrible cost of not doing all [they] possibly [could]," which had oftentimes yielded misunderstandings and strategic failures.[102] Jacobs's work discusses that there was a conscious attempt to adopt an increasingly Leninist approach the more these failures accumulated.[103]

The biggest change that *Prairie Fire* outlines, and the most Leninist, is its call for a "Prairie Fire Organizing Committee." This committee would act as an "above-ground political wing" of *Weather*, working to influence the voting and demonstrating masses in tandem with any planned *Weather* actions.[104] This directly incorporates Lenin's call for a multi-faceted approach. According to Jacobs, the group "renounced its previous tendency which [had] demanded immediate revolution in the United States" and noted that, upon further reflection, a large-scale revolution attempting to dismantle a global imperialist state would

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[98] "Dissident Activity January 1966 through January 1973," General CIA Records, approved for release June 19, 2003.

[99] Rucker, "Making of the Russian Revolution," 23.

[100] Dohrn, "Prairie Fire," 254.

[101] Jacobs, *Way the Wind Blew*, 145.

[102] Dohrn, "Prairie Fire," 247.

[103] Jacobs, *Way the Wind Blew*, 167.

[104] Dohrn, "Prairie Fire," 251.

require multiple long-term stages.[105] Terrorism and other violence would have its role in the revolution, however, it could not be every aspect of it. Dohrn notes,

> [w]e were correct in our decision to prepare and build the armed struggle. There is a strategic necessity to build an underground movement, to learn to fight through fighting, to pull forward into the conflict. There is a need to develop militant action, and from militant action to develop guerrilla activity. This beginning involved a confrontation with privilege and inhibition and was impolite, rough, disruptive, and disorderly. It was an essential step forward, and could not be held back for some "perfect moment."[106]

Dohrn's recognition that their violent action could only be a part, albeit an essential one, of the revolution directly reflects Lenin's own philosophies. It also mirrors the trends of contemporary groups who were beginning to accept more political means as a crucial, tactical aspect of their movements rather than as a mere afterthought.[107] English notes these trends as a natural progression in many terrorist organizations, particularly those based on a communist or more specifically Leninist model.[108] Once terrorism alienates its base, it has to moderate itself to survive.

Additionally, *Prairie Fire* is an attempt at recognizing the shortcomings of anti-intellectualism in the movement and embraces the skillsets brought to the revolution by peoples of numerous backgrounds. Phelps discusses Lenin's own tempestuous relationship with accepting that class struggle cannot rely solely on the strengths of one class and how, even in *What Is to Be Done,* his acceptance of variant class skills is strained.[109] However, *Weather*'s contemporary revolutionary movements were becoming either increasingly intellectual or increasingly self-destructive. Throughout the early 1970s, members of the *Black Panther Party* like Huey Newton and Angela Davis pursued higher education, which made *Weather*'s argument against the university as imperialist difficult to justify, especially considering their philosophy of following the lead of the "oppressed masses." One could argue that, in their new adoption of Leninist study and intellectualism, *Weather* was actually staying true to their philosophy. If Black Power was adopting intellectual study—following the lead of other proletariat-led revolutions, then they were merely following the dictatorship of the proletariat, which had been their goal from the outset. However, the revolutionary role of intellectualism is far more complicated than mere presence or absence.[110] The choice to adopt

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[105] Jacobs, *Way the Wind Blew*, 160.

[106] Dohrn, "Prairie Fire," 243.

[107] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 133.

[108] English, *Does Terrorism Work*, 42.

[109] Phelps, "Lenin and American Radicalism," 89.

[110] English, *Does Terrorism Work*, 76. The debate over intellectualism in the revolution was a global theme. It led to a split in the Irish Republican Army in 1969 between a hardline militant faction and an intellectual Leninist one. See Lorenzo Bosi, "Explaining Pathways to Armed Activism in the Provisional Irish Republican Army, 1969–1972," *Social Science History* 36, no. 3 (2012): 347-390.

intellectualism could point to a more copycat nature on *Weather*'s part. However, the concerted effort to incorporate the goals of the Left as a whole, which had returned to a study of Leninism, indicates a survivalist adaptation.[111] Essentially, *Weather*, as well as many similar groups at the time, began to understand that they could not work independently from the history of their movement. In this way, incorporating Leninist attitudes on intellectualism in the revolution gave *Weather* a small second wind, with *Prairie Fire* becoming sought-after literature.

*Prairie Fire*'s discussion of historical student examples, however, remains somewhat limited. Though *Weather* reached a turning point in their attitude toward intellectualism, their admiration of Castro and Black Power still ran deep, probably more so than it should have.[112] Dohrn defends this, however, stating that "the maturing of the movement took place at a time when the world was in flames," and Castro provided a vibrant example of global revolution that bolstered *Weather*'s belief that their movement was possible.[113] However, it was nearly impossible for *Weather* to receive the same sympathy as other—or even from other—global revolutionaries, because, even though they claimed to fight for the oppressed, their domestic situation seemed comparatively unobjectionable. Therefore, it was far harder for *Weather* to integrate themselves into the global revolutionary narrative. This is *Prairie Fire's* adoption of circumstantial tactics, again preached by Lenin, namely, to understand how *Weather* could use its privilege as upper-class citizens and as relatively comfortable Americans to revolutionize global affairs.[114] Though this was probably *Weather*'s least concerted effort at embracing Lenin's teachings, the fact that they implemented any of them meant that his theories of circumstantial tactics had made an impact.

There are, of course, numerous differences between Lenin and *Weather*. This analysis merely argues that the differences were not enough to make Lenin less apt an example from whom *Weather* could draw inspiration. The largest difference between them were their circumstantial governmental systems. Czarist Russia did not provide nearly the participatory democracy that was present in twentieth-century America. Lenin himself notes that terrorism should be reserved for situations most similar to his own and not in places like the United States or the United Kingdom, where participation is ingrained into the governmental structure.[115] Though members of the New-Left movement might have debated the claim that the United States were any more representative than Czarist Russia, one could argue, theoretically, that Lenin's philosophy was never meant to work in the United States. In this case, Marx's own industrial philosophy would prove more fitting as America was an industrial society with an organized labor population.

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[111] Jacobs, *Way the Wind Blew*, 163.

[112] Dohrn, "Prairie Fire," 248.

[113] Dohrn, "Prairie Fire," 247.

[114] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 52.

[115] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 61.

However, Lenin's philosophies consider the circumstances of a conscious upper class rather than a conscious working one. Marx, Castro, and Ho all relied on the vanguard of the people rather than facing a reversal of consciousness that is not conducive to a Marxist "spontaneous" revolution.[116] Meanwhile, Lenin's considerations of nuanced consciousness in society provided direct solutions for an upper-class set of revolutionaries like *Weather*.

*Conclusion: Fading into Obscurity*

Ultimately, *Prairie Fire* was too little too late. *Weather* had already alienated itself from the comrades that it sought in Black Power and global movements by waiting for them to provide direction. *Weather* also alienated itself from potential allies by rejecting any philosophy that did not come directly from the global working class or oppressed peoples. This disconnect between varying subgroups within the New Left pushed *Weather* into its own category that no one was particularly inclined to associate with. While oppressed groups attempted to legitimize their struggles, *Weather*'s doctrine appeared too opportunistic.[117] Idealistic leftists saw *Weather* as simplifying radicalization to an extreme because they had not learned from past struggles. By overestimating the power of an isolated terrorist movement, *Weather* set themselves up for failure. Had Lenin been their focal point—as opposed to the trends of the global Left, *Weather* could have provided a far more viable plan for revolution. In a larger organization with roles for every class of person—since every class had some skillset to contribute, the Leninist model could have changed *Weather*'s trajectory. The *Prairie-Fire* days of *Weather* saw this realization spread throughout the group's leadership who finally recognized the shortcomings of their early "Weatherman" manifesto. However, *Prairie Fire* came at a time when misinterpretations of Lenin and the early contemporaries of Castro and Ho had already driven *Weather* away from any allies or traction. It was only a matter of time for the government to catch up with their simple plan.

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[116] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done,* 63.

[117] Gosse, *Movements of the New Left*.

Shanna J. Bice

# *Enchanted Statues, Candy Cottages, and Bloody Keys: The Modern Tourist Experience on Germany's Historical Fairy Tale Road*

ABSTRACT: *This article analyzes the travel narratives of modern English-speaking visitors, who are touring Germany's historical Fairy Tale Road, to determine what it is about this tourist destination that attracts travelers and leaves a lasting impression on them. It particularly considers how this tourist attraction connects to its literary and historical background.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Germany; Brothers Grimm; Children's and Household Tales; fairy tales; tourism; architecture; Märchenstrasse (Fairy Tale Road); travel narratives; travel guides*

## *Introduction*

At the center of the German town of Hanau, located just east of Frankfurt, a bronze statue of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm shows the two brothers bent over a large, open book. Jacob is standing, holding on to the back of his younger brother's chair, while Wilhelm is sitting and balancing their object of interest on his knees. Local legend has it that, at the "witching hour," the two brothers switch places, allowing Jacob a rest from the daylight vigil at his brother's side.[1] More than a mere sculpture, this statue is considered the starting point of Germany's famous Fairy Tale Road, and fittingly so, as it serves as an appropriate metaphor for what this route has to offer, namely, historical art, fantastical lore, and the Brothers Grimm.

The German Fairy Tale Road is a tourist attraction that spans from the town of Hanau to the city of Bremerhaven on the country's North Sea coast and includes fifty-three distinct communities.[2] Known as the *Märchenstrasse* in German, it measures approximately 470 miles in length and features a variety of locations related to either the Brothers Grimm or the lore of specific fairy tales.[3] While the origins of the Fairy Tale Road can be traced back centuries, it was established as an official tourist destination on April 11, 1975.[4] Today, visitors from all over the world travel to Germany to visit this route. Japanese tourists in particular express a fascination with the attraction and are more likely to visit the Fairy Tale Road than their American counterparts who tend to prefer Munich or the Black Forest. One Japanese *manga* artist, Kei Ishiyama, went so far as to travel the route to

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[1] Eberhard M. Iba and Thomas L. Johnson, *The German Fairy Tale Landscape: The Storied World of the Brothers Grimm* (Hameln: C. W. Niemeyer, 2015), 22.

[2] Jeff Kavanagh, "Welcome to the Fairy-Tale Road," in *Fodor's Germany*, 27th ed. (New York: Random House Inc., 2014), 537-559, here 539; Iba and Johnson, *German Fairy Tale Landscape*, 13.

[3] "Follow Germany's Fairy-Tale Road," in *Great Escapes: Enjoy the World at Your Leisure*, ed. Elizabeth Jones, Ali Lemer, and Gabrielle Stefanos (Footscray, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2015), 226-228, here 226.

[4] Iba and Johnson, *German Fairy Tale Landscape*, 8.

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conduct research for her 2012 *Grimms Manga Tales*.[5] Many visitors share their experiences in other ways, for example, over the Internet through blogs and videos. Numerous first-hand accounts have been published in newspapers, magazines, and journals, and some of the more cerebral writers examine their own experiences more thoroughly in the form of essays. Visitors to the Road come for a variety of reasons: vacationing with their children, honeymoons, exploring their past, and even for the basic necessity of experiencing the sites for their jobs as travel writers. Whatever the case may be, the same themes reappear over and over again in their writings.

*Figure 1: Shanna J. Bice, "Fairy Tale-Road Word Cloud" (generated with Word It Out). Copyright: Shanna J. Bice.*

For this article, over forty contemporary travel accounts and travel guides were consulted. Thirty-four of these were subsequently run through data-analyzing software to determine their most commonly used terms and to visualize the latter in a Word Cloud (see *Figure 1*); the handful of texts ultimately not included in this computer analysis were slightly older sources for which no suitable digital copies were readily available. Considering the texts' subject matter, many of the terms were predictable, but there were also several surprises. Some terms ranked higher than one might have anticipated—among them a few unexpected ones, and several terms that one would have expected—such as beer, cottage, and witch—were missing altogether from the Word Cloud. This does not mean, of course, that these cannot be found in any of the travel writings considered here: beer, for example, shows up eighteen times in all thirty-four texts, but that is not enough to make it statistically relevant; in fact, for a series of travel logs, food and drink are mentioned surprisingly sparingly. This article argues that the majority of travel

[5] Steven Greenhouse, "Cutting Costs Abroad: A Bit More for Your Money in Europe," *New York Times*, March 5, 1989; Lee Kyung Gagum, "The Manga Boom: The Recent Fairy-Tale Transculturation between Germany and East Asia" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, Tucson, 2017), 54.

writers focus on three distinct topics when traveling the Road: the Brothers Grimm, the fairy tales themselves, and the architecture along the Road. Using the Word Cloud as a reference and examples from the underlying texts as evidence, this article examines possible explanations for the popularity of these topics.

While the number of texts evaluated for this article may seem relatively high and thus "representative," there are at least two caveats to consider. Firstly, many of them originally appeared in newspapers (for example, the *New York Times*), though some texts published in professional journals or essay anthologies were included as well. This means that the texts varied greatly with regard to their length, personal voice, level of scholarship, and inner reflection. Secondly, all were written by English-speaking travelers, most of them Americans or Canadians, and the level of interest that certain subjects enjoy often depends on the language and nationality of the writers. For example, if German travelers were to share their opinions about the Road, they might choose to focus on the Germans' preferred tale, "Hansel and Gretel," or on rather different attractions, perhaps the puppet shows or traditional cuisine.[6] Thus, this analysis is not an overall summary of what people in general seek from this attraction; it only pertains to a very specific subset of the world's population.

Due to the Fairy Tale Road's relatively young age as an official tourist destination (1975 to the present), academic scholarship on the Road itself as it exists today is relatively scarce. However, the Road does span centuries and reaches back not just to the lives of the Brothers Grimm in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also to the tales' organic formation over many generations (in some cases dating back to the Middle Ages). As certain as the Road is a tourist destination, it is also a historical location; thus, in this case, tourism is closely linked to history. Visitors do not visit the *Märchenstrasse* for modern theme-park rides and artificial charm. Rather, they come searching for a sense of authenticity and a link to the past—be it in the form of "historic" fairy tales, traditional German culture, potential family ties, or merely the nostalgia they associate with their own childhood. Because of the importance of history and literature to what is, in essence, a modern tourist attraction, the most frequently cited scholarly works in this article are critical biographies of the Brothers Grimm, as well as professional editions and translations of their works. Jack David Zipes, a renowned Germanist and Grimm scholar, features prominently with his original biographies and analyses, but also with his exemplary English translations of the original German sources.[7] Eberhard Michael Iba's and Thomas L. Johnson's 2015

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[6] Scott Harshbarger, "Grimm and Grimmer: 'Hansel and Gretel' and Fairy Tale Nationalism," *Style* 47, no. 4 (2013): 490-508, here 490.

[7] Jack Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forest to the Modern World* (first published 1988; New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002); Jack Zipes, "Introduction," in Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *The Original Folk and Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm: The Complete First Edition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, trans. Jack Zipes (New York: Bantam Books, 1992), 660-663.

study, *The German Fairy Tale Landscape: The Storied World of the Brothers Grimm*, provides invaluable information and is the most in-depth guidebook on the Fairy Tale Road.[8] Finally, though a little older, Murray B. Peppard's *Paths Through the Forest: A Biography of the Brothers Grimm* (1971) remains an important resource.[9]

*I. The Brothers Grimm*

Considering the theme of the *Märchenstrasse*, the fact that "fairy" is the most frequently appearing word at 262 occurrences is unsurprising. "Tales" and "tale" are the third and sixth most common terms at 241 and 183. What is somewhat startling, though, is that "Grimm" ranks even before "tale(s)" at 246 instances; "brothers" follows closely at 240; and "Grimms" also appears 128 times. This does reveal something profound about Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, namely, that they are very rarely mentioned separately from each other. At 85 occurrences, Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859) appears slightly more often than Jacob Grimm (1785-1863), but for this there are at least three explanations. Firstly, Wilhelm continued to augment and edit the future editions of their set of children's stories, *Children's and Household Tales,* while Jacob moved on to other endeavors, thus connecting the younger brother more strongly to their joint publication of fairy tales.[10] Secondly, Wilhelm is often mentioned in relation to his wife and children, while Jacob remained a lifelong bachelor, so that any time an author speaks of Wilhelm's nuclear family, for example, when mentioning the tales supplied by Wilhelm's wife Henriette Dorothea (1793–1867), the younger brother's name shows up as a reference.[11] Thirdly, Jacob's name appears with more than one spelling: 78 times as Jacob and 4 times as Jakob. Other terms in the Word Cloud associated with the brothers include towns where they both resided in the course of their lives.

Contrary to their portrayal in popular media, such as the 2005 adventure film named after and loosely based on the brothers, the Grimms were not two adventurous young go-getters who braved wilderness and wild beasts as they traversed the dark forests of what is now the Fairy Tale Road, collecting their stories from peasants and farmers.[12] In fact, the brothers did very little wandering, and many of their sources were female friends and family members who would seek out tales from other women and then pass them along to the chroniclers.[13] When the brothers did set out in search of new stories to add to their collection, they mostly formed connections with upper-class women who had the leisure to

[8] Iba and Johnson, *German Fairy Tale Landscape*.

[9] Murray B. Peppard, *Paths through the Forest: A Biography of the Brothers Grimm* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

[10] Ruth Michaelis-Jena, *The Brothers Grimm* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1970), 4.

[11] Michaelis-Jena, *Brothers Grimm*, 48.

[12] *Brothers Grimm*, directed by Terry Gilliam (Burbank: Dimensions Films, 2005), DVD; Zipes, *Brothers Grimm,* 1.

[13] Peppard, *Paths through the Forest*, 50.

engage in storytelling.[14] Dorothea Viehmann (1755-1816), an older woman of more modest means, was an exception in this respect. Known as the "Fairytale-Wife" and somewhat of a Mother Goose figure, Viehmann was one of the Grimms' most prolific sources who contributed over twenty stories to their publication, but traveled herself to visit them to share her tales rather than the two men seeking out her company.[15] Indeed, given Wilhelm Grimm's lifelong health ailments, the folk vision of him and his older brother as two hardy adventurers is rather absurd.[16] The Grimms were scholars, and their first 1812/1815 publication of German fairy tales, *Children's and Household Tales*, was intended for an adult audience. They compiled folk tales and songs throughout their lives—not for the sake of childish entertainment but as a way to preserve their German heritage.[17]

The brothers have been associated with the Fairy Tale Road from the beginning. In 1977, just two years after the Road's official designation as a tourist attraction, Ralph Blumenthal, a graduate of the Columbia University School of Journalism and longtime award-winning reporter for the *New York Times*, published his impressions of the Road. Early on, Blumenthal clears up a common misconception about the Grimms' part in the stories: "The Grimms didn't make up the tales—they collected stories that until then existed largely in oral tradition."[18] Almost all authors make it clear that the Grimms did not compose but, rather, compiled the tales, though a few are more ambiguous. Peter Lacey, for example, is rather vague in his descriptions, referring to one of the stories as a "Grimm tale" and stating that the Grimms "made them" compelling when, at least in the first edition of 1812/1815, the brothers sought to preserve them as they were recited to them.[19] As Ruth Michaelis-Jena explains in her biography of the brother, "[a]ll was to be taken down faithfully, nothing left out, nothing added, the turn of phrase of the teller was to be carefully preserved."[20]

Many travel writers only cover the basics concerning the Brothers Grimm, including when and where they were born, where they grew up, and where they lived as adults. Lucy Gordan—who is a Mark Twain Travel Journalism Award winner, a magazine and newspaper editor, and a consultant for the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization—provides some additional information on the Grimm's extended family. Jacob's and Wilhelm's younger brother, Ludwig Emil Grimm (1790-1863), was an artist who contributed colored illustrations to

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[14] Valerie Paradiž, *Clever Maids: The Secret History of the Grimm Fairy Tales* (first published 2005; New York: Basic Books, 2009), xiv-xv.

[15] Michaelis-Jena, *Brothers Grimm*, 59-60.

[16] Peppard, *Paths through the Forest*, 4.

[17] Michaelis-Jena, *Brothers Grimm*, 52.

[18] Ralph Blumenthal, "The Brothers Grimm: Touring in the Land of Once Upon a Time," *New York Times*, February 13, 1977.

[19] Peter Lacey, "West Germany," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 18, 1982.

[20] Michaelis-Jena, *Brothers Grimm*, 50.

later volumes of their texts. Their father, Philipp Grimm (1751-1796), served as a local magistrate in Steinau but died when Jacob was eleven. After his death, Jacob and Wilhelm were sent to school in Kassel and then to the University of Marburg. Jacob became a linguist and Wilhelm a literary scholar and critic.[21] This information is not necessarily pertinent to enjoying the sites along the *Märchenstrasse*, but it does demonstrate that at least some of the visitors are as interested in the Grimm family as they are in the stories they delivered to the world. Certain writers, in fact, travel to the various sites on the Road specifically to learn about the Grimms.

In 1986, American photographer and freelance writer Tom Grimm, a graduate of Bradley University, traveled the Fairy Tale Road to explore his personal roots (at that time, the Internet was not yet readily available to aid in such an endeavor). That year, Germany was celebrating the bicentennial of the brothers' births—Jacob was born in 1785 and Wilhelm in 1786.[22] Tom Grimm had no proof of a potential connection to the famous line of German Grimms, but he was aware that his great-grandfather had been born in Heidelberg in 1848, so a connection was not beyond the realm of possibility. He chose to visit Steinau first, the town where the brothers had spent the majority of their childhood, but information was lacking at this location. He did learn that Jacob's and Wilhelm's parents (Philipp and Dorothea) had had nine children; of those nine, six survived infancy; of the six who lived to adulthood, only three married; and of the three who married, only Wilhelm's offspring carried on the Grimm name, but there were no further records following Wilhelm's children to either confirm or deny them as Tom Grimm's possible ancestors.[23] This article may appear somewhat unsatisfying, as the reader expects some sort of revelation—perhaps that Tom Grimm is a long-lost descendant of the brothers—but there is no direct evidence of relation. That said, Tom Grimm was afforded the opportunity to peruse the Grimms' complete genealogy which dates back over 37 generations to the year 708—doubtlessly an enlightening experience regardless of birth connection. His account also offers a unique perspective on the Brothers Grimm, one that may escape those modern readers who view the Grimms akin to imaginary authors like Mother Goose, namely, that Jacob and Wilhelm were historical agents who left a legacy beyond their *Children's and Household Tales*.

There are numerous other instances of the Grimms being discussed in the texts analyzed for this article: some authors provide short biographies, others share only a few essentials. Given the prominence of terms associated directly with the brothers in the Word Cloud, including less obvious references like Steinau, Kassel, and Marburg, it is clear that it is all but impossible to discuss the Fairy Tale Road today without mentioning the Brothers Grimm.

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[21] Lucy Gordan, "Germany's Fairy-Tale Road," *The World & I* 17, no. 9 (September 2002): 110.

[22] Tom Grimm, "On Journey with Fairy-Tale Ending," *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 1986.

[23] Grimm, "On Journey with Fairy-Tale Ending," *Los Angeles Times*.

*II. The Fairy Tales*

On to the stories themselves. Apart from "fairy" and "tale(s)," the adjective "Red" (with the first letter capitalized) appears 116 times, and "Little" (also capitalized) appears 115 times, which suggests that the most frequently mentioned tale must be "Little Red Riding Hood," also known as "Little Red Cap." Next comes "Sleeping" at 105 instances and "Beauty" at 88 instances. "Piper" appears 86 times, but "Pied," its respective counterpart, appears only 68 times, which is understandable since the character in question, once he has been introduced, is often simply referred to as "the Piper." "White" clocks in at 61 and "Snow" at 54. Poor "Rapunzel" only earns 38 mentions, and "Cinderella" fares worse at 27. The "Bremen Town Musicians" take the statistical stage only seven times, but their clumsy title simply does not "flow" like the titles of other, more popular tales and thus does not lend itself to repetition. At the very least, it is reasonable to say that the most highly regarded stories for English-speaking writers of travelogues are "Little Red Cap," "Sleeping Beauty," and the "Pied Piper of Hamelin."[24]

What do these three stories have in common, and why do they appear more often in writings on the Fairy Tale Road than other, better-known fairy tales? Why is "Cinderella," a story arguably more famous than that of the "Pied Piper of Hamelin" among English-speaking travelers, less frequently mentioned? Well, for starters, "Cinderella" originated in France, not Germany, and the version featured in the *Children's and Household Tales* came from the aforementioned Viehmann, a woman of French Huguenot roots.[25] While French fairy tales may be of interest to readers, they have no direct connection to the German Fairy Tale Road. Meanwhile, "Little Red Cap," "Sleeping Beauty," and the "Piped Piper of Hamelin" are genuine German stories with traceable roots to exact locations.

In 1990, Phyllis G. Sidorsky wrote about Alsfeld, a town on the Fairy Tale Road, where tourists pay a visit in hopes of spotting older women dressed in "a snug, heavily embroidered bodice and a skirt worn over countless petticoats [...] topped off by a tiny red pillbox hat."[26] Alsfeld is said to be the home of Little Red Cap.[27] Sidorsky, not a travel writer by trade, presents a different perspective on the Fairy Tale Road than many of the other authors. A librarian at the National Cathedral School in Washington, D.C., she has contributed multiple scholarly articles to *Childhood Education* and regularly submits reviews on children's literature to the

[24] "Little Red Cap" is the default term used in this article since it is the more traditional German variant and relates more directly to the sites on the Fairy Tale Road. Spelling switches between Hameln and Hamelin, depending on the source; Hamelin, the town's traditional name, is the preferred spelling in this article since it is the more recognizable term in relation to the story.

[25] Paradiž, *Clever Maids*, 154.

[26] Phyllis G. Sidorsky, "Along the German Fairy-Tale Road," *Childhood Education* 66, no. 3 (1990): 151-154, here 152.

[27] "Follow Germany's Fairy-Tale Road," in *Great Escapes*, 228.

*School Library Journal*.[28] Thus, Sidorsky is not a reporter but an expert on children's literature. In her article for *Childhood Education*, she focuses on the Road's child-friendly aspects; thus, there are no poetic descriptions of sipping wine or sampling local beers. Instead, Sidorsky delights in stables now used to put on puppet performances of "Puss in Boots" and in the face of a prince hidden within a bronze frog's head at a local fountain.[29] Her description of Hamelin and its association with the Pied Piper captivates the reader: she talks about a show in the market square, featuring the Piper with pheasant feathers in his cap as he leads a parade of rat-costumed children with his clarinet. It is difficult to judge whether her description of rat-shaped bread dough and marzipan, both for sale in the town, should be considered fanciful or unsettling.[30] Either way, she chooses to focus on easily recognizable tales that children would recognize and enjoy, weaving in a number of whimsical depictions to draw in her young readers and visitors alike. Sidorsky's writing clearly reflects her love for the stories themselves.

Susan Spano, a travel author who has written for both the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*, also shows an appreciation for the classic tales in her travelogue, but her approach is less kid-friendly. In her 2014 essay, "Happy Endings on the Fairy Tale Road," Spano opines that she does not "recommend this trip for little ones, because, apart from summertime puppet theaters and the occasional 'leisure' and 'aqua' parks, there are no Disney-esque magic castles."[31] Eve Schaenen, the current executive director of the Yogi Berra Museum in New Jersey, relates her own experience in a 1999 *New York Times* article, "Where 'Once Upon a Time' Is Now." On the way to Sleeping Beauty's castle (Sababurg), she and her husband felt the need to clarify to their young children, "Remember, it's not Disneyland," presumably to mitigate unrealistic expectations.[32] This is, of course, a controversial opinion, contradicted by several other articles in which authors share their children's excitement over their travels. *Great Escapes* lists the *Märchenstrasse* among the "Family" destinations in their 2015 piece, "Follow Germany's Fairy-Tale Road," musing that "there's at least a week's worth of myths, folklore, and bedtime stories to fire littles ones' imaginations."[33] To be fair, despite her "not-for-the-little-ones" assessment, Spano points fondly to the positive association between fairy tales and her own childhood: her favorite story

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[28] Sidorsky, "Along the German Fairy-Tale Road," 151.

[29] Sidorsky, "Along the German Fairy-Tale Road," 151; Grimm and Grimm, *Complete Fairy Tales,* 2-5, 652-655. "The Frog King" or "Iron Heinrich" is the first tale listed in Zipes's translation of *Children's and Household Tales*. "Puss in Boots" is placed under the "The Omitted Tales" section in Zipes's translation.

[30] Sidorsky, "Along the German Fairy-Tale Road," 154.

[31] Susan Spano, "Happy Endings on the Fairy Tale Road," in Susan Spano, *French Ghosts, Russian Nights, and American Outlaws: Souvenirs of a Professional Vagabond* (Berkeley: Roaring Forties Press, 2014), 119-130, here 120.

[32] Eve Schaenen, "Where 'Once Upon a Time' Is Now," *New York Times*, December 12, 1999.

[33] "Follow Germany's Fairy-Tale Road," in *Great Escapes*, 226.

was "Clever Elsie," and she states that the heroine "reminds me of my past."[34] Spano also considers the Pied Piper at length, including the play enacted in the square, but—unlike Sidorsky in her article two decades earlier—makes no mention of actual children in the performance. Yet, this aspect of the play has apparently remained unchanged: *Fodor's Germany*, published the same year as Spano's essay, mentions that from "May to September, local actors and children present a half-hour reenactment each Sunday at noon," so Spano most likely just omitted this detail.[35] However, she does provide the tale's possible backstory. Unlike most fairy tales, the Pied Piper's story seems to contain a nuclear truth, and Spano refers to it as more of a "folk tale" than a "fairy tale."[36] According to the museum in Hamelin, 130 "children" disappeared from the village on June 26, 1284, and while there is no definite proof of their whereabouts, the most likely reason for their disappearance is that they were recruited to colonize new settlements in eastern Germany.[37] Spano lists several other theories of varying credibility: they were recruited to colonize a new territory in Moravia, or sent off to fight in the Children's Crusades, or died as victims of the St. Vitus's Dance plague.[38]

Sidorsky and Spano may have differing opinions on the Fairy Tale Road's appeal, but they share a love for the old tales. As a children's librarian, Spano tries to see the Road through the eyes of modern children and concentrates on kinder, simpler themes as well as attractions that would appeal even to the youngest visitors. Spano's emphasis on adult activities is more nostalgic, rose-tinted, and the perspective of an "inner child," but her love of the tales is still apparent as she gushes over her own fond memories. This cannot be said of Raphael Kadushin, an award-winning Jewish American travel writer and senior acquisitions editor at the University of Wisconsin Press, who explores the Fairy Tale Road on the basis of a question posed by his sister: "What about all the fairy-tale Jews?"[39] Without a doubt, German (Ashkenazi) Jews had their own tales by the time the Grimms were collecting the tales that would be published in *Children's and Household Tales*, but the Grimms were not seeking any and all folk stories but specifically those of German origin. Certain tales included in earlier editions were removed in later volumes due to their foreign roots, among them "Bluebeard" and "Puss in Boots," both considered of French origin.[40] It is sometimes said, albeit incorrectly, that

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[34] Grimm and Grimm, *Complete Fairy Tales*, shows the title as "Clever Else" but Spano's spelling is used here.

[35] Kavanagh, "Welcome to the Fairy-Tale Road," 565.

[36] Spano, "Happy Endings," 127.

[37] Iba and Johnson, *German Fairy Tale Landscape*, 278.

[38] Spano, "Happy Endings," 127.

[39] Raphael Kadushin, "Driving the Fairy-Tale Road," in *Inspired Journeys: Travel Writers in Search of the Muse*, ed. Brian Bouldrey (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), 119-135, here 123.

[40] Zipes, "Introduction," xxxvi.

"Bluebeard" was removed due to its violent imagery. In this tale, a young woman is forced into an arranged marriage with the villainous title character, only to find a blood-soaked room with the corpses of his previous wives. When she drops the room's key into the blood, it becomes permanently stained, and this is the only evidence needed to transform Bluebeard from a faithful husband into a murderous fiend.[41] A variant of this tale, "Fowler's Fowl," equally gruesome but of more authentically German origin, was instead included in *Children's and Household Tales*.[42] The Grimm version has a slightly more upbeat ending, with the dead women being brought back to life by their sister, though she must first collect and assemble their dismembered body parts.[43] Clearly, the Grimms were not overly concerned with their tales being "child friendly" in the original editions, as long as they were traditional German folk stories and did not contain any French roots. Unfortunately, given their history and varying degrees of acceptance throughout European history, German Jews were often considered non-Germans. Growing into adulthood in a pre-unified Germany during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), Jacob and Wilhelm eventually became associated with nationalist ideologies.[44] Under Emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918), their tales were taught in schools to promote Christianity and German patriotism, while simultaneously rejecting socialism.[45] The Nazis took this even further, completely ignoring the Grimms' broad research into international folk tales and placing the brothers on a pedestal as early nationalistic prophesiers of the German "folk community."[46] While the extent of the Grimms' inclination toward nationalism is debatable, the question about the Jews' place in German fairy tales is also a complex one.

Kadushin initially explores the Pied Piper and his infamous rats. This particular tale seems to be a favorite of those travelers who are most interested in the stories, which makes sense, since it is one of the few tales with concrete evidence of a significant historical event. While there are a few stories which hold a grain of truth, the history of the Pied Piper, according to Kadushin, "is scrawled all over town, if you know where to look," and he mentions a glass window that once told the tale of the children's disappearance.[47] Kadushin informs his readers that nothing was built in Hamelin for a century after the event and that the 1352

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[41] Grimm and Grimm, *Complete Fairy Tales*, 660-663.

[42] Maria Tatar, *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 157.

[43] Grimm and Grimm, *Complete Fairy Tales*, 167-171. Here, the tale is titled "Fitcher's Bird."

[44] Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "The Publishing History of Grimms' Tales: A Reception at the Cash Register," in *The Reception of Grimms' Fairy Tales: Responses, Reactions, Revisions*, ed. Donald Haase (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 78-101, here 191.

[45] Christa Kamenetsky, *The Brothers Grimm and Their Critics: Folktales and the Quest for Meaning* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), 236.

[46] Kamenetsky, *Brothers Grimm and Their Critics*, 242.

[47] Kadushin, "Driving the Fairy-Tale Road," 130.

Hamelin book of statutes was still showing a "collective sense of shock."[48] It was also in Hamelin that Kadushin found what he was looking for. In the "adult section" of the local library, he discovered an "uncensored" version of the Grimm tales.[49] One of these, "The Jew in the Bramble," recounts the story of a Jewish merchant who has his skin ripped by barbs as he is twirling in a thorn bush (forced by someone who is playing a magic fiddle) and is later hanged before a group of spectators.[50] Though it may have been sequestered by the time Kadushin visited Hamelin, "The Jew in the Bramble" was included in the Grimms' original 1812/1815 edition and in their subsequent augmented editions. Meanwhile, some tales were removed in later editions: "How Children Played at Slaughtering" and "The Children of Famine" were considered too "gruesome," and a number of others, like "Prince Swan," were omitted for being too similar to other tales.[51]

Sidorsky, Spano, and Kadushin all present different takes on the stories and their connection to the Fairy Tale Road. Today, many have a love-hate relationship with the tales: some associate them with happy childhood memories and a simpler time, others associate them with racism, sexism, and violence. Without these tales, however, there would be no Fairy Tale Road. As the relationship between modern society and historical fairy tales continues to change, the Fairy Tale Road will likely also see changes in the dynamics between sites and travelers as they struggle to negotiate history and fiction.

*III. The Architecture*

The Word Cloud generated for this article contains numerous references to architecture. The stand-outs here are "castle"—the fifth most common term at 187 occurrences—and its plural "castles" at 45. That castles are intriguing to travelers on the German Fairy Tale Road seems rather self-explanatory: many of the stories are associated with royalty or nobility and their homes. Sleeping Beauty's castle, encircled by a forest of thorns, is a popular image.[52] Castles also feature prominently in the texts and images of the tales' adaptations in book and film. However, there is another reason behind this fascination: the Americas are not known for their castles, and any castle found in the United States or Canada (for example, Hearst Castle in California) is not centuries old and does not come with the same level of authenticity as those on the Fairy Tale Road.

The castle at Sababurg, located to the north of Kassel, is the most frequently mentioned of all the castles, ranking high on the list of terms with 73 mentions. John Dornberg, the former bureau chief at *Newsweek* and author of a dozen books

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[48] Kadushin, "Driving the Fairy-Tale Road," 130.

[49] Kadushin, "Driving the Fairy-Tale Road," 132.

[50] Grimm and Grimm, *Complete Fairy Tales*, 398-402. Here, the tale is titled "The Jew in the Thornbush."

[51] Grimm and Grimm, *Original Folk and Fairy Tales*, xxxvi.

[52] Grimm and Grimm, *Complete Fairy Tales*, 186-189. Here, the tale is titled "Briar Rose."

on Soviet and German modern history, provides a detailed account of the castle in a 1985 *New York Times* article. First built in 1334, Sababurg was converted during the Renaissance into a hunting château with one of the earliest zoos in Europe, complete with a three-mile-long, 13-foot-high wall to enclose the animals. This wall became overgrown with roses and thorns and, so Dornberg proposes, thus became associated with Sleeping Beauty. After being shut down for over a hundred years, it reopened in 1961 as a hotel and restaurant.[53]

Suzanne Wilding and Anthony Del Balso, a wife-husband duo more renowned for their publications on the history of racehorses in *Parents* magazine than their travel writings, discuss another castle on the Fairy Tale Road in a 1989 *Gourmet* magazine article. The biographical note at the end of the article states that they spent ten happy days on the Road with "assorted children," though they fail to mention how they came by said children.[54] Within easy hiking distance of Sleeping Beauty's castle is Trendelburg castle, owned by Baron Hans-Ludwig von Stockhausen and best known for its medieval tower that stands over 130 feet tall.[55] The word "tower," which fairy-tale connoisseurs associate with a certain long-haired princess, appears 52 times in the texts analyzed here. Indeed, according to Iba and Johnson, this tower is linked to the story of Rapunzel, but there appears to be no historical truth to the legend of a girl entrapped within its walls.[56] Besides this tower, Trendelburg castle includes a dry moat, although the drawbridge has since been replaced by a wooden walkway and sixteen-foot-thick walls. By the time of Wilding's and Del Balso's visit, Trendelburg castle also included guest rooms, a wine tasting area, and a gift shop.[57] There is also a recreated "torture dungeon" on display for visitors interested in a more visceral experience.[58]

However, no land is only inhabited by royalty and nobility. If there are castles and towers with kings, princesses, and evil-queen stepmothers, there must also be cottages with peasants. Did not the evil witch from Hansel and Gretel live in a cottage made out of candy?[59] Little Red Cap's grandmother may have lost her life in a cottage, depending on whether one is referencing the darker French variation or the more optimistic Grimm version. Yet, cottages do not seem to be as common along the Fairy Tale Road as one may think—maybe because straw-thatched roofs do not hold up very well over time? Instead, travelers frequently reference the "half-timbered houses" found in many villages and towns along the Road.

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[53] John Dornberg, "Tracing Germany's Folklore Trail," *New York Times*, September 29, 1985.

[54] Suzanne Wilding and Anthony Del Balso, "Germany's Fairy-Tale Road," *Gourmet* 49 (1989): 52-86, here 86.

[55] Wilding and Del Balso, "Germany's Fairy-Tale Road," 82; Iba and Johnson, *German Fairy Tale Landscape*, 237.

[56] Iba and Johnson, *German Fairy Tale Landscape,* 238.

[57] Wilding and Del Balso, "Germany's Fairy-Tale Road," 82.

[58] Iba and Johnson, *German Fairy Tale Landscape*, 238.

[59] Grimm and Grimm, *Complete Fairy Tales*, 58-64, 101-105.

According to Jay Clarke, a freelance writer and former travel editor for the *Miami Herald*, these structures are numerous in the smaller towns along the Road, while larger cities, like Kassel, are lacking in comparison due to their destruction in World War II.[60] Dornberg states that some of these houses are over 800 years old.[61] Göttingen, a town where both Jacob and Wilhelm worked as professors, houses entire streets of these structures that hold their own intrigue. For example, Göttingen's *Rote Strasse*, or Red Street, is rumored to have received its name because the homes' timbers were originally painted with oxblood. The more mundane reason behind the street's name is that it was simply named after the Rote family.[62] The half-timbered houses do resemble gingerbread houses, though, which should inspire anyone looking for witches on Germany's Fairy Tale Road.

These examples reflect only a few of the types of architecture mentioned in our texts. Other common terms include museum, university, church, and Gothic. Inns, hotels, cobbled streets, fountains, and statues are also common themes across the board. While the *Märchenstrasse* is rarely visited just for its buildings and art, few seem to be able to resist admiring this aspect of the Road.

*Conclusion*

It is not always easy to distinguish between the different categories of importance when it comes to the Fairy Tale Road. In some instances, the tales and the architecture are intertwined, like in the case of Sleeping Beauty's thorn-covered wall or Rapunzel's looming tower. In other cases, the Grimm legacy and architecture are clearly combined, such as in the case of the museum that was their former home or the university where they both taught for years. Still, it is clear that the Fairy Tale Road weaves together the legends of the Brothers Grimm, fanciful fairy tales, and romantic architecture into a tourist destination ripe with both history and fantasy.

Future scholarship on the subject calls for a broader scope of study. By limiting the sources for this article to English-language articles and essays, its analysis has focused mostly on an American and Canadian media audience, thus excluding a wide range of travelers from across the globe. The Grimm tales are not just among the favorites of English-speaking Westerners. As Burkhard Kling, the curator of the Grimm museum in Steinau, told travel writer Kevin Pilley twenty years ago: "The Grimms' is the most edited book in the history of the world. Millions have been published in over 160 languages and dialects. More than the Holy Bible. More even than the great Harry Potter."[63] This article has also omitted other types of

[60] Jay Clarke, "Princesses, Wolves, and Witches Haunt German Fairy Tale Road," *Gazette* (Montreal), March 23, 1985.

[61] Dornberg, "Tracing Germany's Folklore Trail," 14.

[62] Wilding and Del Balso, "Germany's Fairy-Tale Road," 80.

[63] Quoted in Kevin Pilley, "Grimm Tales Meant for the Grown-Ups: Kevin Pilley Travels the Fairy Tale Road in Germany and Finds the Grimm Brothers' Stories Were Really a Collection of Legends That Had to be Heavily Sanitised," *Financial Times* (London), January 20, 2001.

sources and media, such as personal blogs, videos, and oral accounts. Scholarly travelers will doubtlessly show a different kind of interest in the attractions than families visiting for "just the experience." "Mommy blogs" could prove to be an interesting new source for this research, considering how many of the authors of these articles, even those traveling with their own children, approached the Road through the eyes of a professional writer. Moreover, not all English-speaking visitors share the same tastes; for example, British, American, and Australian audiences may be drawn to separate attractions. Great Britain has an extensive history of its own unique fairy tales, and most of these are—naturally—missing entirely from the Grimms' collections. It is entirely possible that British travelers connect primarily with tales that the two nations share, while Americans are more likely to associate with those either reimagined in Disney films or commonly published in children's picture books. The differences in taste would likely become even more evident with tourists visiting from other areas across the globe. For example, Japanese tourists with their own rich history of folk tales may seek out stories that mimic their own country's tales, or they may follow a more American path and lean toward ones introduced to them through film. As Spano's discussion of "Clever Elsie" suggests, some readers identify with more obscure tales, despite various other cultural influences.

As the *Märchenstrasse* continues to establish itself as a must-see tourist destination among international travelers, it remains to be seen whether the Road's historical importance will satisfy future visitors, or whether modern tourists will demand newer, more "exciting" attractions to match those found elsewhere. Either way, if you travel the Fairy Tale Road, try to stop in Hanau—just to make sure that Jacob Grimm has not usurped his younger brother's seat.

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Gareth O'Neal

# *"Ever true unto your forefathers stalwart stay": Týr's Folk Metal as a Neo-Medievalist Response to the Perceived Loss of Culture*

ABSTRACT: *This article explores the phenomenon of folk metal and the band Týr adopting the ethos of Viking culture. It argues that Týr ties its modern genre to the Faroese ballad to connect with what they perceive as a loss of cultural identity due to the island nation's forced conversion to Christianity in the eleventh century and contemporary controversies surrounding the slaughter of pilot whales. The author argues that the band portrays themselves as the inheritors of Viking culture, adapting the perceived tenets of individuality and self-determination for a global audience to protect against the erosion of Faroese traditions.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; neo-medievalism; Vikings; Scandinavia; Faroe Islands; whaling; metal music; folk music; Týr; Heri Joensen*

## *Introduction*

Scandinavian metal occupies a chaotic space in the music world. Many Scandinavian and Northern European bands have created a blend of their own folk traditions with the modern genre of metal, thus combining two disparate elements whose time periods are nearly a millennium apart. In addition, their unique combinations of musical sentiment often generate international interest in countries whose listeners share little to no linguistic or cultural similarities with these bands' musicians. The popularity of the band "Týr" and Viking/folk metal bands like Turisas, Korpiklaani, and Ensiferum outside of their native cultures provides an opening to investigate this phenomenon. Týr's position in the music of their Faroese homeland and in relation to the anglophonic world can be analyzed to better understand the modern folk metal movement. Additionally, Týr's combination of traditional folk music elements with the metal genre offers possible insights into modern interpretations of the Viking ethos. Týr provides an opportune subject to conduct an interdisciplinary analysis—not just of modern expressions of Viking history presented by their descendants and of the commodification of traditional practices—but also of what happens when globalized markets take umbrage with a millennium-old tradition. The band is a modern expression of ancient cultures and religions that are centuries removed from their original context. Týr exemplifies the reasons folk metal is popular outside its Scandinavian cultural heritage as the band connects modern sensibilities with a perceived loss of cultural identity.

## *I. Týr and the Faroe Islands' Viking Heritage*

Once heavy metal music had emerged in the 1960s—a genre of music that distinguishes itself through its use of distortion and guitar power chords, it soon

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spread outward from its origins in the United States and the United Kingdom.[1] As the Scandinavian region developed its own take on metal, a subgenre appeared, popularly called Viking metal or folk metal, which usually implements Nordic pagan images of Vikings and incorporates clean vocals alongside traditional, regional instruments.[2] Though these qualifiers are not requirements for the genre, they help illustrate the bands' implementations of their own cultural folk traditions into a market dominated by Anglophones.

The band Týr, from the Danish-controlled Faroe Islands, emerged from the islands' very small metal scene in 2001 and, as lead vocalist and guitarist Heri Joensen notes, quickly grew more popular outside the island nation than within.[3] The band's implementation of its own native Faroese traditional songs, adapted largely for English-speaking audiences abroad, in addition to their adherence to a modern interpretation of Viking culture, have created an interest in Faroese traditions and the nation's medieval beginnings beyond their native shores.

The Faroe Islands lie roughly halfway between the Shetland Islands and Iceland.[4] The nation traces its heritage from Irish monks who, as recorded by the medieval Irish scholar Dicuil, were forced to abandon sea travel near the islands due to "Northman pirates" during the early ninth century.[5] By the end of that century, Vikings had semi-permanently populated the islands, likely establishing longphorts or other domiciles along the steep cliffs. Unfortunately, little is known about early Faroese society, especially its pre-Christian history. What is known comes from the twelfth-century *Færeyinga Saga*, an Icelandic text viewed by many scholars as "inaccurate and anachronistic."[6] The saga tells of the struggles between the pagan chieftain Tróndur í Gøtu and Sigmundur, a Christian who pledged to convert the islanders for his king, Olaf Tryggvason (Olaf I of Norway, r. 995-1000). Some Faroese worshiped the old Norse gods until the successful conversion of the islands to Christianity in the early eleventh century.[7] This conversion put the Faroese islanders under Norwegian control. Their loss of political power to various Nordic countries is a recurring theme in Faroese history.

*II. Performance: Adapting the Past for Modern Audiences*

This tumultuous time for the islands created a need for community and a common literature, especially given the increasing encroachment of foreign governance. It was through these communal gatherings that the *Føroyskur dansur*, the national

[1] Robert Freeborn, "A Selective Discography of Scandinavian Heavy Metal Music," *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 66, no. 4 (2010): 840-850, here 840.

[2] Freeborn, "Selective Discography," 843.

[3] Heri Joensen, interview by Alex Melzer, *The Metal Observer*, March 2004.

[4] John Frederick West, *Faroe: The Emergence of a Nation* (New York: C. Hurst, 1972), 1.

[5] See Jonathan Wylie, *The Faroe Islands: Interpretations of History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1987), 7.

[6] Wylie, *Faroe Islands*, 8.

[7] Wylie, *Faroe Islands*, 10.

Faroese dance, developed. Since the islands increasingly found themselves controlled by the Danish Church and political institutions, the *dansur* custom and the daily retellings of oral traditions marked a "vitally important cultural institution […] [in which] a peculiarly Faroese identity was bound up with everyday life, with the vernacular […] with local scenes and the local past."[8]

The dance involves the *dansiringur*, a "ring" of dancers who sing traditional ballads. While the dance itself is not a native custom, it is a remnant of a medieval tradition common throughout Europe and has become uniquely Faroese:

> [T]he Faroese link arms, moving around with a step that looks very much like the Faroese step […] the Faroese dance indoors, in rooms almost too small to hold all the people, and the "ring" is a great convoluted affair, with loops and eddies and whorls, so that as you dance around you seem everywhere to be passing a line parallel to your own […] The *dansringur* nearly represents […] the complex inward turnings of Faroese culture and its torturous sense of wholeness.[9]

The ballads sung and dances performed were created as a connection to a common past—a need for a connection genuinely Faroese while being true to the commonality of the pre-Christian, pre-colonized islands. The continuing tradition follows its connection to a past before foreign influence and reinforces the uniqueness of Faroese identity.[10]

During the *dansur*, the community sings one of the many ballads in the repertoire. A single individual leads the song, reciting the many verses, with some ballads containing as few as seven stanzas while some number up to 600.[11] Between each stanza, the dancers chant the refrain, historically called the "burden" because the refrain is "borne up" by all individuals."[12] This communal effort of sharing the "burden" and joining the community in bearing the tradition extended beyond the recitation of songs. The ballads maintained a near-total oral tradition throughout the centuries. Whereas the Icelandic sagas and *Beowulf* were written down and eventually codified by unknown scribes, as Danish was the written language in the spheres of trade, governance, and religion, the Faroese ballads and folk tales remained exclusively an oral tradition.[13] With the evolution of Faroese from Old Norse, but diverging significantly from Danish, the language did not

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[8] Wylie, *Faroe Islands*, 42-43.

[9] Jonathan Wylie and David Margolin, *The Ring of Dancers: Images of Faroese Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 12.

[10] See "Sigmundskvæðið yngra: Faroese folkdance," *YouTube* video, 06:48, November 16, 2010; and "Sinklars visa," *YouTube* video, 08:14, January 29, 2010, to view performances of the *Føroyskur dansur*. The first video shows the participants in traditional clothing, the second video shows them in contemporary garb.

[11] Patricia L. Conroy, "Faroese Ballads and Oral-Formulaic Composition" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1974), 23.

[12] Eleanor M. Smith-Dampier, *Sigurd the Dragon-Slayer: A Faroëse Ballad-Cycle* (first published 1934; New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), 21.

[13] Wylie and Margolin, *Ring of Dancers*, 73.

receive a standardized orthography until the late nineteenth century. Jonathan Wylie and David Margolin argue that the collection of folktales and ballads helped redefine the language and transformed Faroese into a national standard, one that could be used in the political sphere to overcome regional dialects. This emergence of national identity caused a shift in civil consciousness, which allowed the Faroese to push for self-governance in 1948.[14] While this may be a simplification of the complex, Wylie's and Margolin's argument certainly endears readers to the possibility that a connection between shared ancestral oral literature and the ballads allowed the Faroese some level of self-determination and self-definition.

While the ballads appear in several different forms, of note here is the heroic ballad or *kvæði*. The *kvæði* does not strictly fall under the usual narrative ballad with a limited focus but, rather, follows a larger narrative: the hero's story often begins in childhood or early life and continues till death.[15] This tradition differs from other literatures and epic works which tend to focus only on the great deeds of a singular protagonist. One popular and culturally important ballad is *Regin Smiður* ("Regin the Smith") which tells the story of Sigurd who slays the dragon Fafnir before marrying Brynhild. This ballad is based on a thirteenth-century text, the *Saga of the Volsungs*.[16]

Týr adapted this ballad for their 2003 album *Eric the Red*. While this is not the first traditional Faroese song adapted by the band, it is the first under the direction of lead vocalist Heri Joensen. The band adapted the form in many ways, for example, by shortening the verses considerably from the traditional 124.[17] Of the verses selected for adaptation, almost none pertain to the Sigurd legend. The little that is related through the song instead hints at the characters of Regin, Fafnir, and Odin in the guise of the wanderer. The chorus reveals the most about the full ballad's content:

*Grani bar gullið av heiði,*
*brá hann sínum brandi av reiði,*
*Sjúrður vann av orminum,*
*Grani bar gullið av heiði.*

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[14] Wylie and Margolin, *Ring of Dancers*, 73. The people of the Faroe Islands have been under the religious and political purview of larger nations since their Christianization in the eleventh century. Until 2007, their state church was a diocese of the Church of Denmark. While the Faroese largely maintained a spirit of self-reliance and independence due to their geographic isolation, they were the subjects of occupation by the British for much of World War II. Though no blood was shed in the Faroes' surrender or their return, the turmoil of the war and the years-long removal of the islands' control from Denmark ushered in a renewed interest in Faroese self-governance.

[15] Many of the heroic ballads divide the hero's life further into chapters, called *tættir*, which describe not only the exploits of the central hero but also the heroic deeds of the hero's father and sons. The ballads' focus extends beyond the deeds of the hero, and multiple ballads of hundreds of stanzas often combine to form a narrative. Conroy, "Faroese Ballads," 22-23.

[16] Smith-Dampier, *Sigurd Dragon-Slayer*, 10.

[17] Smith-Dampier, *Sigurd Dragon-Slayer*, 52.

> Grani bore the gold from the heath,
> he drew his sword in rage,
> Sigurd defeated the serpent,
> Grani bore the gold from the heath.[18]

While not the climax of the story, Sigurd's defeat of the dragon Fafnir is the most widely known part of the legend. However, nowhere in Týr's adaptation is Sigurd's triumph mentioned outside the chorus, neither is his climactic death. The story told by the band fades into the background of the music. While it may be argued that the band does not expect individuals outside their nation to understand the lyrics, there are many in neighboring Scandinavian countries who can. By removing well-known story elements, the band focuses on the song's form, which would have been new to many outside the islands. The band seems to deem the story less important than the balladic form, especially since the song needed to be adjusted to fit the genre of music.

In addition to removing considerable portions of the original text, the band changed the instrumentation of the form to adapt *Regin Smiður*. Traditional ballads are sung *a capella*. Many in the Faroes treat songs, narratives, and dancing as an "inseparable whole" of artistic expression, one in which instrumentation is rare.[19] Thus, Týr's adaptation breaks away from that tradition, incorporating the percussive drums and distorted guitar chords indicative of the metal genre. Yet, despite these changes, the band maintains some of the traditions. In "Regin Smiður" and their other songs adapted from traditional Faroese, the band preserves the chorus sung by the entire group, just like the *Føroyskur dansur* requires the entire community to sing the "burden." While having the band sing the chorus collectively would have been natural for their own culture, it was novel to foreign listeners. Early interviews show Joensen expressing surprise when asked about this method of singing. Adapting the form so that only he would be singing the chorus did not seem to occur to Joensen, and in keeping that small part of the traditional form, he created an artifact of his own culture to send abroad. When asked about the inclusion of traditional Faroese songs, Joensen commented, based on the popularity of "Ormurin Langi" on the first album, "It went to show that the language is no barrier in music."[20] While Joensen has shown his ability to adapt the ballads in whatever way he likes due to their non-instrumental nature,[21] he still treats Faroese traditions with the utmost respect, remarking that "[t]he melody is holy, both tone and rhythm, and everything else is adapted."[22] Here, Joensen mixes the past with the present. The adaptations allow the band to act as

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[18] Smith-Dampier, *Sigurd Dragon-Slayer*, 32.

[19] Smith-Dampier, *Sigurd Dragon-Slayer*, 25.

[20] Joensen, interview by Melzer, *The Metal Observer*.

[21] Heri Joensen, interview by Jason Muxlow, *Deadtide*, January 11, 2008.

[22] Joensen, interview by Melzer, *The Metal Observer*.

narrators and re-enactors in their performance of music.[23] Strict authenticity is not the point. It is related to re-enactment, but it is for entertainment. For Týr, it is about spreading their own culture abroad, to invite everyone to the ring dance, and to build community.

*III. Lyrics: Týr's Perception of Viking Independence and Pagan Sentiment*

One notable addition to Týr's perception of the Viking and Pagan comes on the 2006 album *Ragnarok*. The entire album is organized in a cyclical manner. The introductory track, "The Beginning," opens on a simple and haunting instrumental riff which in due course transforms to take on the melodies of the other songs on the album.[24] The penultimate track, "Ragnarok" adopts the opening instrumental and then adds vocals, revealing the full meaning of the song, one which was previously hidden through the obfuscation of the lyrics.[25] The track recounts the Viking myth's twilight of the *Aesir* (gods), Fenrir (the wolf) escaping from his bounds to wreak destruction on man, and the cyclical nature of the end as the world is reborn from the final battle. The song laments the unrelenting passage of time and the ineffectiveness to try to affect fate. The narrator sings, "With heavy hearts we head on towards the end/I've done all I can, never will I bend." Here, the narrator accepts his fate, the certainty of the end, yet he does so while refusing to simply allow the inevitable. Even during *Ragnarok*, when man's actions are ineffectual against the might of Fenrir, Jotun (the giants), and Jormangandr (the serpent), the individual refuses to simply allow these things to happen. By doing so, Týr relates the Viking ethos which refuses to see man as inefficacious; instead, the individual represents a force that understands the certainty of time and death, and who fights against that inevitability with a sword and shield in hand, calling to action the narrator's modern counterpart to struggle against the same. Finally, "Ragnarok" fades to silence before the last track, "The End,"[26] starts, repeating the melody of "The Beginning." This repetition plays as a lament to the unrelenting passage of time, the inability to change fate, yet a reassurance that the struggle against the inevitable is noble.

The middle of the *Ragnarok* album provides another example of this multi-track connection and shared narrative. "Grímur Á Miðalnesi"[27] is a recording of a traditional Faroese ballad. However, unlike the previously referenced *Regin Smiður* that was adapted to fit the metal genre, this recording is used only in its function to tie the traditional to the modern. Joensen said that the track is a two-verse snippet of a ballad recorded in 1966, conceding that the audio has nothing

[23] Steven P. Ashby, and John Schofield, "'Hold the Heathen Hammer High': Representation, Re-enactment, and the Construction of 'Pagan' Heritage," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21, no. 5 (October 2014): 493-511, here 494.

[24] Týr, "The Beginning," track 1 on *Ragnarok*, Napalm Records, CD, September 22, 2006.

[25] Týr, "Ragnarok," track 15 on *Ragnarok*, Napalm Records, CD, September 22, 2006.

[26] Týr, "The End," track 16 on *Ragnarok*, Napalm Records, CD, September 22, 2006.

[27] Týr, "Grímur Á Miðalnesi," track 8 on *Ragnarok*, Napalm Records, CD, September 22, 2006.

to do with its content—a complicated story of a farmer's row with a dwarf.[28] Instead, the track was likely included simply to connect tradition to Týr's modern expression of that custom. The fact that the track includes Foley-added footstep sound effects to cement the connection to the ballad as performed in dance adds credence to this interpretation. "Grímur Á Miðalnesi" was not used for content but, rather, for the signified connection to a millennium-old tradition, creating an ethos that implies the band's expertise with regard to the Viking tradition.

The "burden" and one of the verses from "Grímur Á Miðalnesi" are used in conjunction with the next song on the *Ragnarok* track, "Wings of Time."[29] The same recording from the previous track is used as the chorus in "Wings of Time," but the band members also add their own singing layered with the 1966 recording.[30] This is a direct way of connecting modern sensibilities with a faithful replication of tradition, combining them in a way that maintains the integrity and purpose of the custom and incorporating modern influence into the authenticity of tradition. Though the verses in "Wings of Time" are sung in English, the chorus is the verse and "burden" from the 1966 Faroese native-language recording. The English portion adds to the lament of the passage of time and the fatefulness of fighting against a predetermined outcome. The narrator sings:

> One thousand years facing your fears […]
> The great wings of time are still in their prime
> Maybe in some age to come we shall see
> The talons of time take hold of a tree
> Time folding its wings, the end of all things.

This section, like "Grímur Á Miðalnesi," generally mourns the passage of time. However, it diverts from that simple and common motif across many cultures and modes of art. The "thousand years facing your fears" specifically reflects the current uncertainty of the future of Faroese tradition.[31] For a thousand years, the tradition has stood firm, but the band perceives that Faroese life and culture is decaying in the modern world. The song implies a loss of cultural identity or of the direct connection to tradition. The verses in English, juxtaposed with the 1966 recording, highlight the foreign influences on the Faroe Islands, which accentuates a contrast between folk custom and the multicultural globalist, Anglophone-dominated capitalist structure in which the song is released and traded as a product. This allows Týr to incorporate traditions directly, but in a manner that empowers. Týr does not passively present small digestible portions of their culture to be reflexively consumed in the globalized economy; they are not simply commodifying their culture. Týr actively interprets and builds upon the messages of the past repeated in the ballads.

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[28] Joensen, interview by Melzer, *The Metal Observer*.

[29] Týr, "Wings of Time," track 9 on *Ragnarok*, Napalm Records, CD, September 22, 2006.

[30] Joensen, interview by Melzer, *The Metal Observer*.

[31] Týr, "Wings of Time," track 9 on *Ragnarok*, Napalm Records, CD, September 22, 2006.

While participating in the global market to share their culture with the world at large, Týr rebels against parts of the very multiculturalism they participate in. The band is openly critical of Christian ideology, singing provoking and sometimes offensive lyrics, such as "May the mighty Mjølnir nail the bleeding/And naked Nazarene upon the pagan planks/Pound in the painful nails now and hang him high and dry."[32] The album *By the Light of the Northern Star* is filled with these confrontational images and phrasing, though none quite as provocative as Thor crucifying Jesus. The album's opening track, "Hold the Heathen Hammer High," celebrates the contrarian nature of reviving Viking religion a millennium after its historical death.[33] The singer relates that "For the pagan past I live and one day will die." This contrasts with the 2011 census, according to which 95% of Faroese islanders identify themselves with Christianity, while only 1% identify themselves with "other belief."[34] Thus, the Faroe Islands are largely a "Christian" nation, yet Týr portrays Christianity as an invasive foreign influence and colonizing force throughout this album.

The band stresses cultural and religious differences in their understanding of Viking perspectives. In another song, Joensen sings, "Lesser men hope for freedom when they die/Home is where the heathen banners fly," which later also emphasizes that, according to the Viking religious understanding, individuals create their own freedom through strength of arms.[35] The "banner" implies a brotherhood or tribe against the "lesser" Christians, who merely hope for freedom after death, while the heathens fight for their own self-determination. The entire album makes frequent allusions to the forced conversion of the Faroes and other Scandinavian nations during the Viking Age. "By the Sword in my Hand" narrates the singer's perspective on the conversion of the Faroes by an invader.[36] The narrative takes place years after the conversion: the singer says that, as a boy, he was "deceived by a god" who caused him to be "bereft of his blood." An unnamed foreign conqueror, but one who is heavily implied to be Olaf Tryggvason, forced the character to kneel in fealty. The singer portrays the conqueror as a homicidal tyrant who used religion to veil his own vainglorious grasp for power:

> By the sword in my hand
> I will conquer the land
> I will decimate and decapitate
> Those who question the sword in my hand

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[32] Týr, "By the Light of the Northern Star," track 9 on *By the Light of the Northern Star*, Napalm Records, CD, May, 29 2009.

[33] Týr, "Hold the Heathen Hammer High," track 1 on *By the Light of the Northern Star*, Napalm Records, CD, May, 29 2009.

[34] "Religion," *Statistics Faroe Islands*, census 2011.

[35] Týr, "Ride," track 7 on *By the Light of the Northern Star*, Napalm Records, CD, May, 29 2009.

[36] Týr, "By the Sword in my Hand," track 6 on *By the Light of the Northern Star*, Napalm Records, CD, May, 29 2009.

I hold the final truth of all eternity
It happens to include my own superiority
Mischief of the past has come to seal your destiny
Kneel before me now or I will have your head for heresy.[37]

This charged sentiment, one that emphasizes the historicity of Scandinavian conversion to Christianity, is part of the band's ethos. The band cries out against what it sees as a foreign influence over the Viking ideals of individuality, self-expression, and self-definition—all celebrated on their previous *Ragnarok* album. This historical event is so important to them that Týr's biography—on previous iterations of their website—featured a retelling of the forced conversion before any mention of the band itself.[38] While the band says that, as Pagans, they respect other nations and faiths,[39] their recalling and citing of specific past events identifies them not only as musicians, but as narrators and re-enactors.[40] Týr act from a Neo-Pagan position, offering a reactionary reading of Viking sentiment regarding conversion.

*IV. Folk Tradition: The "Grind" and Foreign Imposition of Morals*

Alongside the ring dance, another Faroese tradition has lived into the modern era. The *grind*, the hunt and slaughter of pilot whales, though more controversial than the dance, is another direct connection between today's Faroese islanders and their Viking ancestors. While practiced long beforehand, the *grind*'s earliest record is the "Sheep Letter," the oldest written Faroese law from 1280, and the implication is that the practice likely originated elsewhere before it was brought to the islands by settlers.[41] The term *grind* refers to a school of whales and is a synecdoche for a structured form of slaughter. The *grind* occurs in several stages: first, the school of whales is sighted; it is then chased into a bay, beached, and slaughtered. While the participants and locals celebrate, the sheriff decides the appropriate division of meat based upon the amount of work rendered by individuals during the hunt. Finally, the whales are divided up and carved, and the meat is taken to be dried or eaten fresh.[42] The Faroese hunt long-finned pilot whales, a large species of whales (second to the Orca in size), measuring up to 6.1 meters and weighing up to 2,722 kilograms.[43] The whales are hunted strictly for food, as the whale meat is a sustainable source of nourishment. The entire carcass is used, nothing is wasted,

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[37] Týr, "By the Sword in my Hand," track 6 on *By the Light of the Northern Star*, Napalm Records, CD, May, 29 2009.

[38] Týr, "Band," accessed June 12, 2021, no longer contains this reference.

[39] Igor Dvornikov, "Statement on Behalf of Moonsorrow, Týr and Eluveitie," *VK video*, April 2008.

[40] Ashby and Schofield, "Hold the Heathen Hammer High," 503.

[41] Ove Fosså, "A Whale of a Dish: Whalemeat as Food," in *Disappearing Foods: Studies in Food and Dishes at Risk, Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1994*, ed. Harlan Walker (Devon: Prospect Books, 1995), 78-102, here 86.

[42] Wylie and Margolin, *Ring of Dancers*, 95.

[43] "Pilot Whales, Globicephala macrorhynchus," *MarineBio Conservation Society*, 1998-2021.

and the subsistence it provides is significant to the Faroese economy and diet. The *grind* is heavily regulated. It has evolved to fit in with Faroese law, which requires that animal slaughter is carried out only by those with government authorization and proper training, and only by using a spinal lance that renders the whale unconscious and then dead in seconds. Faroese animal welfare laws stipulate that the creatures be slaughtered efficiently and quickly to minimize suffering.[44]

The *grind* is a method of gathering food that has become a part of Faroese identity. It is "an eminently practical business […] [and] none of the [men] I have talked to say that they take any particular joy in the killing; it is hard, dangerous work, and even rather distasteful."[45] It is not a rite of passage or wild affair. It was and is something done to harvest animal protein and fat. This would be especially important and necessary in a landscape as infertile as the Faroes. In addition to the benefits of providing sustenance, the *grind* creates a camaraderie among the participants, especially considering the coordination needed among those chasing the school of whales in boats and the hunters doing the slaughtering on shore. The *grind* is described as a social occasion, as different villages join in the hunt and oftentimes share meals and drinks afterwards.[46] Due in part to its heavy metal contents,[47] the Faroese are now consuming less whale meat, but it remains a stable part of their diet and is becoming a "symbolic food."[48] While this almost ritualized hunt has become a necessary concept for understanding Faroese cultural and natural identity,[49] it has caused much controversy beyond its native shores.

The sheer amount of blood and viscera spilled into the water during the *grind* makes it an easy target to international audiences who are often ignorant of the context for the sensational photos of hundreds of men dotting the red shores and piling on carcasses for cleaning. Among many animal rights and welfare groups,

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[44] "Whales and Whaling in the Faroe Islands," *Føroya landsstýri*, 2017; Wylie, *Faroe Islands*, 8: Though heavily regulated and distanced from the Viking traditions that would have used wooden boats, sharp fish hooks, and wicked knives, the hunt likely was always a sobering experience. Wylie and Margolin, *Ring of Dancers*, argue that, though the atmosphere of the hunt is wild, it was likely always a resolutely grim experience. Young men running amok or an overeager use of spears and knives would have endangered many on wet shores when butchering such large creatures in their death throes.

[45] Wylie and Margolin, *Ring of Dancers*, 101-102.

[46] Wylie and Margolin, *Ring of Dancers*, 98.

[47] The toxic substances, not the genre of music.

[48] Wylie and Margolin, *Ring of Dancers*, 98.

[49] This proposal that the *grind* is both a ritualized hunt and an affair strictly for procuring food may seem contradictory. However, I see them as separate matters. The whales are not caught and killed as a rite of passage or for other merely symbolic reasons, and the Faroese have strict legal control over who participates in the slaughter and how it is completed. The number of people who must coordinate their efforts to chase, beach, slaughter, and butcher the animals requires predictability and repetition in their actions to secure both a greater number of whales caught and the safety of those who participate. Any complex activity that requires a community of people to coordinate their actions, when repeated over a millennium, would develop a ritual.

*Sea Shepherd* has been a consistently outspoken critic against Faroese whale slaughter.[50] On May 12, 2012, the head of *Sea Shepherd*, Paul Watson, debated Heri Joensen of Týr in a live online debate after the airing of an episode of Animal Planet's TV show, *Whale Wars: Viking Shores*, which documents the conservation society's attempts to disrupt and sabotage the *grind* by driving the whales away from the Faroes' shores.[51] It was certainly an odd decision for Animal Planet TV to host a debate between a conservation society director and an independent citizen with no connection to a governmental agency or *grind* regulations.[52] The debate proceeded anyway, due to Joensen's outspoken defense of Faroese customs. Joensen knew his position was extremely unpopular and possibly dangerous to his livelihood as an international public figure, a reality Watson openly mocked,[53] but it was a position Joensen felt required defending against foreign influence and forced imposition of morals. The row with Watson did not end with the public debate. On their 2013 album *Valkyrja*, Týr included an adaptation of *Grindavisan*, a traditional ballad that glorifies the hunt and its participants. The song's liner notes include a dedication to Watson. [54] This jab against Watson, a year after the debate, shows the lack of forgiveness over what Týr perceived as a transgression and foreign imposition on Faroese culture. Ten years earlier, in their 2003 song "Rainbow Warrior," Týr had already portrayed Watson as a foreign invader who was attempting to influence the ingrained culture by means of an ethnocentric imposition of morals, and Joensen and the band responded with pointed criticism and satire against this transgression.

Joensen remained unrepentant in his advocacy for the ritualized hunt, continued supporting the cultural exercise, and eventually participated in the *grind* himself. In July 2016, he posted to his *Facebook* page an explicit picture of himself carving a whale carcass stripped of its skin and blubber.[55] Though he had participated in the hunt and the cleaning of the carcass, he himself had not killed the whale. This picture stirred a controversy over both the continued existence of

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[50] Jane L. Lee, "Faroe Island Whaling, a 1,000-Year Tradition, Comes Under Renewed Fire," *National Geographic*, September 12, 2014.

[51] Dean Kuipers, "'Whale Wars' Paul Watson on Faroes Killing, Online Debate," *Los Angeles Times*, April 26, 2012.

[52] At that time, Joensen was already familiar with Watson. The song "Rainbow Warrior" relates a narrative of Watson as the titular character who comes to the island to tell its inhabitants how their "ways unchanged for centuries do dismay/Concrete hearts." The Rainbow Warrior is described as a "confidence" man who fallaciously argues from pathos. Joensen makes his dislike of Watson unsubtle; he includes the lyrics "May your ship sink." Týr, "Rainbow Warrior," track 7 on *Eric the Red*, Tutl Records, CD, June 2003.

[53] Paul Watson, "Takk Heri Joensen: Viking Vs Viking Over the Grind," *Sea Shepherd Conservation Society*, May 8, 2012.

[54] Týr, "Grindavísan," track 7 on *Valkyrja*, Metal Blade Records, CD, September 16, 2013.

[55] Heri Joensen, "Real men kill their own meat, like this long-finned pilot whale," *Facebook*, July 27, 2016.

the *grind* and Joensen's participation. While the post drew some supporters, many others, especially those unfamiliar with the band or the Faroes, reacted with outrage. Soon after, an internet campaign began to circulate, calling for a boycott of Týr's upcoming tour dates and urging individuals to call venues and demand they refuse to do business with the band in the future. Joensen responded publicly in a video he posted to *Facebook* and *YouTube*. In this video, Joensen focuses on what he describes as a "Disney-fairy-tale-like relation to meat" which removes the disturbing reality of butchering animals for meat, especially one that differentiates between the acceptable slaughter of livestock and the stigmatized slaughter of wildlife. Joensen questions the stigmatization of the harvesting of meat based on the source. He argues against the efficacy and logic of the opposition, as he freely explains that he has slaughtered many sheep, but that it was a picture of him carving the carcass of an animal that he himself had not killed that caused these *ad hominem* attacks.[56]

*Conclusion*

Heri Joensen's actions of goading marine welfare societies and his public defense of Faroese tradition show his reading of Viking culture as one that stresses local and individual independence as well as disentanglement from foreign impositions. In his defense of his cultural practices, he never makes the fallacious argument from tradition, and by doing so, he changes his debate style to meet a foreign manner of argumentation, yet he also stresses a Western appeal to independence. While Joensen could have chosen to not post the picture or to avoid controversial topics in general, he and Týr refused to back down. Instead of apologizing for having caused offense, the band reached out to their supporters, asking for grassroots action and requesting that fans call and urge venues to reject a boycott, but also requesting that these same supporters be respectful to the venues' owners.[57] Joensen continues to antagonize detractors of the *grind*, posting pictures of his meals of whale meat and blubber, while also using these occasions to interact with and educate fans who express an interest in his culture and its cuisine.[58] He is unapologetic and openly contrarian in the eyes of those who would impose ethnocentric morals on the Faroese lifestyle.

Through these public debates, which some see as mere provocation, through the adaptation and exportation of Faroese traditions, and through their lyrical choices, Heri Joensen and Týr promote their view of a Viking ethos for their modern sensibilities, a lens that accentuates individuality and freedom from foreign solicitations. Týr does not strive for an accurate representation of Viking culture, rather, they invoke imagery and concepts that look critically at

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[56] Heri Joensen, "Grind," *YouTube*, August 24, 2016.

[57] Heri Joensen, "Please Help Us!" *Facebook*, September 13, 2016.

[58] Heri Joensen, "Dry fish, potatoes, dry whale meat, and salted blubber," *Facebook*, March 11, 2017.

contemporary society.[59] Týr see their native Faroese traditions eroding under the wings of time and due to the tyrannical imposition of foreign cultures and armchair activists. They actively rally against this erosion through their music, spreading their culture abroad, inviting the world to join the ring dance, and asking their listeners to boldly "hold the heathen hammer high."

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[59] Ashby and Schofield, "Hold the Heathen Hammer High," 504.

Jeffrey Mark Leavitt

# *Memories in Emulsion: Photography and the Remembrance of Japanese Incarceration*

ABSTRACT: *This essay explores the Japanese American incarceration at Manzanar during World War II through photographs of the camp as it stands today under the stewardship of the National Park Service (NPS) and asks how the narrative of incarceration is endorsed, edited, or erased. In addition to the author's original photographs, it analyzes the NPS's cultural and historical preservation and interpretive plans, oral histories, and measures taken at the site to guide the reader through today's Manzanar. Through this exploration, Manzanar emerges as a missed opportunity which fails to relate the racial violence of the past to that of the present and insufficiently imparts visitors with the knowledge and impetus to combat racism in today's America. Manzanar thereby does an injustice to the agency and history of the Japanese Americans who suffered there due to America's fear, ignorance, and racism.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; U.S.; World War II; Japanese Americans; internment; Manzanar; National Park Service (NPS); historical memory; agency; photography*

## *Introduction: An American Concentration Camp*

It is nearly ten thirty at night, and a seasonal chill of 45 degrees Fahrenheit sets in as the nearly full gibbous moon rises behind me over the Inyo mountain range. Once my eyes adjust, the Owens Valley, nestled between California's Eastern Sierra and Inyo ranges, becomes a dream state of familiar forms and unfamiliar movements just outside of my periphery: rabbits, scorpions, and the swaying of sagebrush in the night breeze—my head never turns fast enough to see it in time before the scuttling stops. Standing alone in the desert wilderness at night under the comforting light of the moon can ostensibly bring peace and relaxation, as it has for me in the past, but the fact that I am standing in a consecrated space at a site of violence, trauma, loss, and mourning changes things. Just over two hundred miles from Los Angeles, I am standing in the cemetery of an American concentration camp: Manzanar.

What brought me to a site of such injustice was the need to understand how the preservation and interpretation of a public memory site, combined with its visual history as illustrated through photographs, can tell a meaningful story that is accessible to visitors, and true to the nature of the events that occurred there. Manzanar is not only a site of injustice: it is a site of public memory, and through the interpretation of that memory, Manzanar acts as a site of public history. Ideally, meaningful interpretation can—and should—encourage visitors to identify the crimes of the past within their present or even future. However, any site's interpretation can be compromised by whoever controls its narrative. I argue that Manzanar, as a site of public memory and history of Japanese incarceration, has been compromised by its stewards, the National Park Service (NPS), who do not utilize the camp to its full extent to teach the historical realities of the Japanese incarceration, nor do they connect the crimes of the past to the race-based imprisonment of minorities by recent U.S. administrations and the Immigration

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and Customs Enforcement agency (ICE), and this can best be understood through Manzanar's visual history and the interpretation of the camp's physical remains. In claiming that Manzanar, as it stands today, is not the site of public memory that it should be, I use my own photographs to illustrate what the NPS has deemed worthy of remembrance, thus adding to the literature on public memory spaces by demonstrating how to critically assess a space that has been set aside for preservation, along with how narratives surrounding said space have been created, altered, or erased. Manzanar is unique, because it is not just a place where injustice occurred on a massive scale: it is also a place where the government agency in charge of preserving its past is part of the same bureaucracy that committed the injustice to begin with. Many of the NPS's interpretive decisions could be acts of atonement, but—in reality—many of their choices are, as will be shown, acts of historical neglect with regard to the camp's legacy of suffering.

*Figure 1: Mt. Williamson through sentry post window. Photo by the author.*

Since 1992, Manzanar has been a National Historic Site, and the NPS, a U.S. government agency, is now its steward. My photographs illustrate what happens when the perpetrator of violence and injustice becomes the historical curator of its own crimes. While Manzanar is no longer as ruinous as it once was, its identities, histories, and memories are now interpreted through the lens of the NPS. In this

interpretation, the United States' use of the concentration-camp paradigm has been strictly relegated to the past, although the U.S. still uses concentration camps today, most notably in the form of ICE camps along the Mexico-U.S. border. The NPS's interpretation facilitates the replacing of narratives of incarceree suffering with stories of overcoming adversity; it enables the downplaying of the incarcerees' unique Japanese culture while fetishizing American mainstream cultural assimilation through Western sports and entertainment; and it leads to the forgetting of the camp administration's guilt while leaving an abundance of uninterpreted prison apparatuses to define the incarcerees as prisoners rather than people. While the NPS does not deny that the incarceration was an injustice, there are many missed opportunities when it comes to illustrating the magnitude of the injustice and connecting it with injustice today. The NPS has the capacity to turn Manzanar into a "Contact Zone," which would use the site's history in an engaging way to bring its visitors into the struggle against injustice today. Instead, the NPS effectively portrays Manzanar as a history that can no longer be repeated, even as it repeats itself a few hundred miles to the south.

*Figure 2: Manzanar Cemetery with Venus descending behind the Sierra Nevada. Photo by the author.*

## *I. Viewing Images of Violence*

Images of Japanese incarceration are images of violence. Viewing these images means becoming witnesses to said violence, and both the photographer and the viewer share a responsibility—just like witnesses to any other crime. With regard to the viewing of violence, English and museology scholar Bettina Messias Carbonell states, "When museums and other exhibition venues arrange, contextualize, and gloss the extant evidence of inhuman brutality and human suffering, audience members are called upon to be both witness after the fact and parties responsible for the present and the future."[1] While it is the viewers' responsibility to remember the acts of injustice and violence they witness and, ostensibly, ensure they are not repeated, the responsibility of the photographer is a little different. Questions of presentation and exhibition arise but, even more so, there is the question whether violence should be photographed in the first place.

In the postmodern criticism of photography, prominent art historians and philosophers like Susan Sontag, John Berger, and Roland Barthes—who have been labeled as polemicists by journalism professor Susie Linfield—seem to regard photography with dismissive ambivalence or virulent hostility, or anywhere in between. Berger has characterized photographs of political violence as "at best useless and at worst narcissistic, leading the viewer to a sense of self-conscious helplessness rather than to enlightenment, outrage, or action."[2] Barthes has followed suit, stating that "[s]uch images are too finished, too complete—'overconstructed.' As such they deprive us of our freedom of response: 'We are in each case dispossessed of our judgment: someone has shuddered for us, reflected for us, judged for us; the photographer has left us nothing."[3] To deliver the *coup de grâce*, Sontag has elucidated the degradation of photography's impact:

> To suffer is one thing; another thing is living with the photographed images of suffering, which does not necessarily strengthen conscience and the ability to be compassionate. […] Once one has seen such images, one has started down the road of seeing more—and more. Images transfix. Images anesthetize. […] The vast photographic catalogue of misery and injustice throughout the world has given everyone a certain familiarity with atrocity, making the horrible seem more ordinary—making it appear familiar, remote (It's only a photograph), and inevitable. […] "Concerned" photography has done at least as much to deaden conscience as to arouse it.[4]

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[1] Bettina Messias Carbonell, "The Afterlife of Lynching: Exhibitions and the Re-Composition of Human Suffering," in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 347-356, here 347.

[2] Quoted in Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 6.

[3] Quoted in Linfield, *Cruel Radiance*, 7.

[4] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Penguin, 1977), 20-21. According to Linfield, Sontag has back-peddled from this stance in her work, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), but these original statements retain more cultural clout.

If one were to accept this criticism, viewers of photographs of political violence would be rendered inert, passionless, and desensitized social simpletons, bereft of agency and action in the face of atrocity and suffering.

While this may hold true for those who, indeed, become morally dejected and powerless by viewing such images of abject suffering—for example, the images of war by American photojournalist James Nachtwey or French photographer Gilles Peress, who have both poignantly and graphically illustrated senseless atrocities all over the globe—Linfield rails against this notion. If postmodernism dictates that photographs deaden emotion, or that sentiments must be guarded against photographs, Linfield insists that photographs facilitate—more than any other medium—a visceral, urgent, and palpable emotional connection between the viewer and the subject.[5] It is the viewer's responsibility to foster this emotional connection and let it be a catalyst for social change and remembrance—to stoke the flame of anger that wells up in the viewer in the face of injustice and let it become a torch for change rather than a dying ember of moral complacency. For Linfield—and for every viewer, "Every image of suffering says not only, 'This is so,' but also, by implication: 'This must not be'; not only, 'This goes on,' but also, by implication: 'This must stop.' Documents of suffering are documents of protest: they show what happens when we unmake the world."[6] When it comes to the question whether or not these images ought to be viewed, the answer should always be a resounding and responsible "yes."

Now that we have established the responsibility to view these photographs, there is the issue of "how"—one that Carbonell further complicates: "The act of bearing witness can take many forms; no 'ideal' form exists; no form can promise to bring every potential visitor to the brink of ethical action."[7] For the images of Japanese incarceration, there are two methods worth noting. To unleash the viewers' eyes, and in turn their worldviews, upon the photographs without context is a powerful decision, one endorsed by art historian Svetlana Alpers who believes that the sheer act of looking can best facilitate an emotional connection between viewers and images.[8] However, with this method, the "museum effect"—which strips meaning from objects and makes them worth looking at solely because they are on display—can render the photographs of Japanese incarceration merely interesting to look at, nothing more, effectively fetishizing suffering as it simply becomes visually stimulating.

Meanwhile, meaningful contextualization through captions can "temper" viewers and prepare their worldviews to take in atrocities and thus establish

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[5] Linfield, *Cruel Radiance*, 22.

[6] Linfield, *Cruel Radiance*, 33.

[7] Carbonell, "Afterlife of Lynching," 354.

[8] Svetlana Alpers, "The Museum as a Way of Seeing," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1991), 25-32, here 26-29.

deeper connections between them and the photograph's subject. The use of contextualization, which art historian James Clifford favors, turns the viewer-photograph encounter into a "Contact Zone" where understanding can be produced.[9] Dorothea Lange's famous photograph of the "Wanto Co. Grocery" (Oakland, California, 1942),[10] a soon-to-be-shuttered Japanese American business, depicts an ordinary street scene. A car is parked out front, the store windows are stocked with goods, and the door is open, inviting potential clients inside to shelter themselves from the sun. The only abnormality is a large sign over the windows that reads in bold, capital letters, "I AM AN AMERICAN." Viewers who look at this image without context will have their worldviews generate the meaning for them. Perhaps they are patriotic and the banner resonates with them. Perhaps they do not even consider the store's owners to be non-White. Without context, these viewers miss the opportunity to read the photography correctly. However, with context, as achieved through captions and educational information, the image becomes a painful reminder of how racial injustice on the part of the government deprived American citizens of their livelihoods. While Alpers's approach may be interesting for certain museum objects, for photographs of Japanese incarceration Clifford's use of proper context is required to facilitate meaningful remembrance. The way we look at these photographs is important, but so is an understanding of how the photographers chose to take them. Each action taken by photographers is fueled by pretense and agenda, and motivated by previous ideas and worldviews. In the end, the photographs of Japanese incarceration allow viewers to peer into the event, but through the subjective lens of the past and the eyes of history.

*II. Manzanar Today*

A recording broadcast to any traveler who heeds the sign just outside of Lone Pine, California, advises northbound motorists to tune to AM 1610 for information on the upcoming Manzanar National Historic Site. Turning left onto Manzanar Reward Road, as instructed, immediately presents a somber scene. A lone sign in governmental brown and emblazoned with the word MANZANAR greets visitors with an arrow to direct them south down a two-lane blacktop toward the camp. In the distance, the barren landscape of the Owens Valley stretches outward to seamlessly blend with the mountains of the eastern Sierra Nevada range, towering over the valley floor as silent witnesses to the injustice perpetrated under their gaze. This scene is what welcomed Japanese American citizens to their new "home." For the incarcerees, these jagged peaks and arid wastes would become very familiar sights.

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[9] James Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," in James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 188-219, here 191-193.

[10] Dorothea Lange, "I AM AN AMERICAN" (Oakland, California, 1942), photograph, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

*Figure 3: Manzanar Reward Road. Photo by the author.*

*III. Prison Apparatuses*

Turning south, the first thing visitors—and the incarcerated—would see is the guard tower, a powerful sentinel that facilitated the prisoners' confinement under its watch. This is the first confrontation visitors have with the camp's reality. The single tower standing today is a replica, and showing visitors a part of the camp's prison apparatus first sets the tone for the rest of their visit. The NPS wants people to understand that this was, above all, a prison complex, and by placing the tower so that it is seen before anything else the NPS does justice to what the camp truly was: a prison. This is acknowledged in the NPS's *Long Range Interpretive Plan*, which states that the tower "is a prominent visual attraction along U.S. 395, further identifying the site as a former internment camp."[11] For motorists traveling along Highway 395, it is one of the only clearly visible landmarks of the camp, and, in effect, the tower becomes an advertisement of sorts. From the highway, the tower is backed by the Sierra, providing a stark juxtaposition between serene beauty and antiquated, menacing fortification, and imparting a feeling of mysterious importance to any passersby who do not know the area's history. The NPS's *Long Range Interpretive Plan* recognizes, too, that "one of the more compelling views will be with the mountains in the background."[12] The arrival at Manzanar communicates solemnity. The ominous MANZANAR sign and the guard tower against the backdrop of wilderness indicate that this is a place of remembrance.

[11] National Park Service, Manzanar National Historic Site, *Long Range Interpretive Plan*, August 2017, 17-18.

[12] National Park Service Manzanar National Historic Site, *Long Range Interpretive Plan*, 18.

*Figure 4: The moon rises above guard tower number 8 with U.S. 395's constant traffic passing by. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 5: Guard tower number 8, stars overhead. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 6: U.S. 395's Blue Star Memorial Highway designation with guard tower number 8. Photo by the author.*

But from this point forward, the message begins to muddy and fluctuate. Manzanar's frontage road is part of the Blue Star Memorial Highway system, and the sign that designates it as such states that it is "A tribute to the Armed Forces that have defended the United States of America." Tacked onto the same post, just below, is another, much smaller sign "In honor of Americans of Japanese Ancestry who served in the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team and the Military Intelligence Service during World War II." Juxtaposed with the guard tower looming behind, this memorial creates a provocative dichotomy. The Blue Star Memorial Highway sign establishes a pro-military posture for the camp. It justifies the incarceration of the Japanese, reminding readers that American servicemen fought against the nation's enemies abroad, and this camp, with its guard tower as proof, defended America against her enemies at home by incarcerating them. The sign perpetuates the same fabricated "military necessity" that gave impetus to U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1942 Executive Order 9066 authorizing Japanese "relocation. It generates an anti-Japanese sentiment that is only slightly offset by the second, smaller sign honoring the Japanese American 100th and 442nd units. Yet, this smaller sign neglects to inform visitors that the very camp they are touring was, in fact, the main recruitment ground for these units and thus fails to vindicate the alleged "enemies" kept behind its fences. Visitors continue to the

camp unaware that those interned here were loyal American citizens, and not the enemy, and the combination of the tower with the memorial sign underscores the notion that this camp was a necessity for American safety.

*Figure 7: Recreated historic sign reading "Manzanar War Relocation Center," night. Photo by the author.*

Following in the footsteps of the incarcerees, we pass the modern entrance that brings visitors to the new interpretive center and enter the "historic entrance" further south. This entry is marked by a reconstruction of the original entrance sign. Hoisting it upright are two parallel beams projecting out of a rock pile. Heavy black chains link the large wooden sign to its supports. The sign itself is adorned with the euphemism "MANZANAR WAR RELOCATION CENTER" in old Gothic or Germanic lettering, ascribing to the site a medieval flair. There is no interpretive placard here, leaving any onlooker potentially confused as to what exactly might have occurred in the camp. However, showing a replica of the original sign is important, as the history of the "War Relocation Authority" (WRA) euphemism is vital for a critical understanding of what happened here. Yet, the sign should not be hidden: it should be displayed in the interpretive center, accompanied by plenty of context, as evidence of the WRA's use of euphemism.

On the other side of the historic entrance, visitors pass two of the three original, remaining buildings: the sentry posts. Thus far, visitors have been bombarded with prison paraphernalia: guard towers, barbed wire, allusions to America's enemies, a barbarous-looking euphemistic sign, and now a prison checkpoint. While it is vital to demonstrate that this was a prison, if only to counter revisionist histories stating anything to the contrary, Manzanar—to uninitiated or simply curious visitors—projects the incarcerated as prisoners and nothing more. The sentry posts are short stone structures, clad in flagstones, with wooden, shingled

roofs. These roofs are reminiscent of traditional Japanese *hogyu-yane* style roofs or even pagoda roofs, as the square pyramid roofs slope downwards sharply at their highest, leveling off slightly halfway toward the roofline. Perhaps this was an attempt—albeit an unsuccessful one—to calm the incarcerees upon their arrival, suggesting—falsely—that this would be a place where their culture would be preserved and their lives would go on relatively unscathed. The interpretive signage for these sentry posts is hidden behind the structures themselves and might be missed by those passing by. According to its *Long Range Interpretive Plan*, the NPS is aware that this entrance might confuse visitors:

> Upon entering, visitors first encounter the two restored sentry post buildings; however, these structures look very similar to the entrance stations at many present-day national park areas, and some visitors stop, expecting to pay a fee. The historic significance of these buildings is not readily apparent to arriving visitors, nor is that of the adjacent administrative area. Visitors may follow directional signs to the visitor center, not realizing the importance of the resources they are passing by.[13]

Those intrepid guests who leave their cars to peer inside the structures are able to see the first sign of any semblance of Japanese agency, albeit bereft of any context or information. On the inside walls of the sentry post, there are Japanese names: Nakatama, Kamoshita, and Takahashi are a few of the names written on the walls, as if to reclaim the site or perhaps "get the last word in." However, without additional information provided by the NPS, their meaning is lost on visitors.

*Figure 8: Manzanar military police sentry post, one of three remaining original structures, night. Photo by the author.*

[13] National Park Service Manzanar National Historic Site, *Long Range Interpretive Plan*, 6.

*Figure 9: Moon rising over Inyo Mountains and military police sentry post. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 10: Military police checkpoint interior, names are scrawled on walls between door and window. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 11: Manzanar internal police sentry post, one of three remaining original structures. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 12: Night traffic along U.S. 359. How many drivers are aware of the history they are passing? Photo by the author.*

*IV. Administration Area*

Once inside the historic entrance, the immediate area visitors enter is the administration area, a site where the White camp laborers and military police would have lived and worked. This place has one of the highest concentrations of stone ruins still standing in the camp—a testament to the higher quality of the structures Whites lived in. However, there is a noted lack of interpretation in the area, compared to the reconstructed "demonstration block" and other places in the camp. It marks a prevailing inconsistency throughout the camp, as the NPS felt it necessary to rebuild structures of Japanese imprisonment for interpretation, but not sites of Japanese agency. Meanwhile, sites of authority are left standing—sometimes with boundary markers not provided to Japanese ruins—but without detailed interpretation. This strange need to recreate and heavily interpret the Japanese living quarters, while the living quarters of the administration are still standing with no interpretation, alludes to a confusing dichotomy of possible meanings and intentions. Should one not evenly interpret every aspect of the camp? After all, the camp's administration impacted every one of the *ten thousand stories* the NPS purports to accurately preserve. The NPS makes strides in establishing narratives for the Japanese, but does not attempt to confront the history of the still-standing evidence of their overseers. Perhaps this focus on the Japanese in the form of reconstructions and their stories—rather than to reconstruct or interpret the administration area—is a way to avoid unnecessary attention to the crimes perpetrated by the government, which would have been carried out by those living in this administration area. According to its 2007 *Long Range Interpretive Plan*, the NPS "explore[d] the potential of acquiring one of the administration area buildings and relocating it to its original site," however, this was given a "low" priority and has yet to be implemented.[14]

Directly north of the sentry posts and administrative area are two plots of land that are indicative of the NPS's preservation efforts—or lack thereof. One is the internal police station, maintained and cordoned off; the other is the Manzanar Free Press, unmarked and overgrown. The Free Press was a bastion of Japanese American agency during incarceration—albeit heavily censored by the camp administration—but its site is only marked by a sign, and the removal of the sign would effectively remove the Free Press from physical memory, only to dwell within the archives. The police station, however, acts as a sepulcher of authority over the Japanese, its tombstone is its preserved foundation, which is carefully sectioned off from encroaching plants by a border of painted stones—protected and remembered. Even if its sign were removed, these physical markers would still act as a threshold between the sacred and the profane. Yet, while these remains of authority are preserved and marked off, there is little to no interpretive signage for areas that potentially draw attention to authoritative control over the incarcerees.

[14] National Park Service Manzanar National Historic Site, *Long Range Interpretive Plan*, 31.

*Figure 13: Cordoned-off internal police station site. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 14: Overgrown Manzanar Free Press. Photo by the author.*

While there is a sign hidden behind a sentry post for the military police, there is no signage for the internal police which was made of incarceree personnel under the command of White, non-military police officers. While some might consider incarceree security a means of self-security and, in turn, Japanese agency, the use of incarceree labor under the orders of White officers on the WRA's payroll was a perversion of Japanese authority. Essentially, the WRA used incarcerees as a tool for their own imprisonment. This is certainly a facet of life in Manzanar that visitors should learn about when seeing the remnants of the internal police station.

To the south lies the administrative area proper and, beyond that, the staff housing area. Simple signs indicate the locations of the post office and the town hall and a few other locations, but the majority of these remains nameless—and thus meaningless—to visitors without access to archives. Some sites, like the town hall, receive the same treatment as the internal police station and are outlined in whitewashed rocks. The town hall was another apparatus of incarceree self-incarceration, as block managers would meet at this site regularly to maintain order among the populace.[15]

*Figure 15: Town Hall. Photo by the author.*

When one explores the administration area and staff housing, remnants of foundations and stonewalls still perforate the desert landscape. A crumbling asphalt roundabout surrounds a large rock-walled garden with a Joshua tree in its center. This was the hub of the staff housing and administrative area—what the lone interpretive sign calls "a community apart." This sign offers visitors a glimpse into the life of WRA employees living at the camp.

[15] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site,* 2006, 53.

*Figure 16: The sun beats down upon the crumbling roundabout in the administrative area. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 17: A replanted Joshua Tree in an incarceree-designed garden, administrative area. Photo by the author.*

In very poor taste, the NPS's sign uses first-hand accounts to depict the White employees as somehow enduring a similar ordeal as the incarcerees. One entry reads: "Industrial arts teacher Brieuc Bouché recalled that his Manzanar apartment had a living room, bathroom, and 'a bedroom you could not turn your bed all around in'." A quote from fourth-grade teacher Martha Shaof states: "The children would talk to me, and they would ask questions like, 'Could I leave the camp?' and I said, 'Yes.' … 'Won't the soldier shoot at you?' And I said, 'No,' and that rather surprised them because I think they thought … since I lived in the camp, that I would be treated the same. And I think they had a hard time accepting that." Shirley DaValle, the young daughter of another teacher, said: "My father had left … and my mother was faced with becoming the breadwinner … teaching jobs were not plentiful, but she was offered a job teaching at Manzanar." These quotes allude to the cramped spaces, the feeling of imprisonment, and the economic difficulties of the time, but to elucidate the comparatively minor inconveniences of Whites at a site where people were imprisoned based on the color of their skin, whose living spaces were shared by their entire family without privacy, who had the guns from the towers trained on them and no one else, and who had lost every bit of their economic agency to Whites, is highly historically insensitive. To make any attempt to compare the suffering of the incarcerees with the specious exasperation of the people who actively participated in their imprisonment by working for the WRA is a sick joke on the part of the NPS.

Along with references to White hardships, other quotes on the sign reflect a sense of surprise by Whites when their interaction with incarcerees proved to be amicable. Shirley DeValle's sister Joan, a White teenager, said: "In all of our contacts, the Japanese were gracious, warm, and friendly … we joined the Japanese Girl Reserve Groups, an organization for socializing … [and] we attended several plays and music programs put on by the Japanese, and even went to a Japanese wedding." Camp policewoman Nan Zischank stated: "There wasn't one of them that was mean to me or said anything nasty, they were all really lovely people." The surprise that is communicated by people who expected the incarcerees to be cruel toward their own captors portrays the Japanese—to the sign's readers—as a potentially hostile group by illustrating an underlying fear held by Whites that those incarcerated would not be friendly to them. The sign perpetuates White fear of possible Japanese enemies because there is no additional information to interpret the quotes: they are presented "as is." The sign could point out the racism in these quotes and place them into their proper historical context but, instead, it celebrates Whites who overcame their own racism when they were treated fairly by the incarcerees. This lone administration area interpretive sign portrays Whites as victims on par with the Japanese and as racial ambassadors when those they oppressed and held captive were treating them with kindness.

The reality, however, was not as optimistic and sympathetic as this sign makes it out to be. There were cases when Whites living at the camp were met with hostility, and some Whites found the place so depressing they had to flee on their

off hours to preserve their mental health—a luxury ignored by the NPS who wants visitors to be under the impression of racial harmony throughout the camp. In an interview, Manzanar incarceree Karl Yoneda (1906-1999) described the animosity his White wife faced from other incarcerees for her forceful complaints about the camp's conditions—behavior that made Japanese women feel uncomfortable because of their upbringing which taught them to endure hardship silently. Yoneda stated that "Well, camp people resented, too, that I brought a Caucasian wife into camp. Some of them said, 'Well, you know, she had the right to stay outside of the camp; why does she have to come into camp and become sort of a sore thumb?' It was easy to point out the ways that she didn't fit into the Japanese community."[16] Whites were often not met with the cheerful openness the NPS describes, and sometimes they themselves did not even want to be there. When interviewed, Lucy Adams (1898-1996), assistant project director in charge of community management, who sought to escape the oppressive atmosphere of Manzanar, stated:

> My first impression was I was profoundly depressed at the enclosure within Manzanar. That was so depressing to me that I went out, and I had a house outside Independence up in the mountains where I could go on weekends and get away from that enclosed atmosphere. And also, the kind of—the feeling of the people in Independence and Lone Pine, whenever you were in there, they were so curious and so hostile. So, by having this house way up in the mountains that I could get to over weekends, I could get away from it.[17]

The need to escape the very community she was helping manage due to its claustrophobic nature is a narrative certainly not on display in the administrative area, and the omission of such narratives by the NPS is an example of its attempts to change the tone of the camp for its visitors.

Throughout the rest of the administrative and staff housing area, markers of significantly better facilities dot the grounds. Cement stoops and decorative rock walls that once adorned the superior White housing are still standing today. According to the NPS,

> Staff housing was constructed to a higher standard than the internees' barracks. Kitchens, bathrooms, hot and cold running water, and sound-insulated partitions between the apartments offered a level of comfort and privacy to the WRA staff that was unavailable to the internees. Formal landscaping, including rock planters, lawn areas and foundation planting beds helped create a sense of comfort and convey a sense of permanence to the staff housing area.[18]

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[16] Karl Yoneda, interview by Ronald C. Larson and Arthur A. Hansen, March 3, 1974, Oral History 1353.2 (csufccop_jaoh_0944), transcript, Japanese American Oral History Project, Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton, 28.

[17] Lucy Adams, interview by Arthur A. Hansen and Sue Embrey, October 16, 1993, Oral History 2327 (csufccop_jaoh_0122), transcript, Japanese American Oral History Project, Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton, 26.

[18] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 53.

These fixtures still existed long after the incarcerees' barracks had been destroyed or sold off. One of the most remarkable markers is a granite boulder and cement mortar wall and doorway that surrounds the patio of the camp director's office. This wall was commissioned by the director and built by hired incarcerees.[19] The use of camp labor is not addressed by any interpretive sign in the area, nor is there any indication that this lavish appointment was for the camp director. Today, it simply sits as a portal between desert waste and more desert waste, denied any particular significance by the NPS. Thus, the administrative area is another missed opportunity for the NPS, who could use it to illustrate the workings of a concentration camp. How do these buildings and the people in them keep an institution of confinement going? What apparatuses are required to subdue a population? What kind of mindset is shared by those who justify imprisoning a group of people based on race? How can wartime hysteria and racism be masked by military necessity? The administrative area and staff housing could become the perfect "Contact Zone" for visitors to draw a connection between the past and present, but these vital questions continue to go unanswered, and, instead, the NPS portrays Whites as in the same barbed-wire enclosed boat as the incarcerees.

*Figure 18: 48-star flag flown by the NPS, administrative area. Another flies by the auditorium. Photo by the author.*

[19] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 203.

One of the more interesting facets of the camp today is the use of the flag in the administration area. From the road, a historic, rock-lined cement walkway leads to a plaza containing a diamond-shaped stone flowerbed with a flagpole in its center. This is an original structure, and the NPS continues to fly a flag on this pole. However, the flag is flown unlit at night, and this is atypical for NPS locations which usually adhere to strict flag protocols and call for flags to be removed or lit at night. Upon closer inception, this flag is a forty-eight-star flag. Thus, not only is this flag unburdened by today's flag codes; it is a subtle method of relegating the crimes of incarceration to the past. Rather than flying a fifty-star flag at this site of suffering, the NPS flies a flag of the past, linking the unconstitutional existence of Manzanar to the actions of the United States of the past. Many view the American flag as a symbol of freedom, and to see it fly over a concentration camp causes a cognitive dissonance of sorts, but the NPS sidesteps this by simply not flying today's American flag, and in turn, not connecting crimes of the past with similar crimes of today.

*Figure 19: Sectioned-off staff housing ruins. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 20: Staff housing stoops against the Inyo Mountains. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 21: Staff housing stoops against the Alabama Hills. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 22: Incarceree-built wall to director's residence against Sierra Nevada. Photo by the author.*

## *V. Auditorium*

The primary location of interpretation for Manzanar is also the most prominent original structure at the site: the auditorium. The auditorium's existence is what determined the NPS's selection of Manzanar for preservation over the other nine internment camps, and its adaptive reuse is an excellent demonstration of effective historical preservation, which helps foster meaningful connections between the past and present. In the 1950s, the auditorium was sold to Inyo County which demolished the stage to build a truck ramp, tore out the wooden dance floor to exchange it for concrete, and used the structure for decades as a highway maintenance depot. The county also sold the southern one-story wing to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who moved it to nearby Lone Pine to be used as a meeting house.[20] Between 2002 and 2004, the NPS strove to restore the structure to its prior state by rebuilding the stage inside, laying down new wood floors, and even reconstructing the south wing.[21] However, there is a drawback to using a venue known for holding joyous occasions—such as school dances, concerts, plays, and other festive ceremonies—to correctly impart the historical significance of suffering, as the visitor's experience inside is largely determined by the structure's prior, more jovial, use. Unfortunately, this is where much of the NPS's misdirection comes into play.

[20] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 184.

[21] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 205.

*Figure 23: Sun glaring upon Manzanar's auditorium, one of three remaining original structures. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 24: Another 48-star flag, Manzanar auditorium. Photo by the author.*

The NPS's emphasis on recreation and entertainment at Manzanar is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, preserving these aspects of the camp demonstrates that those incarcerated within its walls were able to carve out a modicum of happiness and joy under duress and imprisonment, proving that they did indeed exercise personal agency at Manzanar. On the other hand, placing emphasis on sources of fun instills a sense that life within the camp was not as bad as it seemed. The NPS muddies the water by heavily injecting notions of gaiety into prison life,

thus distracting visitors from the crimes perpetrated by the U.S. against American citizens. The adaptive re-usage of the camp's auditorium—a place where dances, concerts, and theatrical performances took place—as the nexus of learning about the camp establishes a festive gloss over any information gleaned within. The auditory experience inside the interpretive center reinforces this by barraging visitors with looped applause from U.S. President Ronald Reagan's 1988 restitution signing; a recording of U.S. President Harry Truman's address to the Japanese American 442nd Infantry Regiment, "You've fought not only the enemy, but you've fought prejudice, and you've won"; reenacted radio news, complete with hammed-up "newsreel diction," informing radio listeners of the war; and a crooner smoothly delivering a rendition of Cole Porter's "Don't Fence Me In"—ironically one of the most popular tunes performed inside the very auditorium visitors are standing in, played by an all-incarceree big band, The Jive Bombers. This aural display, along with all of it taking place on the dance floor, subverts any intention of addressing the gravity of the situation faced here by the Japanese.

The music, the applause, and the endless repeats of "you've won" all double down on one notion very prevalent at Manzanar: overcoming adversity. While this was a vital aspect of life in the camp, it should not crowd out the principal purpose for preserving the camp, namely, to show how the United States stripped American citizens of their constitutional rights and imprisoned them. Historian Emily Colborn-Roxworthy argues "that making the former internees' theatre the focal point has allowed the NPS's proliferation of multiple meanings of 'overcoming adversity' (to quote an NPS pamphlet) at Manzanar, most centering on Japanese Americans' embrace of mainstream youth culture and all-American recreational activities as performed at the auditorium and elsewhere on the former camp's grounds."[22] Manzanar's preservation should remind visitors that unwavering vigilance is necessary when it comes to safeguarding the rights of others, lest the crimes committed at Manzanar continue to repeat themselves. The camp should not become a light-hearted playground that distracts from the suffering of those incarcerated within.

The theme of overcoming diversity extends beyond the auditorium to the baseball field and the rebuilt basketball court. These "all-American activities" and the emphasis on them is, once again, a double-edged sword. They do demonstrate a historical reality of the camp, which should not be forgotten, but because they take up a disproportionately large portion of visitors' time—compared to the portion of camp life they actually filled for the prisoners, visitors might leave Manzanar assuming that everyone there was constantly at play. Additionally, the emphasis on overcoming hardships—via embracing American sports, theater, and culture—replaces the Japanese culture of the incarcerated with an American one,

[22] Emily Colborn-Roxworthy, "'Manzanar, the Eyes of the World Are upon You': Performance and Archival Ambivalence at a Japanese American Internment Camp," *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 2 (May 2007): 189-214, here 191.

which communicates (falsely) that the Japanese Americans were only able to overcome their plight through an abandonment of their own culture.

*Figure 25: Manzanar's reconstructed basketball court. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 26: Manzanar's reconstructed baseball diamond. Photo by the author.*

"By focusing on such performances of triumph," Colborn-Roxworthy continues, "the NPS not only facilitates visitors' emotional connection by providing a shortcut around the unjust suffering and often insurmountable adversity imposed by the internment, but also frames Japanese American internees as inherently theatrical, natural-born actors—one-dimensionally available for public scrutiny that suggests their display serves as an assimilative mask—in a way that denies their complex subjectivity."[23] The "Americanization" of the Japanese was exactly what many photographers, such as Ansel Adams, tried to depict. During the war, their priority was to establish that the Japanese were loyal because of how American they were, but today such cultural erasure is anachronistic, inappropriate, and distracts from the message that these people were imprisoned on the basis of race.

This distraction continues as visitors exit the rear of the auditorium for the replica barracks, an area featuring the recreated dirt basketball court. Further to the north is a preserved baseball field, complete with a built-up pitcher's mound, bases, and the home plate. An egregious guest accommodation the NPS thoughtlessly believed was a good idea was to supply basketballs to visitors of the remade basketball court immediately northeast of the auditorium. Half a dozen basketballs are courtside in a large, weathered-looking, wooden-and-wire bin to match the aesthetic of the court itself—an easy distraction from the real lesson that should be taught here for any busload of children on a field trip. Visiting Manzanar should be a solemn, introspective experience. Visitors should peacefully take in the spaces and think about what transpired at the site, what actions took place to strip Americans of their freedom, and relate such actions to the present and future. Manzanar should be a place of respect, reflection, and awe. According to historical and architectural preservationist Norman Tyler, Manzanar is a destination for historical "thanatourism," or grief tourism, and the site holds the anger, pain, angst, and shame of those incarcerated at the camp.[24] The NPS, in an act of utter irreverence, ignores this, evidently thinking that allowing visitors to complete their tour of a concentration camp with a friendly game of "horse" would be ideal to communicate the constitutional injustice committed here.

The NPS has clearly decided that Western sports, such as baseball and basketball, are worthy of remembrance over traditional Japanese activities, such as *Judo* and *Kendo*, thereby furthering the cultural erasure of the incarcerees. Under the auspices of the NPS, Manzanar retains the capacity to hold basketball and baseball games in recreated areas, but the *Kendo Dojo* is nothing but brush and trees, and the *Judo* platform is long gone. These activities cannot be performed in their previous locations unlike their American counterparts. While the tour road does not bring visitors anywhere close to the site of the previous *Judo* platform,

[23] Colborn-Roxworthy, "Manzanar, the Eyes of the World Are upon You," 192.

[24] Norman Tyler, Ilene R. Tyler, and Ted J. Ligibel, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice*, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2018), 324.

guests do see the *Kendo Dojo*, however, just like the Manzanar Free Press's location, it would become non-existent if it were not for a simple sign reading "KENDO DOJO." No boundary or clearing preserves the location of this unique part of Japanese culture and identity. Meanwhile, at the baseball field, an interpretive sign drives home the homogenizing effect the sport had on the incarcerees with a quote by internee Takeo Suo that "[p]utting on a baseball uniform was like wearing the American flag." Again, the NPS illustrates a desire to overcome adversity through becoming "American" at the expense of Japanese culture. The sign explains that "baseball was a powerful symbol of an American way of life that boosted morale and brought some sense of normalcy to a confined community." Through this statement, the NPS links normalcy and morale to "an American way of life," and just as the auditorium links overcoming adversity to American entertainment, the sporting arenas preserved at Manzanar operate in the same way.

*Figure 27: Manzanar's Kendo Dojo, now an empty field. Photo by the author.*

The music, dancing, games, sports, and speeches all direct visitors to the idea that the Japanese prisoners were making the best of a bad situation and overcame adversity with the help of these recreational activities. However, the disproportional emphasis on these activities not only replaces Japanese culture with an American one but also distracts visitors from the fact that they are visiting

a place of suffering. This is exactly what happens when the perpetrator of a crime becomes the curator of its history: the reality of injustice is subverted by offering an emotional substitute for confronting the pain and suffering that took place. Visitors leave Manzanar with the notion that, while those imprisoned here had been ripped from their homes, they also embraced American culture at the cost of their own, regularly enjoyed sports and dances, and overcame adversity and prejudice as confirmed by Truman's looped speech, and that no such atrocity could ever happen again—all with a quick pick-up game of hoops to top it off. Based on the NPS's current conceptualization and preservation, visitors leave Manzanar unaware of similar unconstitutional actions occurring around them and emotionally unequipped to confront such injustices when found.

*Figure 28: Mt. Williamson, one of the incarcerees' constant companions. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 29: Barbed wire under the starry sky. Photo by the author.*

*VI. Plaque*

The inability to realize the unconstitutionality of Japanese incarceration—or the ability to perform the mental gymnastics required to justify it—was prevalent during the incarceration and, to a degree, still exists today, especially when it comes to referring to these camps as concentration camps. When interviewed, Lynn Iwasa, an incarceree born in Manzanar in 1942, frequently used the term "concentration camp" when referring to her birthplace: "I remember being aware I was born in Manzanar. At that time when somebody would say, 'What is that?' I'd say, 'A concentration camp.'"[25] Iwasa went on to describe an encounter she had with a coworker who could not conceive of the United States operating concentration camps: "I remember when I started working, I was talking to our secretary and she was from Denver. And I mentioned I was born in Manzanar. And we discussed this thing and she didn't have a clue. She didn't even *believe it*, that that went on."[26] Disbelief is not a rare response when confronted with America's concentration camps, and hostility can often result from such denial.

After Manzanar was named a National Historic Site in 1992 and the NPS began developing it, some of Owens Valley's White residents began to sound the alarm concerning what they perceived as a distortion of the truth. The NPS did not shy away from openly labeling Manzanar a prison, but local residents considered this "anti-American" because they felt that the Japanese had never been stripped of their rights and had been free to come and go from the camp. "There is a cadre of individuals that term themselves a 'circle of patriots' that feel that we have some hidden agenda, which sort of baffles us," Manzanar's first NPS Superintendent Ross Hopkins said: "It's obvious that many of them feel that if we tell the story of Manzanar as it relates to the war relocation camp with negative connotations, that represents 'America-bashing.'"[27] However, the anger surrounding the camp's status as a National Historic Site was not new. The greatest controversy had occurred in 1973 when a plaque was placed at the site, decreeing Manzanar not only a California Registered Historical Landmark but also a concentration camp. Anna T. Kelley, a longtime resident of Independence, just north of Manzanar, worked in the first-aid station at the camp during its original construction. When asked in an interview about this plaque—which refers to Manzanar as a "concentration camp" and decries the "injustices and humiliation suffered here as a result of hysteria, racism, and economic exploitation"—Kelley argued that the camp should not be called a concentration camp, as it was not one:

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[25] Lynn E. Iwasa, interview by Steve Sewell, May 9, 1994, Oral History 5865 (csufccop_jaoh_0204), transcript, Japanese American Oral History Project, Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton, 13.

[26] Lynn E. Iwasa, Oral History 5865 (csufccop_jaoh_0204), transcript, 13.

[27] Quoted in Martin Forstenzer, "Bitter Feelings Still Run Deep at Camp," *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 1996.

> Well, it was a … In a concentration camp the people are in horrible straits. I mean, in Europe you know, just terrible and all jammed together and no privileges, no means of keeping themselves clean or anything else. And this is not true of Manzanar. Manzanar was a war relocation center. The living conditions were pretty adverse at first, but after the camp was built and the people had a chance to, like I say, make themselves comfortable, it was pretty good. It wasn't bad at all.[28]

The association of concentration camps with Nazi death camps is a perpetuation of a euphemistic paradigm designed to soften the crimes of those who use concentration camps. While Nazi death camps were concentration camps, not all concentration camps have been (or are) death camps, and Manzanar is a perfect example of this. To say that Manzanar "wasn't bad at all" is the logical result of an inability to critically confront the constitutional crime of Japanese incarceration, and the plaque continues to confront those who deny that it was, in fact, a crime.

*Figure 30: The damaged plaque still stands as memorial to America's racial violence and denial. Photo by the author.*

Still standing today, this plaque has been a recording—and in turn evidence—of how Americans have viewed the illegal incarceration of their fellow citizens. Bullet holes, hack marks, gouges, chisel cuts, and even corrosive spills left on the plaque are not only remnants of violence against the truth that the site was a concentration camp, but each action taken against it is also a violence against the memory of the Japanese Americans who suffered here. According to a 1996 *Los Angeles Times* article, "[t]he plaque, which still greets visitors at the camp entrance, has been hacked and stained, and the first C of 'concentration camp' has been ground off. [Manzanar's NPS Superintendent Ross] Hopkins said that a man who

[28] Quoted in Jessie A. Garrett and Ronald C. Larson, eds., *Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley* (Fullerton: Oral History Program, California State University, 1977), 73-74.

described himself as a World War II veteran called him to say that he had driven 200 miles to urinate on the historical marker."[29] These acts of violence are manifestations of an ignorance-fueled denial of racial injustice—in the same vein as saying "all/blue lives matter," and it is this kind of denial that Manzanar's education and interpretation should combat first and foremost.

Yet, there is no information on the plaque's defacement. Superintendent Hopkins even stated in 1996 "that the Park Service agrees that the term [concentration camp] is a misnomer and that the agency will not use it in describing Manzanar."[30] This is a serious missed opportunity for the NPS to directly associate the racial issues that continue in our society today with the very same hysteria, racism, and economic exploitation that predicated the Japanese incarceration in the first place. To properly atone for its past violence, the U.S. government, through sites like Manzanar, should fully confront today's racial violence and injustice, instead of framing them as something that only the Japanese had to endure due to wartime hysteria. Or, perhaps, this lack of confrontation is evidence that the NPS does not wish to draw attention to today's racial violence and injustice since the latter have been discernible as pronounced proclivities of recent U.S. administrations.

*Figure 31: Mess hall garden; cement barrack supports dot the field to the left. Photo by the author.*

### *VII. Gardens*

Gardening represented a method of escape for the incarcerees, as well as a chance to exercise personal agency. The small gardens that adorned the front of many blocks and the parks and rock gardens scattered throughout the camp's public

[29] Forstenzer, "Bitter Feelings Still Run Deep at Camp," *Los Angeles Times*.

[30] Quoted in Forstenzer, "Bitter Feelings Still Run Deep at Camp," *Los Angeles Times*.

spaces differed from the agricultural spaces. They were not a means of subsistence, like the orchards, but a means of beautification. They did not just occupy the time of those who suddenly had plenty of it on hand: gardens made an environment which had been forced upon the incarcerees uniquely theirs.

Referencing Dorothea Lange's opinion that the gardens represented an act of ingenuity on the incarcerees' part, historian James C. Curtis has argued that gardening was an act of naturalization and Japanese cultural erasure brought about by the WRA because "ingenuity had long been considered an essential trait of the American character, one born of the need to survive in a frontier environment."[31] Curtis notes that Eleanor Roosevelt, when visiting the Gila River camp, "praised the pioneering spirit of 'our Japanese Americans' as displayed 'in the gardens—which I can testify were truly beautiful even in camps where the desert surrounds them' […] [and] showed 'how well the War Relocation Authority did its work."[32] A caption under one of Lange's images cited by Curtis reads, "growing flowers in the garden of their barrack homes at this war relocation center is a popular pastime occupation for the older evacuees."[33] Curtis argues that the WRA hoped that gardening would help siphon off any desire to protest, especially from the Issei population, and that Lange's photographs of their gardens were proof that the WRA was doing its job in naturalizing the Japanese.[34] While the incarcerees found themselves in a frontier-like environment, to assume that their planting of gardens was an effort to become more American or an act of cultural assimilation is highly White-centric. Gardening has had a rich Japanese tradition for thousands of years, and while scraping a part of the desert away to make room for a decorative garden does exhibit ingenuity, it is not a uniquely American trait.

The NPS places importance on these decorative spaces and preserves them under the category of "historic vegetation." Signs along the driving tour indicate where gardens remain for people to park and visit them. The gardens are not recreated or restored but, rather, stabilized for interpretive purposes because "current site staffing and funding [and] treatment guidelines for preservation of the gardens at Manzanar emphasizes stabilization of existing historic material (e.g., plants and garden features) rather than conjectural restoration or reconstruction."[35] It is noteworthy, though, that the NPS has revitalized Manzanar's pre-camp historic apple orchard, which is a representation of White settler triumph over the desert, rather than the Japanese incarcerees' acts of culture and agency. While the orchards have become lush, producing trees, guarded by fences, the gardens are ruins and marked only by signs and empty concrete canals.

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[31] James C. Curtis, *Discriminating Views: Documentary Photography and Japanese American Internment* (Kent: Curich Press, 2015), 101.

[32] Curtis, *Discriminating Views*, 101.

[33] Curtis, *Discriminating Views*, 99.

[34] Curtis, *Discriminating Views*, 100.

[35] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 249.

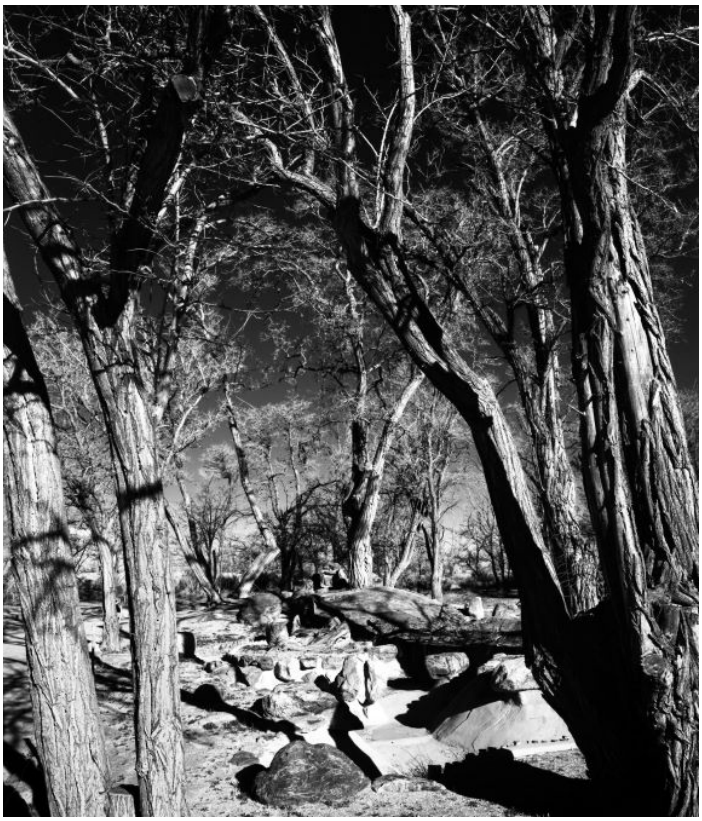

*Figure 32: Housing block garden; wasp nests reside within its nooks and crannies. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 33: Isamu Noguchi is channeled by this garden water feature. Photo by the author.*

The gardens are eerie in their current state—certainly a far cry from their original beauty. A road sign indicates the general direction and distance to walk, then visitors unceremoniously stumble upon a dry cement tributary or rock stack amidst the trees. These gardens are now home to wasp hives under the fallen foliage at the bottom of the empty pools or to other creatures that have taken up residence in the unmaintained waterways. Some of these dry, asymmetrical pools and articulated rock formations are reminiscent of Isamu Noguchi's gardens at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, which he designed in 1959. Noguchi, a resident of New York, self-incarcerated at the Poston, Arizona, camp in 1942 to promote arts and crafts, and he designed many parks, pools, and the cemetery for the camp, none of which the WRA implemented. Considering Noguchi's work—like the "California Scenario" in Costa Mesa, the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center Plaza in Los Angeles, or his sculptures, such as "My Arizona," the parallels between Noguchi's structures and Manzanar's gardens are evident.

Manzanar's gardens do not just represent Japanese agency, they are also the only site-specific artistic examples of that agency that still exist today. They were not agricultural endeavors but, rather, projects to behold, much like photographs. Their design, styles, and components were artistic choices, indicative of the incarcerees' thought processes. They are visual evidence that still speaks to visitors today about Japanese culture, agency, and art. In an essay for her History class about the role the Japanese should play in recreating their life in the camp, incarceree Mary Honda stated in 1943: "Truly we should all cooperate and labor together in making this relocation center something to be quite proud of and if each and every one did his share, no matter how little, we can worthily say, 'We made this such a place, so that we can be proud and happy … in making it worth living in!'"[36] The desire to labor together to make Manzanar a place worth living in is embodied by the Japanese beautification efforts—still visible to this day.

These gardens are among the most important parts of the camp, and they should be more than just "stabilized." Their neglect shows what a perpetrator does to the memory of the victim, allowing it to languish and fall into ruin. They should be revitalized to, once again, become examples of the incarcerees' protest against the desert and imprisonment, and to allow the incarcerees' memory to live on in their original works. The NPS, however, is not the group to speak for those who made the gardens. The descendants of those who made them, or other Japanese American activist groups, should be given financial support and encouragement to return and rebuild the gardens into monuments of Japanese incarceree agency and impetus. Art is the most powerful form of identity and culture, and the artworks that still linger at Manzanar should not be curated by the U.S. government but, rather, by those who created them in the first place.

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[36] Mary Honda, "Manzanar and Its Purpose," History essay, January 30, 1943, Eastern California Museum, Independence, California, Henry Bently Wells and Shirley Elizabeth Wells Collection (ecm_wells_9027), California State University Japanese American Digitization Project.

*Figure 34: Gated entrance to historic orchards originally planted between 1910 and 1920 by White farmers living in the agricultural town of Manzanar. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 35: Rows of newly planted, fruit-bearing trees, historic orchard. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 36: Stars and clouds pass over Manzanar's cemetery. Photo by the author.*

*Conclusion: Cemetery*

Perhaps the most poignant locale in the entire camp, Manzanar's cemetery remains the beating heart of Japanese agency. One hundred fifty incarcerees died at Manzanar: the first burial at the site was on May 16, 1942, the last on December 19, 1944. Most of the deceased were sent back to their hometowns for burial or cremated, with many housed in the camp's Buddhist Church. Fifteen were interred at the cemetery. After the camp closed, their families were contacted, and nine wished for the remains to be moved elsewhere, leaving six still at the site today. At a block managers' meeting in 1943, representatives of the Buddhist Church proposed that a marker be made on the cemetery to memorialize those who perished behind Manzanar's barbed wire. $1000 were soon collected among the incarcerees. Designed by incarcerated stonemason Ryozo Kado, a stark white obelisk on a stepped platform was built that year and still stands to this day.[37]

Carved on the obverse and painted in black are three Japanese characters—"I Rei To"—which translate to "soul-consoling tower," while characters on the reverse translate to "erected by the Manzanar Japanese, August 1943." The obelisk is a pure representation of Japanese agency and self-memorialization. From its initial conceptualization and funding to its completion and use, the memorial's impetus and utility was the incarcerees' need to memorialize their dead. The writing on the reverse demonstrates how the incarcerees themselves wished to be remembered: not as Japanese Americans—an identity which the NPS strives to propagate—but as Manzanar Japanese, emphasizing their uniqueness among Americans as both Japanese and endurers of an unconstitutional injustice.

[37] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 82.

*Figure 37: "Soul-Consoling Tower." Photo by the author.*

*Figure 38: "Erected by the Manzanar Japanese, August 1943." Photo by the author.*

This is hallowed ground, on which those who struggled at Manzanar chose how future generations should remember them and their suffering in an act of personal and cultural agency.

Today, this site acts as a point of convergence for the annual pilgrimage to Manzanar. Every April, anywhere between 500 and 1,000 families and friends, representing all World War II U.S. internment camps, come to the cemetery to partake in a reification of the collective memory of those who experienced incarceration here. Like all old places—according to Thompson Mayes—the cemetery acknowledges the history of the site for those who visit it.[38] It is a marker of suffering and death, but also of collective healing and endurance. It is proof of overcoming adversity—not through an abandoning of Japanese culture for an American one, but through an embracing of uniquely Japanese action and identity. The history of incarceration as reaffirmed by the cemetery is the antithesis of the history propagated by the NPS. From one extreme end of the site to the other, the guard tower and the soul-consoling tower stand on two sides of the same history. One is a narrative that the NPS transmits to visitors, that these peoples' existence was predicated on their status as prisoners who overcame adversity through a process of American homogenization; the other is the history as told by the Japanese themselves: Manzanar was a place of suffering, a place where an injustice reserved for the Japanese was carried out, and—by holding on to what made them unique—they persevered their identity, culture, and memory. Note which one of these monuments had to be recreated to tell its history and which one continues to stand the test of time.

Manzanar's physical remains and these photographs of them show no absolute objective truths, but what is left out of the frame tells as much about how we remember the Japanese incarceration as what is included. The power structures which dictated how the Japanese were represented still dictate what visitors discover about them three quarters of a century later, and these photographs, while railing against the typical narrative witnessed in the interpretive center, are still not a complete truth, but they serve as a narrative that remains a necessary piece of the puzzle.

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[38] See Thompson M. Mayes, "Why Do Old Places Matter?" *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, January 9, 2017.

Emanuel Ayala, Luca Azuma, Ryan Bevacqua, and Matthew Kelly (editors)

# *Correspondence from the American Revolution and the Early United States: The Blackden-Stoddard Letters (Conclusion)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
University Archives and Special Collections.
SC 64.
War Memorabilia Collection.
Durkee/Blackden Correspondence.
Mostly undated (July 14, [1779], to early 1800s).
Seven letters (numbered 25 to 31 below).

*Introduction*

The seven letters edited below were donated in 1973 by Miss Florence Durkee of Brea, California, to CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections, where they are part of the "Durkee/Blackden Correspondence" in the "War Memorabilia Collection." They are in relatively good condition, however, there are a few holes and tears in their yellow paper stationery. Letter 28 is a fragment, and the final page of letter 29 (a "memorial" addressed to the U.S. Congress) is missing. Only letter 25 is dated (July 14, most likely 1779); all other letters are either undated or missing the year. Only letter 25 (written in White Plains, New York) and letter 27 (written in New York, New York) contain unambiguous information as to where they were written. For the editions of letters 1-24 from this same collection, as well as additional contextual information, see volumes 46 (2019) and 47 (2020) of *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History*.

The contents of these letters provide fascinating insights into North America's history during and after the Revolutionary War—from the perspective of members of the Blackden-Stoddard family and their acquaintances. Letter 25 is a letter by Josiah Stoddard to his sister Sally Blackden, presumably written shortly before the battle of Stony Point (July 16, 1779). Letter 26, written by Josiah Stoddard or Samuel Blackden (the aforementioned Sally's husband), makes reference to a payment that is eagerly being awaited. Letter 27, presumably written by Sally Blackden to her sister Lydia Eldredge, details the situation of their ailing mother. Letter 28 is the fragment of a love letter, presumably written by Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden. Letter 29 is Samuel Blackden's "memorial" addressed to the U.S. Congress, in which he details the services rendered by him during the American Revolutionary War, for which he has yet to be properly compensated. In letter 30, Samuel Blackden writes to his wife Sally while he is being kept from traveling home by a storm. Letter 31 is a letter addressed to Sally Blackden by an unidentified female acquaintance who is musing about the question of remarrying after the death of her husband.

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The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original letters. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets. Loss and illegible deletions are indicated by three dots enclosed by square brackets.

*Edition: Letter 25, Jos[iah] Stoddard to Sally Blackden, July 14, 1779, White Plains, [New York]*

Front:

White Plains[1] July 14 1779 [?][2]
Dear Sally[3] –
Col[onel] Blackden,[4] the moment Mr Prime[5]
arrived at our Camp[,] was Oblig[e]d to go
[to] head Quarters[;] desired Me to say
how d'ye for him – I am going on [to]
Command Myself & can only say we
are quite will [= well] & happy Gen[era]l. Washington[6]
Crosses Hudsons River[7] today & tomorrow[.]
Something will soon be done –
I am in the Utmost haste – My
Love to all – Yours
Jos[iah]. Stoddard[8]

Back: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand, pencil] 10, From Jos. Stoddard, July 14 – 1770 [sic], From White Plains

Mrs Sally Blackden
Salisbury[9]

*Edition: Letter 26, [Josiah Stoddard or Samuel Blackden?] to [recipient unknown], May 25, [year unknown], "Camp" [location unknown]*

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand, pencil] 5, From Camp, May 25

Hon[ere]d by
Dr. Townsend[10]

---

[1] Location in New York state, east of the Hudson River.

[2] Based on the letter's contents, the year is probably 1779, just prior to the battle of Stony Point (July 16, 1779) during the American Revolutionary War.

[3] Sally Blackden (née Stoddard), the sister of the letter's author, Josiah Stoddard.

[4] Presumably Samuel Blackden, Sally's husband.

[5] Unknown person.

[6] George Washington (1732-1799), first U.S. president (1789-1797).

[7] River in New York state.

[8] Josiah Stoddard, the brother of the letter's addresse, Sally Blacken (née Stoddard).

[9] Presumably Salisbury, Connecticut.

[10] Unknown person.

Marlbro'
Massachusetts[11]

Front right:

D[ea]r. Sir –
Camp May 25th
By last Post I acknowledged
the receipt of your papers, and gave
you a description of our situation.
No alteration has as yet taken place,
and God knows how long I shall be
kept in this disagreeable State of
Suspense – Doctor Townshend, whom
I beg leave to introduce to you,
can acquaint you particularly
with every thing relative to the
Army – The only inducement I
have to continuing a moment
longer is the prospect of receiving
a Sum of money on our c[a]s[e]. [?] being

Back left:

dismissed, for I am most heartily
disgusted with my situation –
Please to remember me
affectionat[e]ly [affectionally?] to my Aunt & the
rest of the Family, and believe
me to be with perfect Esteem
D[ea]r. Sir Y[ou]r. Ob[e]die[n]t
[illegible flourished initials, perhaps Std = Stoddard? or SB = Samuel Blackden?]

Back right: [blank]

*Edition: Letter 27, [Sally Blackden?] to Lydia Eldredge,*
*June 23, [year unknown], New York, [New York]*

Front right:

June 23d New York
My dear Sister
Since put[t]ing your letter into
the Post Office I hav[e] a letter from Mr and
Mrs Barlow[12] requesting me to set off

[11] Marlborough, location in Massachusetts.

[12] Presumably a reference to Joel Barlow (1754-1812), an American diplomat, and his wife.

Immediately for Washington[13] that is to
make them a Visit ~~pro~~ [deletion] for two or three or
Six months provided the embargo[14] shou[l]d
not be taken off which for the present
prevents me from going to Curraçoa [Curaçao][15] – my
extreme dependant Situation leaves me
no alternative I am obliged to go [.] Shall
Set of on Monday next – and shall
return when I can do better perhaps in
two months – I regret very much that I
Cannot see you before I go and that I
shall be at such a distance from our
Mother [.] she is becoming very weak and
feeble and requires constant care and

Back left:

attention [.] I had a severe tryal in my
Last visit to her I took my bed with
me and staid in the house with her
fur [= for] near four weeks – I washed and
I canned and made and mended fur [= for] her
till I got her quite comfortable [.]
Richard Stoddard[16] give [= gave] her some money
which she had prudence enough to lay out
in wheat and tea sugar and such things
is [= as] she wanted [.] I added somthings in shant [?]
I have done all I can do for the present
she has striped me – they have now some
grains of various sorts coming on they have
Butter and cheese [,] Indians [?] meal and some
flour [,] and I cannot help thinking they
may get thro[ugh] another winter tolarabley
comfortable – if you can [,] and I am sure you
will if possible send her two pairs of
soft coarse woolen stockings and another
Patticoat [= petticoat] and old one is just is [=as] good as
a new one [.] I ask[e]d mother how

[13] Washington, D.C.

[14] In the context of the American Revolutionary War, there were several embargoes in place, for example, a British embargo preventing American trade with the West Indies.

[15] Curaçao, Caribbean island.

[16] Presumably a relative of the letter's author and addressee.

Back right:

Capt[ain] Holmes[17] behaved [.] she told me he
Behaved is [= as] well is [= as] any body that was
Born in the old Country that was almost
a natural fool – your letter is to be
answered and highly & [?] [to] your satisfaction [.]
they want to see you and Olive[18] very much [.]
Mother told me Olive wou[l]d put up with
anything and live any way – she seem[e]d
pleas[e]d howiver [= however] at last that I took all the work
upon myself and cook for Holmes which
By the way I had rather provide fur [= for] Gen [?]
B [hole in paper] but on the whole we did pretty well
and mother was very much pleas[e]d to have
talk to Holmes and tell him that she
must do no more work [.] I knew she
allways hated work and that she now
felt unable to do anything – indeed I
saw in my mother my own helpless
situation when a child and what she had
done fur [= for] me when unable to do fur [= for] my
self wis [= was] now dice [= nowadays] to her and most

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand, pencil] June 23, From New York [stamp: PAID] [stamp: NEW YORK JUN 23] [different hand] BB [Betsey Bennet?] Beuly [?] [scribbled] Another letter [?]

20
willingly wou[l]d I devote my time to
her if I cou[l]d [.] Love to your Family
and am affectionally yours
SB – [= Sally Blackden?]
tell Lydia[19] and Polly[20]
to write me to New York is [= as] usual on Betsey
Bennet[21] [.] one letter will do [.] Postage is expensive
Love to Mrs Staunton[22] and tell her

[17] Unknown person.

[18] Presumably a relative of the letter's author and addressee.

[19] Presumably a relative of the letter's author and addressee.

[20] Presumably a relative of the letter's author and addressee.

[21] Unknown person.

[22] Unknown person.

I have nothing yet worth writing
about
Mrs. Lydia Eldredge[23]
Burlington[24]
Vermont

*Edition: Letter 28, [Samuel Blackden?] to Sally [Blackden], [date unknown], [location unknown]*

Front: [missing portion at the top, subsequent 14 line-endings on this page cut off at the right; missing portion at the bottom]

[…]
I must confess that The Reas[on I …]
write you particularly of my Ilness was [not to …]
make you any way weary with The Fr[iend …]
you had so long Neglected – [?] as offers […?]
Appearances Let me ask my D[ear] Girl Wh[at …]
Imagine […] yours or […]
of Writing and you Neglecting Think – […]
However no scolding; Let us […]
Strive to Render our lives agreable by always […]
everything that may ad[d] to each others happynes[s] […]
you and Rain one Smile on That Lovely Fa[ce …]
more delight than The Applause of Thousands […]
by Dr. Wheeler[25] Who will be here in a few Days . […]
I may that a Moment to Come to Salisbury[26] – […]
With what pleasure do I set [sit?] down to perform my promise to My
Lovely Sally![27] to Repeat to her my sincere Wishes for her Health
Happiness and Contentment During my Absense which shall
not be longer than Necessity absolutely Requires, When I will
with the Blessing of Heaven Return to my Charmer, with
A Heart Running over with Transport and Extacy!, and
Crown our Mutual Wishes with Glowing Ardor – .
And Now Let me remind [m]y Sally, of her promise
[…]

Back: [modern hand, pencil] 31 [traces of red wax seal]

---

[23] The sister of the letter's author.

[24] Location in Vermont.

[25] Unknown person.

[26] Presumably Salisbury, Connecticut.

[27] Presumably Sally Blackden, the letter's addressee.

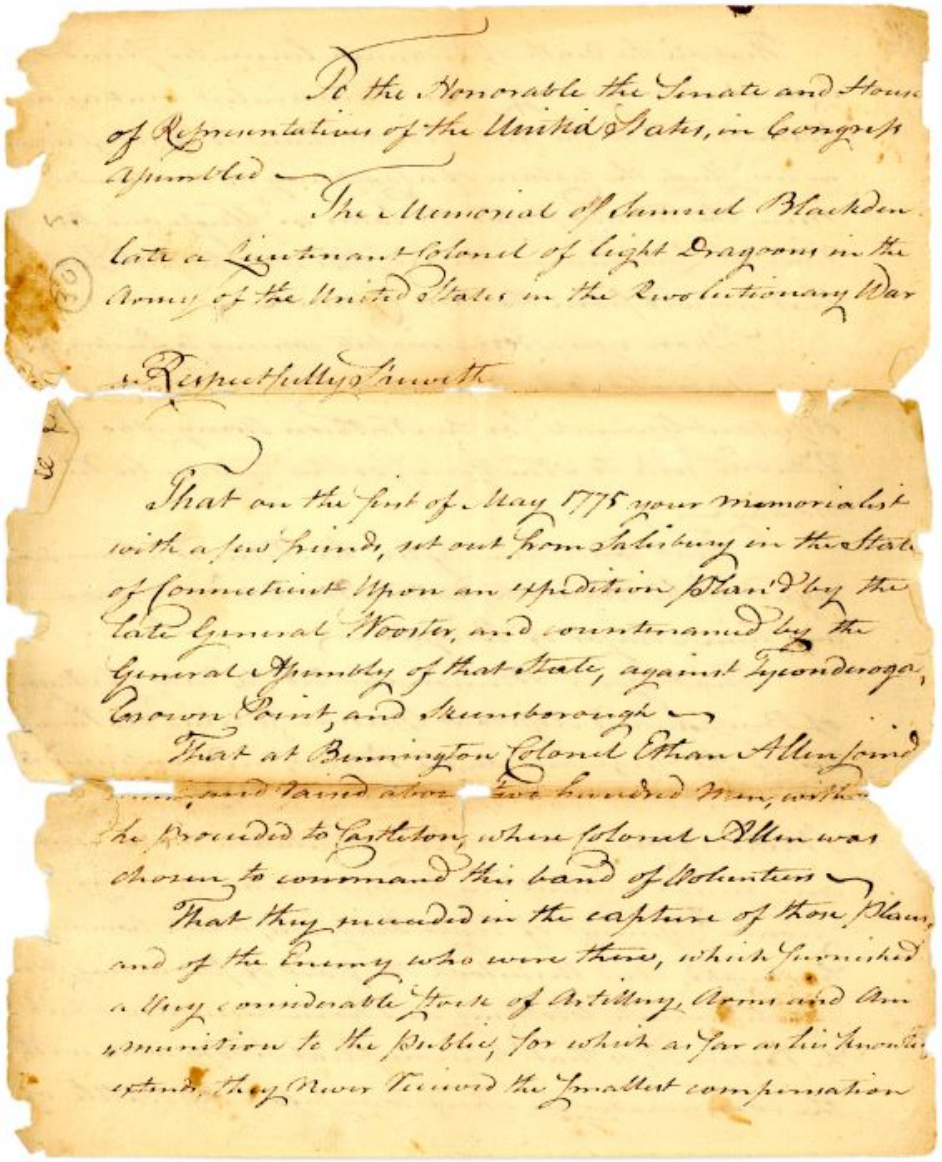

*Figure 1: Letter 29, Samuel Blackden to the U.S. Congress, page 1.*

*Edition: Letter 29, Samuel Blackden to the U.S. Congress, [before January 11, 1802], [location unknown]*

Page 1:

To the Honorable the Senate and House
of Representatives of the Unitid States, in Congress
assembled –
The Memorial of Samuel Blackden[28]
late a Lieutenant Colonel of light Dragoons in the

[28] According to *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 36 (December 1, 1801, to March 3, 1802), 274, Samuel Blackden died before January 11, 1802, when his widow Sarah Blackden continued his petitions.

Army of the United States in the Revolutionary War
Respectfully Sheweth
That on the first of May 1775 your memorialist[29]
with a few friends, set out from Salisbury in the Stat[e]
of Connecticut Upon an expedition Plan'[ne]d by the
late General Wooster,[30] and countenanced by the
General Assembly of that State, against Tyconderoga,[31]
Crown Point,[32] and Skeensborough[33] –
That at Bennington[34] Colonel Ethan Allen[35] join[e]d
[them] […], and raised abov[e] two hundred men, with [whom]
he proceeded to Castleton,[36] where Colonel Allen was
chosen to command this band of Volunteers –
That they succeeded in the capture of those Places
and of the Enemy who were there, which furnished
a Very considerable stock of artillery, arms and am[-]
munition to the Public, for which as far as his knowled[ge]
extends, they never received the smallest compensation

Page 2:

That on the death of his much lamented friend
General Montgomery,[37] your memorialist went as a
Volunteer with the first reinforcement to Quebec,[38] carrying
in his sleigh the Captain of a Company of one hundred
men, the rest also passed the lakes in sleighs and the
river St. Lawrence[39] on the ice, this was the first Party
that arrived from the then Colonies –
Upon your memorialists coming to Quebec, he
[was] […] Appointed to do the duty of Colonel Flem[in]g,[40] […]
Adjutant General for the Northern Army who ha[d]
Returned sick to New York, for this service he receiv[ed]

---

[29] Samuel Blackden refers to himself as the "memorialist," i.e., the author of this memorial.

[30] David Wooster (1711-1777).

[31] Ticonderoga, location in New York state.

[32] Location in New York state.

[33] Skenesborough (Whitehall), location in New York state.

[34] Location in Vermont.

[35] Ethan Allen (1738-1789).

[36] Location in Vermont.

[37] Richard Montgomery (1738-1775).

[38] Location in modern-day Canada.

[39] St. Lawrence River, between today's Canadian province of Ontario and New York state.

[40] William Fleming (1727-1795).

no pay –
That some time after he received a Commission
signed John Hancock,[41] dated April 4.th 1776. appoin[-]
ing him Major of Brigade –
That your memorialist did the duty of Major
of Brigade and Adjutant General, during the remain[-]
der of the siege and on the retreat, and continued to
serve until he was appointed by his Excellency Gen[eral.]
Washington without any solicitation on his part
and much against his personal interest, Major o[f]
Second Regiment of light Dragoons, which commis[sion]
he accepted, and undertook the part of procuring, arms
accoutrements, clothing and horse furniture, which
he perform'[e]d, so that five compleat Troops, were with
the Commander in chief long before the Battle of

Page 3:

Brandywine,[42] and the sixth troop to the northwar[d]
with General Gates, –
That after the Battles of Brandwine and Germantow[n][43]
when the army hutted at Valley Forge,[44] the General was
pleased to give your memorialist a Commission as Lieutenan[t]
Colonel of Cavalry to take rank from the 7.th of April pre[-]
ceding, which was then considered as equal to a Colonel
of Infantry, and by this Commission to take rank from
the Seventh of April preceding, this though of no personal
advantage to your memorialist he considers as a Mark
of kind attention and of the approbation of his General
which he is proud to possess and to cherish –
That in the Summer of 1779. the affairs of the Second
Regiment to which your memorialist was attached
were in such as situation that he wished to retire, and
after a conference and correspondence with the Commander
in Chief he received a discharge which accompanies this –
That soon after the Board of War employed your
memorialist in the clothing department, in which [he]
continued during the War –
So that if your memorialist was not in the fight[-]

---

[41] John Hancock (1737-1793).

[42] Fought on September 11, 1777, in Pennsylvania.

[43] Fought on October 4, 1777, in Pennsylvania.

[44] Location in Pennsylvania.

ing department of the Army at the exact time when
depreciation of Pay, commutation of half Pay, and
donations of land were granted, yet he was more early
engaged in the cause of Liberty and independence than
many of his comrades, and as laboriously as any
to the conclusion of the War, which makes a term of Eight

Page 4:

Eight years and four months, to wit from the taking o[f]
Tyconderoga in May 1775 to August 1779. four years and
and four months in arms, and four years in the staff
department –
At the conclusion of the War having expended
more than half his property in the course of his servic[e]
your memorialist went to Europe and was out of the
way at the time of making application for compe[n][-]
sation for service render[e]d the Unites States […]
ever intend to trouble your Honourable Body on the
subject – But an accidental fall has put him Upon
crutches for more than six years past whilst the endea[-]
vours for effecting a cure, have been attended with
much expense without any success –
That in his present crippled situation your
memorialist does not conceive any mode of application
so proper as a direct one to the justice of the Govern[ment]
of his Country who have so liberally voted compen[sation]
to Mess[ieur].rs La Fayette[45] and Kosinsko[46] –
When your memorialist retired from the
Regiment he settled all public accounts, as well as
with the Paymaster from who he received 1173 – [former?]
dollars balance of Pay which upon faith in the promise
of the public he has preserved, and will be found with
the Papers accompanying this memorial –

Note: [the document ends here, subsequent pages appear to be missing] [modern hand, pencil] 30

[45] Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834).

[46] Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746-1817).

*Edition: Letter 30, S[amuel]. Blackden to Sally [Blackden], [date unknown], "Lovels lower End of Sharon" [Beaver Co., Pennsylvania?]*

Front:

Lovels lower End of Sharon[47]
Wednesday Afternoon –
My Dear Sally –
We are detain[e]d here by the Storm, I am
Very unhappy to think it shou[l]d happen Just at this distance
If it had been at home it wou[l]d have been well, but
Over [?] twenty miles farther on our Road ~~it~~ wou[l]d have suited our
[…] with the Auditors – however we must submit
I came away in such hurry that I
forgot many things I intended to say Respecting business
but hope you will be able to prepare things for
Winter Comfortably –
Aron Owen[48] is to get out the Manure
and spread it on the Meadows for ten pounds –
If you can get <u>any man</u> to help Jacob[49]
have some wood got home before bad Weather comes
[i]n – be very careful in saving your pork. don't
spare salt – If Everrit[50] [?] has not sent for
the Hides, lit [= let] <u>Green</u>[51] have them, Capt[ain]. Burhale[52] will
Weigh them and Give you the Weight –
You shall hear from me in a few days
in the Mean time Heavens preserve you –
S. Blackden

Back: [modern hand, pencil] Lowls, lower end of [Sh]aron, [t]o Sally, [fr]om S. Blagden, 11 or 12

*Edition: Letter 31, [author unknown] to Sally Blackden, [date unknown], "No. 32 Courtland Street" [location unknown]*

Front left: [blank, traces of red wax seal]

Front right: [traces of red wax seal]

No. 32 Courtland Street
You have frequently observ[e]d to me my Dear Mrs. Blackden

---

[47] Presumably a location in Beaver Co., Pennsylvania.

[48] Unknown person.

[49] Unknown person.

[50] Unknown person.

[51] Unknown person.

[52] Unknown person.

that you thought me unhappy – I felt a delicacy in telling
you the cause lest you shou[l]d consider it less a grievance than I do –
I shou[l]d still continue to conceal it if there was not some
probability of redress if I knew who to apply to –
My friends with whom I have been living about four years
have been extrem[e]ly kind to me - & have forbore urging
me to connect myself tho[ugh] I have had one or two elegeble
opportunities – one has lately presented which they consider
too advantageous to be neglected – he is a man of sense
Education & property – but so very unlike the person with
whom I have liv[e]d – that it appears to me impossible to
reconcile my feelings to such a connection - & were my
pecuniary circumstances such as I cou[l]d wish I wou[l]d never
do it – but you know my anxiety for my Dear little William,[53]
– I can sacrafise my own happyness for his benefit &
will do it if it is necessary
I have property Mrs. Blackden which wou[l]d enable me
to live independent of my friends if it was differently
[…] – I have land in Ontario County[54] worth fifteen hund-
[dred] of two thousand dollars – and which is daily growing
more valuable – but which if sold now wou[l]d not prehaps [sic]
fetch half its value – if I cou[l]d put that in pledge, or
sell it to some person who has the property to spare
& who wou[l]d not take advantage of my necessity – I
cou[l]d get me a small place in some agreeable neighbour[-]
hood – where with economy & the interest of one thousand
dollars I have in the funds I cou[l]d support myself & child
with decency.

Back left: [traces of red wax seal]

I have been thinking – that was I personally acquainted with
Mr. Burr[55] I wou[l]d make known my situation to him – not
merely on account of his having "A tear for pitty & a hand
for melting charity"[56] but he was a particular friend of
my husbands – I think I have heard you say Mrs. Blackden
that you had some acquaintance with him – if you have
enough to justify you in making an aplication for me
& think there is no impropriety in doint it – I am too well

[53] Presumably the son of the letter's author.

[54] Location in New York state.

[55] Unknown person.

[56] Quote from William Shakespeare's play *Henry IV: Part 2*, act 4, scene 3, slightly adapted.

convinc'[e]d of your friendship to suppose you need urging –
If you shou[l]d think propper my Dear Mrs. Bl[ackden] –
to interest your self in this business – I must beg of you
not to let him know my name unless he is sure he
can befriend me – I find that my misfortunes have
not yet subdued My Pride
I wou[l]d just hint to you, that this business must be
done soon if ever – as I have staid in town only to try
to adopt some plan - & have engag[e]d to give a <u>decisive</u>
answer by the twentieth of May
I am willing that you shou[l]d let your husband see
this, & that you conduct it as you & he may think proper
with confidence & esteem yours [name cut out]

Back right: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand, pencil] 16, From –, 32 Courtland St., no date

Mrs. Sally Blackden
No. 260 Pearl street

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Trenton Buzzone and Jessica Parker (editors)

# *"True friendship is the noblest gift": The Album of Memory of Jennie Farr (1858-1882)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
University Archives and Special Collections.
S-887.
Rare & Unusual Books,
Pamphlets & Manuscripts of the 15th-20th Centuries Collection.
Album of Memory.
May 1, 1858, to August 29, 1882.
One volume.

*Introduction*

The following is a critical edition of the *Album of Memory* owned by Mrs. C. W. Farr (née Jennie Richards), contained in a black-leather-bound volume of seventy-four pages with gold embossed lettering on the cover. The manuscript is held in the University Archives and Special Collections at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), purchased from an unknown vendor (Larson's?) in September 1968 for $3.00. Measuring twenty-one by seventeen centimeters, there are twenty-seven entries which include engravings, drawings, and written entries; the rest of the pages has remained unused and blank (with the exception of engraved pictures that were included by the printer). The pages are well preserved, and the entries were made with dark ink, either blue or black. There is one drawing that has been colorized (Page 17).

Mrs. Farr's album begins with her preliminary dedication in 1858 (before the Civil War, during the height of this type of album's popularity in America) and spans over two decades until 1882 with entries from nineteen separate authors, including men and women, as well as Mrs. Farr herself, from four separate states, namely, Illinois, Iowa, California, and Massachusetts. Some of the entries include bits of poems or hymns, a few have original drawings, and there are five professionally engraved pages that were part of the original album. The tone of the entries suggests that most of the authors are close friends of Mrs. Farr's and are sad to be parted from her; one exception—albeit sharing in the same sentiment—is an entry by a "collective," namely, the Sigourney Literary and Historical Society. It is unclear whether Mrs. Farr moved to Sigourney, Iowa, from California and had left the book with the friends she was leaving behind, or whether Mrs. Farr had moved to California from Iowa, and these were her new acquaintances. Entries from 1858, 1859, and 1869 were composed by people in Sigourney; entries from 1879 were composed in Santa Barbara, California, and by 1882, entries were composed in Santa Ana, California.

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Little information can be found about Mrs. Farr outside the manuscript itself, which provides the minimal information that she received the book in 1858 while unmarried (she signs the book as Jennie Richards) and living in Sigourney, Iowa. Sometime between 1858 and 1865, she married a Mr. C. W. Farr, as an entry on Page 18, dated to 1865, is addressed to "Mrs. Farr." Most of the entries are by people from Southern California—Goleta, Santa Barbara, and Santa Ana—with a few entries from Sigourney (The Literary and Historical Society and "Gregg"), and one each from Illinois and Massachusetts. The sequence of entries sheds little light on where Mrs. Farr was geographically, as they are not in chronological order (perhaps individual authors had "reserved" their pages in advance?).

While not a historical account of the years between 1858 and 1882, Mrs. Farr's album does illuminate specific social aspects not commonly detailed in other accounts—namely the communication and interaction of women in the mid-nineteenth century. While we have little information about Mrs. Farr herself, some of the authors of the entries in her book are rather well known. Willella and A. J. Howe were prominent doctors in Santa Ana, the Kelloggs (Mary, Fannie, and F. E.) came from prominent farming families in Santa Barbara County and Napa Valley, and Lydia Dearing was the wife of a well-known Methodist minister in Santa Ana. Many of the entries are bits of poems or hymns, some of them actually edited from their original versions to fit the author's intended message to their friend, and a majority of the entries were made by women. That Mrs. Farr knew these individuals well enough to have them complete entries in her book suggests a circle of acquaintances who were well-to-do and well-educated. Readers will also notice that there is little mention of the American Civil War, and only one entry was made during the war (April 1865). This could be a reflection of Mrs. Farr and her friends' social status or—just as likely—a reflection on Iowa's and California's status during the war as sites of non-aggression (they mostly assisted the war effort monetarily and with supplies). On an academic note, the poems and hymns quoted by the authors also inform readers what types of literature were popular during these decades, especially since many of the entries are direct copies from magazines, newspapers, and books. In addition, the engraved plates contained in this album were ubiquitous in these types of albums: in fact, when searching online for other *Albums of Memory*, many of the same engravings appear.

As a literary type, the *Album of Memory* is the descendent of the "autograph book," exchanged among friends and colleagues to be filled with poems, drawings, personal messages, small pieces of verse, and other mementos. The more remote origin is a practice among graduating university students in late medieval Europe to have their personal Bibles signed by classmates and instructors. These signatures expanded to actual messages, poetry, and sketches, and publication companies later responded by appending blank pages at the end of newly published Bibles. Eventually, publishers began offering small, decorated books with only blank pages. These early "books of friends" or

"friendship books" were common throughout Germany by the end of the sixteenth century, and students kept the books with signatures from their instructors and classmates, which began to function as a sort of scholarly credential, depending on who had signed. German immigrants transported the tradition to American culture in the late eighteenth century, but they were replaced in popularity after the Civil War era by yearbooks, though young women were known to continue using them. Overall, Mrs. Farr's "book of friends" shows the social circle of an educated woman and the types of literature she and her friends enjoyed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The transcription below preserves the lines, spelling, capitalization, and underlinings of the original. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets. Loss and illegible deletions are indicated by three dots enclosed by square brackets.

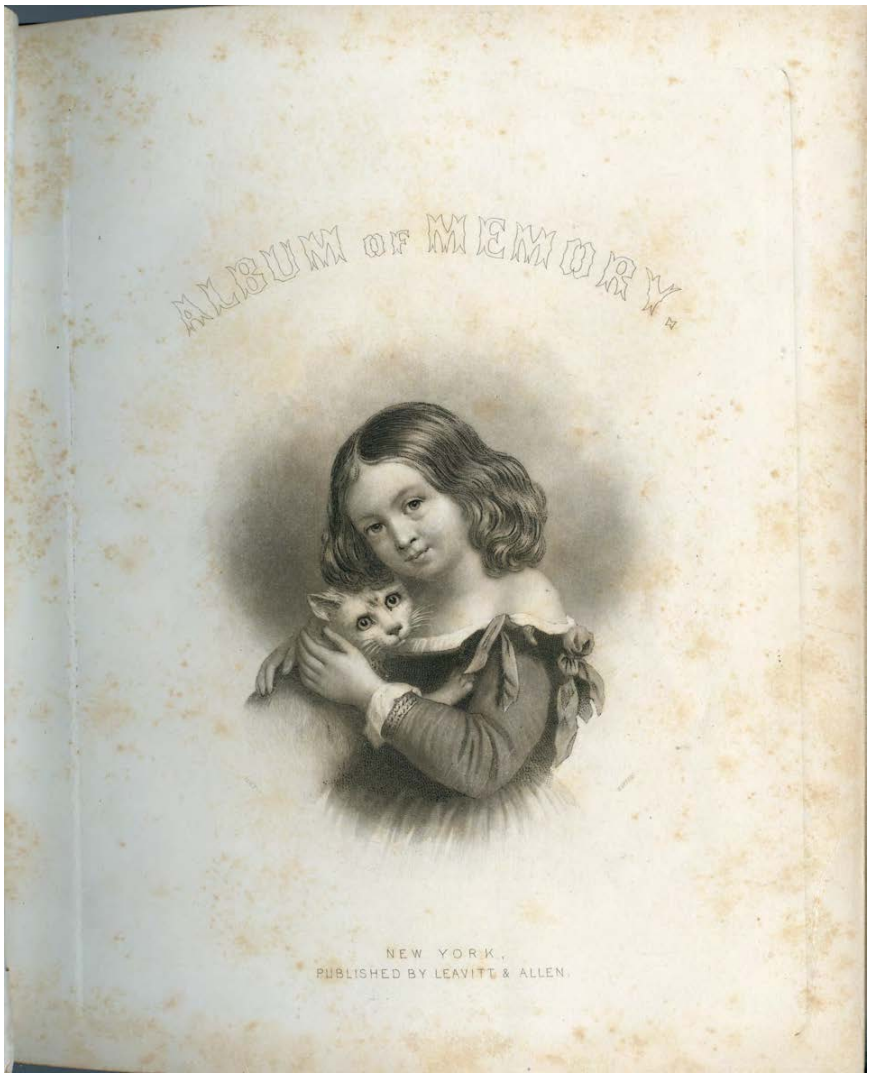


*Figure 1: Album of Memory, page 4.*

*Edition*

Cover: [Black leather, embossed, with the book's decorated title ("Album of Memory" in gold.]

Page 1: [top left of page] 3$^{00}$ [top middle of page, different hand] 200192 [top right of page, same hand as first] Rare [white circular sticker below, about ¼ inch diameter] S887 [bottom left side along edge, different hand] 9/68 Larson's 3.00 [bottom middle of page, same hand as previous] Cal-State Fullerton

Miss Jennie Richards' Album,
Presented By A Friend,
Sigourney Iowa[1]. May 1st, 1858

Page 2:

Preliminary
This little volume will, I hope, in time
become to me, a casket in which
friendship's richest jewels may be found.
From this as from a mirror, will be
reflected on "Life's meandering way," the
fond remembrance of other days.
Upon the perusal of each line,
as verse, or gem of precious thought,
which in this book shall be traced; or
when I scan the well known initials which shall
here be found, what pleasant recollections of bygone
days will march along the line of memory's
beaten course.[2] Oh: This will reappear the scenes
of other days, scenes forever passed; but
never to be forgotten.
With these few words of hasty thought,
I now leave thee, little book to fill thy
mission; may angels guard thee, and may the hands that from time, to time, shall
touch thee be unstained
by sin; and may they work for thee moral
renovation of the human race, a cause for which
I always shall aspire.
Jennie. R_____

[1] Small town settled in 1843 in Keokuk County, Iowa. Named for nineteenth-century American poet Lydia Sigourney (1791-1865). Population remained under 1,000 residents until the 1880 census.

[2] Where a word is underlined with dots, it is a reflection of the author creating a double underline, with the top line solid and the second line dotted. On this page, this type of underline only appears twice, under "course" and "other days."

Page 3: [Engraving of a young woman wearing an off-shoulder dress painting under a tree while looking off frame. The engraving is framed by an antique ivy pattern with the title "Sketching / from / Nature" included in the bottom of the framing. Under the ivy frame on the left side in small printed letters is "Wm. Barcley," on the right side is "Illman & Sons."[3]]

Page 4: [In a concave arch is the title "Album of Memory" in jagged, hollow lettering above a picture of a young girl in an off-the-shoulder dress holding a cat and looking out at the reader. At the bottom of the engraving is printed in small capital letters "New York, / Published by Leavitt & Allen.[4]"]

Page 5: [The pages with written entries are more yellowed than the pages with engravings, suggesting a different writing material. This page is written in the same hand as Page 2 with similar ink and underlining style, but instead of a double line, the author uses one solid line over a dotted line. The entry continues onto the back of the page.]

To My[5] Friend. (Who Gave Me This Book.)
How sadly sounds the word farewell,
When friends are doomed to sever;
It may be for a little while,
Or it may be forever.
For life hangs by a brittle cord,
Which may be quickly broken;
While still within the mind remains,
True friendships words last spoken.
I cannot say farewell to thee,
Without regretful feeling;
Without a friendly tear upon my cheek,
A trace of pain revealing.
For thou hast brightened many hours,
Which sorrow else would have shaded.
And kindly strewn with friendship's flowers,
A path by thorns invaded.
True friendship is the noblest gift,
That God to us has given;

---

[3] Prolific and high-profile engraving and printing firm in Philadelphia, founded by Englishman Thomas Illman and his two sons. Upon Thomas's death in 1845, his five brothers took over the business as the Illman Brothers (famous for historical and fashion engravings), and his sons continued on in a separate firm, Illman Sons.

[4] Publishing firm located in Manhattan, the partnership of George Ayres Leavitt (son of Jonathan Leavitt, a Massachusetts bookbinder, who founded several of New York's earliest publishing firms) and his classmate John K. Allen. The two took over Leavitt's father's publishing house on his death in 1851, renamed the firm Leavitt & Allen, and expanded the firm until its collapse during the American Civil War due to credit issues.

[5] Where a word is underlined with dots, it is a reflection of the author creating a double underline, with the top line solid and the second line dotted. On this page, all of the underlines are of this type.

Page 6:

And 'though the plant in this cold world may grow
The flowers will bloom again—In Heaven.
Then please accept this (my humble tribute;)
As fadeless friendship's token;
I will think of thee, (wilt though of me?)
'Till memory's spell be broken.
Sigourney Iowa. Jennie R____
Jan' 25th 1859.

Page 7: [The engraving is of a small female child in a short dress and hat, asleep under a tree, while her dog kills a snake that was set to attack. The engraving is titled "Trusty Guardian," which is written underneath. Unlike other plates, this one does not indicate the printer or engraver.]

Page 8:

Lulu Howe[6]
My Very Dear Mrs. Farr:_
Other friends may crave for you a
life devoid of shadows and a path strewn with
flowers; but I know you will think the sunshine
all the brighter after the clouds have drifted away.
If our earthly home were our
vast gardens, from which we could gather flowers at
will, we would soon tire of their fragrance and
beauty. God knew what was best for us when he bade
the rose to spring up by the thistle, and cast
the stones in the way in which our feet should
tread. Let us live (you and I) ever
thankful for the sunshine and never murmur at
the shadows life's trials will cast upon us.
Santa Ana, Los Angeles So. Cal.
August, 28th 1882.
Willella Howe[7]
Yours truly
Willella Howe

Page 9:

Santa Ana, Aug, 28, 1882.

---

[6] Willella and A. J. Howe's oldest of two daughters. Born in 1875, she would have been 7 or 8 when she signed the album above her mother's entry.

[7] Willella Earhart Howe-Waffle, one of the first female doctors in Orange County, California; she practiced for 38 years. Her house is currently preserved by the Santa Ana Historical Society as the Howe-Waffle House and Medical Museum, an 1889 Queen Anne style home in Santa Ana.

With best wishes for your
future health and prosperity
I am yours truly
A.J. Howe[8]

Page 10:

"Better to weave in the web of life
A bright and golden filling.
And to do God's will with a ready heart,
And hands that are waiting and willing.
Than to snap the delicate minute threads
Your curious life asunder,
And then blame Heaven for the tangled ends,
And sit and weep and wonder."[9]
Yours Ever. N E. Lacy.
Santa Barbara. June 12. 1879.

Page 11: [The writing here is especially difficult to read, not only because of the loose handwriting but also several misspellings of words. Spelling by the author are indicated below by [sic].]

To Miss Jennie
Since I have the honour [sic] with those who
may from time to time deck thes [sic] pages to
inscribe a few lines in remembrance
of the past
May Some Kind Spirit
inspire my mind to breathe [?] Some thought
by which I may be remembered
When past Scenes are
being forgotten lend a thought for
the writer of these lines and maybe
claim an interest in Your Prayer
and well wishes
May Joys perpetual greet
Your way and in wisdom as in
Years advance and may You Ever
be Happy through Life and through
Eternily [sic] is this wish of Your Friend
Gregg

[8] Dr. Alvin J. Howe, Willella's first husband. They divorced in 1897.

[9] Part of a work by Mary Frances Tucker (née Tyler), an American poet, which made the rounds of several publications in the 1870s. The poem is alternatively titled "The Golden Side" or "The Bright Side."

Sigourney Iowa February 19. 1869

Page 12:

"Oh, why and wither? God knows all;
I only know that he is good,
And that whatever may befall
On here or there, must be the best that
could.
For he is merciful as just;
And so, by faith connecting sight,
I bow before his will, and trust
However they seem he doeth all things
right."[10]
Feb. 25, 1879
Mrs. A. J. Ellison
Goleta Cal.

Page 13:

"There is a scene where spirits blend.
Where friend holds fellowship with friend
Though sundered far, by faith we meet
Around one common Mercy Seat"[11]
A. W. & C. C. Clark
August 16th 1879
Santa Barbara
Cal

Page 14: [This entry is a whimsical drawing of a bird and what looks like wheat stalks. Within the drawing, its author/artist has written: "compliments / Elmer E. Foster / Jacksonville, Ill."]

Page 15:

To Miss Jennie R.
In behalf of the Sigourney Literary and
Historical Society we tender you our
thanks for the Interest you have taken
in our Society during your Stay in.
our village and as often as you may
Chance to look on this page to

[10] Part of a much longer poem, titled "The Shadow and the Light," by John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) in 1860, inspired by St. Augustine's *Soliloquies*, Book VII.

[11] From the hymn, "From Ev'ry Stormy Wind that Blows," based on Exodus 25:21. Text written by Hugh Stowell (1799-1865), a minister in the Church of England, and published in *The Winter's Wreath: A Collection of Original Compositions in Prose and Verse*, from 1828. He rewrote the hymn in 1831 to be accompanied by music in church service.

remember that we regret very much
your departure and the loss of your
presence at our Meetings.
We hope to retain you as a friend
of the Society generally and to have the
Satisfaction of believing that if remooved [sic]
far from us as a Society we still have
in you the Same friend
Should you ever return to our
village again we hope to greet you
with that Same Friendship and
be able to Exibite [sic] the Society as Flourishing
and prosperous as ever
With Much Esteem
S. L. & H Society
Through the President

> Page 16: [The engraving is of an official looking man in a coat and hat, speaking with a woman in a bonnet and dark dress on her doorstep, with a forest in the background. The woman's daughter is pulling a small toy which the man's dog is watching. The engraving is titled "The Widow" and does have the names of the printer and engraver at the bottom left and right of respectively. While the name of the printer is illegible, the name of the engraver appears to be A. Robin]
>
> Page 17: [The entry is surrounded by a hand-colored wreath of leaves and blue flowers, probably forget-me-nots, likely done in colored pencil or pen as there is no impression on the opposite side of the page. All text below is encased within the wreath's borders.]

Mrs. C. W. Farr.
Santa Barbara_Cal
"There are a thousand nameless ties
Which only such as feel them know;
Of kindred thoughts, deep sympathies,
And untold fancy shells, which throw
O'er ardent minds and faithful hearts
A chain, whose charmed links do blend
That the light circles but imparts
It's force in these fond words—my friend."[12]
Oh! Let my friendship in the wreath,
Though but a bud among the flowers,
Its sweetest fragrance round thee breathe—
In memory of past days and hours.

[12] This first part is a sampling from a poem titled "Friendship" by American poet Anna Peyre Dinnies (1805-1886). The second composition seems to be original to the author of the page.

Mary Kellogg[13]
1878

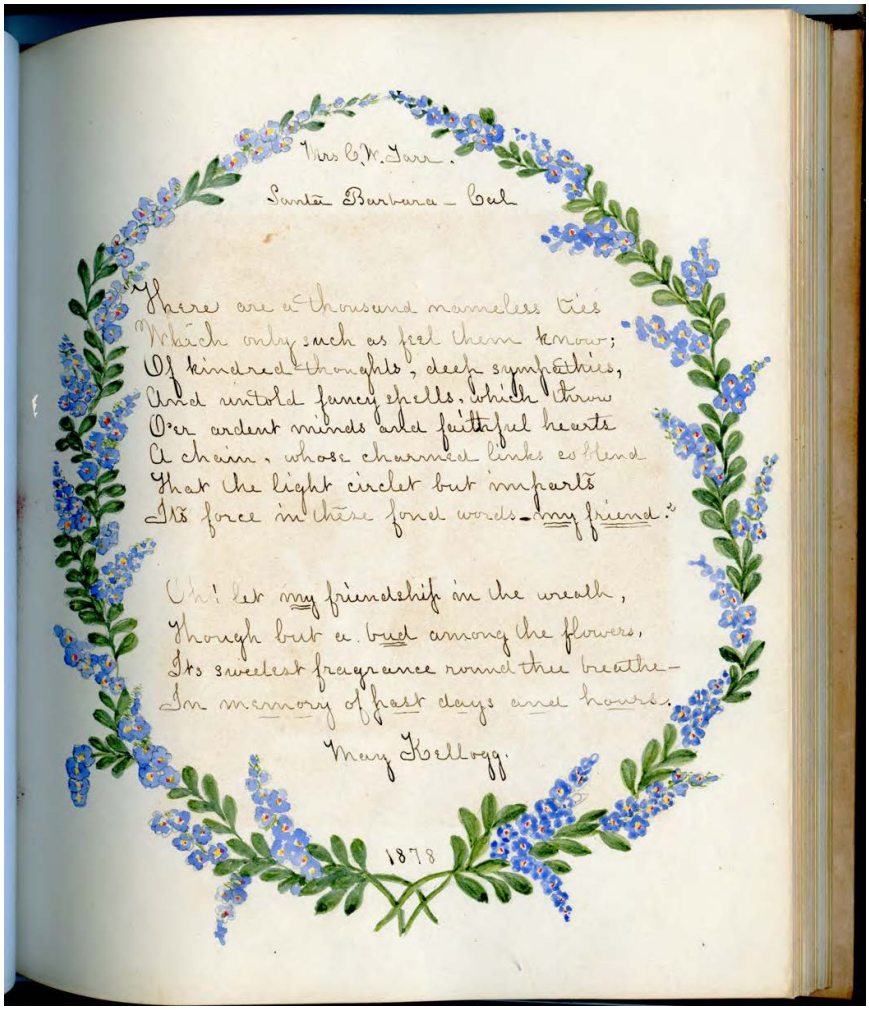


*Figure 2: Album of Memory, page 17.*

Page 18:

For Mrs Farr's Album
Fair book: thou art memory's treasure
To shrine in the depth of the heart—
A charm, to awaken new pleasure
When others, less cherished, depart.
And love, truth, and friendship forever
Shall sparkle the brightest for thee,

[13] Mary Elizabeth Kellogg (1857-1941) was the daughter of Benjamin F. E. Kellogg and cousin of Franklin Kellogg, whose entry is on Page 20 of this manuscript. In 1880, she married Byron Orlando Clark, a prominent Pasadena planter. Mary moved to northern California after her husband's death and was a Red Cross worker in Butte County during World War I.

Till death all these friends dissever,
And memory ceases to be.[14]
Sarah. F. Chesnutwood[sic].[15]
April the 6, 1865.

Page 19:

In pleasant and loving remembrance,
Of our first days in Santa Ana.
Minnie Gardner,[16]
Nantucket
Aug 19th 1882
Mass.

Page 20: [The entry on this page is a large drawing of what looks like Minerva (from the California state seal) on the left side of the page, walking in the direction of the bottom left corner of the page and looking to her left at a centurion, walking directly toward the page's edge on the right. Both are holding a long scroll that reads, "in God we trust." Below them is a large, unfurled scroll with two columns containing Psalm 20:7 on the left and Psalm 46:3 on the right, and the signatures of the authors of this entry below each Psalm column.]

"Some trust
in chariots, and
some in horses:
but we will
remember the
name of the
Lord our God."
Psalm-20-7.
Fannie Kellogg
"He shall
subdue the
people under
us, and the
nations
under our
feet."

[14] A generic album dedication, written by Helen Augusta Brown found in *Peterson Magazine*, Volumes 45-46 (1864), which had a collection of engravings, poems, short stories, etc.

[15] Presumably this is meant to be "Chestnutwood," with the author leaving out the first "t."

[16] Daughter of Lydia M. Dearing (Page 27 of this manuscript) and the latter's first husband Charles P. Gardner. Minnie would have been 15 years old at this time, possibly visiting from Massachusetts where she lived with her father, while her mother had moved to Santa Ana, California, with her new husband, the Reverend Dearing.

Psalm 46:3[17]
F. E. Kellogg[18]
Goleta-March
7th 1879
California.

Page 21:

"Fear not, for I am with thee: be not dismayed
For I am thy God" Isa. 41-10.
"The wind may blow, and the billow roll,
Hope is the anchor of our soul;
In fastens on a land unknown,
And moors us to our Father's throne."[19]
Very Truly Yours
G. E. Brand
Santa Barbara
May 19" 1879

Page 22:

Santa Barbara
May 20th 1879
In moments of darkness should
deep rooted sorrow
Refuse to thy heart the relief of a tear
What deep grueling sympathies
still it may borrow
From fountains that friendships
Will open thee here.[20]
Your sincere friend
Amelia D. Brand

---

[17] This passage is actually from Psalm 47:3 in most translations at this time. It can appear as Psalm 46 in the Latin (Vulgate) and Greek (Septuagint) versions of the Bible.

[18] Franklin Erwin Kellogg (1851-1923) was the son of Florentine and Rebecca Kellogg who planted one of the first vineyards in Napa Valley in 1848 and were the first to plant English Walnuts in California. In 1877, together with his wife Sarah "Fannie" Frances (1850-1931), Frank moved to Goleta, where they farmed a variety of crops and started the Goleta Dairy and Creamery, the first creamery in Santa Barbara County. Frank was also a popular teacher and principal at Rafaela School (now Goleta Union School) and a member of several community committees. He is first cousin to Mary Kellogg who appears on Page 17 of this manuscript.

[19] Quote adapted from a sermon, titled "The Anchor" and delivered at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, Newington, on May 21, 1876, by Charles H. Spurgeon (1834-1892), an English Baptist pastor in London for 38 years.

[20] Part of a poem written by Henry S. Bartlett in 1835 in his future wife's autograph album.

Page 23: [The engraving is of a young child in an off-the-shoulder dress and cap, astride a pony. The horse faces to the left of the page, the child looks out at the viewer. Titled "The Young Cavalier," under the engraving on the left is "Printed by Wm. Salter," on the right is "Engraved by J. Sartain."[21]]

Page 24:

With pleasant remembrances
Of co-operative days. I am very
sincerely your friend
Laura E. Cole
Santa Ana
Aug. 29th 1882.

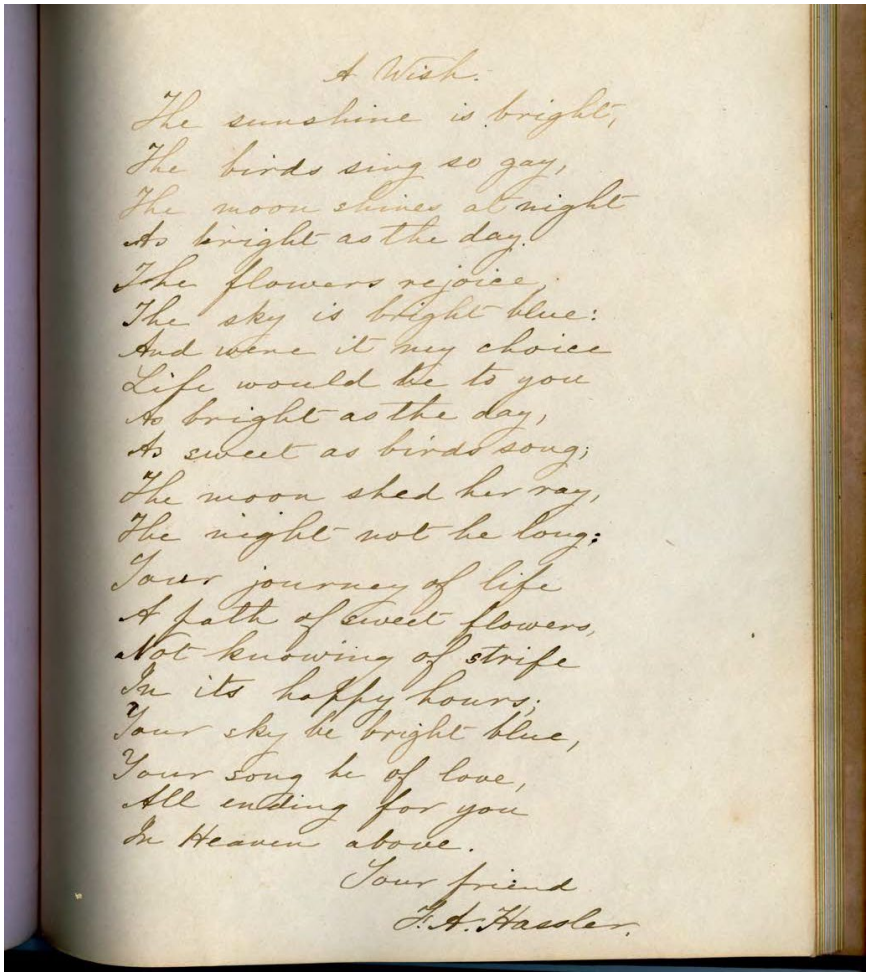
A Wish.
The sunshine is bright,
The birds sing so gay,
The moon shines at night
As bright as the day.
The flowers rejoice,
The sky is bright blue:
And were it my choice
Life would be to you
As bright as the day,
As sweet as birds song;
The moon shed her ray,
The night not be long:
Your journey of life
A path of sweet flowers,
Not knowing of strife
In its happy hours.
Your sky be bright blue,
Your song be of love,
All uniting for you
In Heaven above.
Your friend
L. A. Hassler.

*Figure 3: Album of Memory, page 25.*

[21] A similar print was printed by William Salter and engraved by John Cochran. John Sartain (1808-1897), an English-born American artist, pioneered the mezzotint engraving style in the U.S., which allows half tones (greys) without dots or hatch marks, allowing for a smoother finish. A friend of Edgar Allan Poe, Sartain was also known for his work in other arts, like architecture. He belonged to the committee working on the Washington Memorial in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Page 25:

A Wish.
The sunshine is bright,
The birds sing so gay,
The moon shines at night
As bright as the day.
The flowers rejoice,
The sky is bright blue:
And were it my choice
Life would be to you
As bright as the day,
As sweet as birds song;
The mood shed her ray,
The night not be long;
Your journey of life
A path of sweet flowers,
Not knowing of strife
In its happy hours;
Your sky be bright blue,
Your song be of love,
All ending for you
In Heaven above.
Your friend
T. A. Hassler.

Page 26:

Santa Ana Cal. Aug 28. 1882
Passing through life's field of action
Lest we part before It's End.
Take with in your modest volume
This memento from a friend.
Minnie Young.

Page 27:

"The Past is still in Gods keeping
The Future his mercy will clear
And what looks dark in the distances
May brighten as we draw near"[22]

[22] Adapted from a poem, titled "He Knows" and written by an anonymous author, but published in a number of newspapers across the country in the 1880s.

Your friend
Lydia M. Dearing[23]
Santa Ana Cal
Aug 25 1882

Back cover: [Black leather, embossed.]

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Trenton Buzzone of Yorba Linda, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Jessica Parker of Santa Maria, California, earned her two B.A. degrees in History and Religious Studies from San Jose State University (2017) and her M.A. in History from California State University, Fullerton (2020). She is currently working for CSUF's College of Humanities and Social Sciences as a data analyst for the Student Success Center. The primary-source edition published above originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

[23] Lydia M. Dearing (née Thomas) was the third of four wives of the Reverend Albert Lincoln Dearing from Maine, a veteran of the Indian and Civil Wars, a carriage maker, and Methodist minister. Mother of Minnie Gardner, whose entry appears on Page 19 of this manuscript, she left her daughter with her ex-husband in Massachusetts and moved to Santa Ana, California, with her new husband in 1882. They purchased a twenty-acre ranch, were married for 28 years until Lydia's death in 1910, and had one son.

Emanuel Ayala and Josh Kreeger (editors)

# *"La guerre est finis": Sidney Goldman's World War II Correspondence from Manila (August 1945)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
University Archives and Special Collections.
SC-2018-08.
Sidney Goldman War Letters.
Document box 2, folder 8
August 4, 1945, to August 31, 1945.
Twenty-three letters (numbered 1 to 23 below).

*Introduction*

The "Sidney Goldman War Letters" were presented to CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections by the author's daughter, Rhoda, in 2019. They are still easily readable and written in cursive, mostly in pencil, but sometimes in black or blue ink, on yellow stationery or military-issued paper. Twelve frail envelopes accompany the "August 1945" part of the collection that is edited here, and they still feature their stamps, postal marks, and army examiner's clearance. The writing usually utilizes most of the space available on each page, occasionally with some final sentences squeezed in at the bottom. A linear fold in the middle of the letters only slightly inconveniences their readability.

Sidney "Sid" Goldman was a Jewish American born on April 12, 1912, in Chicago, Illinois, to Abraham Goldman and Rose Mesigal Goldman. He was the fourth of five children, and some of his siblings like Irving (Irv) and Shirley (Shir) are mentioned in his letters to his wife, Lillian. Besides his wife, his daughter Rhoda (Rho) was a recipient of his near-daily letters sent home to America. Sid had met his "dearest"—his usual address for Lillian—at a picnic after working at his father's grocery store, but when her family decided to move back to Boston during the Great Depression, the two got married to prevent being separated. Their daughter Rhoda was born in 1939, with Sid joining the war effort in 1943, originally as a tire mechanic on the European front, before being sent to the Pacific theater after Nazi Germany's (May 1945). In August 1945, Sid was stationed in Manila, Philippines, the location from which all letters edited here were written (except for letter 1, written en route). Sid passed away in 2008.

The twenty-three letters published below cover various topics involving the culmination of World War II from the angle of a tire mechanic in the United States Army. Reflecting a great sense of humor, most of Sid's letters provide a balance of his personal experiences and inquiring about the troubles back home, with a recurring complaint that he suddenly receives stacks of mail from home

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after days without receiving any correspondence. In describing the emotional climate at his base when they received the news of the war's end, he speaks of continued bitterness over unfinished work in the army and his post's conditions, contrasting the celebratory tone back home in America (letters 5, 7, 9, 18, and 19). His complaints with regard to Manila include being stuck in the Pacific theater of operations without a clear date for the soldiers' return home, the insufficient supply or quality of alcohol, an ankle accident, and mail censorship (letters 2, 4, 7, 14, 18, and 20). Mail censorship is visible on page 1 of letter 18, where about one fifth of the page is cut out. On a lighter note, Sid writes about how he entertained himself by watching local fights, viewing and critiquing the latest films starring the likes of Katherine Hepburn and Greta Garbo, and tasting Manila's cuisine (letters 4, 13, 14, and 17). In letters focused on his family, he asks about Lillian's and Rhoda's travels, writes about presents, and inquires about wedding plans in their social circle (letters 3, 4, 7, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18).

Sid Goldman's letters are of interest to the public and to scholars of the Humanities alike, in that they show World War II from the perspective of a caring husband and father who also exhibits strong opinions about his military experience and life in the army. The documents published here provide a glimpse into the gradual transitioning from wartime to peace and allow insights into American domestic life in the mid-1940s.

The transcriptions below preserve the spelling and capitalization of the original correspondence. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets.

*Edition: Letter 1, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],*
*August 4, [1945], [no location given]*

Page 1 of 1:

Sat.
Aug. 4
Dearest,
Won't be too long now. Dry land soon & what follows no one knows. Your newspaper can probably tell you more than I can. If you don't hear from me for a bit you can understand why. Either we'll be moving to a permanent spot or if the B29's[1] keep it up sweating out an empty boat for the return ride.
The new point by will be out in a few days but I don't have to worry. I have it on good authority that I'll definitely be discharged as soon as I'm 38.
How was your trip? Did you get to your destination at last? Did Jule make it home & whats the story if any? Did I tell you I tried to locate Mandel but didn't have enough time? Heard bout Bernie's outfit but haven't found anyone who knows where they are. They've moved around considerably.

[1] Presumably a reference to the Boeing B-29 "Superfortress," an American heavy bomber first used in service by the U.S. military in 1942.

Nothing else of interest. Wrote Shir[2] a letter. Hope you sent her a card & Irv[3] too. Hope to have beaucoup[4] mail from you awaiting me.
Love,
Sid
P.S. Did you get a couple pkgs[5]. from me yet?

*Edition: Letter 2, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], August 8, [1945], Manila (Philippines)*

Page 1 of 2:

Wed.
Aug. 8
Dearest,
Here we are in Manila and we expect to stay here for awhile. We're sleeping in tents (not the pup variety) and are fast making our quarters livable. Its quite hot all day but it rains during the nite[6] and every afternoon so that sleeping is fairly good. The whiskey is really lousy (please take cognizance) but the chow is good & plenty & lots of bananas, pineapple & fruit I never saw or heard of. Found a few guys I went to Aberdeen[7] with & they don't like it too much. Personally from my first observations I prefer France. This place was beaten up much worse than Nancy.[8]
Found four letters from you dated 7/25-6-7-8 which leaves me just a month behind. You make no mention of packages or mail I sent from Panama. Please let me know if you haven't already. No mail here from anyone else. You mention Grace in the hosp[ital]. & parts of the reason. Whats wrong there? Is Ida gone yet & how'd you two get along or shouldn't I ask? What kind of cigars did you send Irv?
Incidentally (?) I'll send you ½ G[9] soon as I get money orders & more when we get paid at the end of the month. How 'bout[10]

[2] Shirley, Sid Goldman's sister.

[3] Irving, Sid Goldman's brother.

[4] French for "a lot of."

[5] Abbreviation for "packages."

[6] Alternate spelling of "night."

[7] A reference to Aberdeen Training Ground, Maryland.

[8] Nancy, a city in eastern France.

[9] G represents Grand or $1,000, meaning he is sending $500.

[10] Alternate spelling of "about."

Page 2 of 2:

(2)[11]
buying a new coat? Silver fox? In case you need explanation I wrote you 'bout two weeks before we landed here that I had gone completely broke which I had. Well—a guy put me in the game for 25$^{00}$ & before I stopped making numbers we had over a G which we split. I made 11 straight passes & we took all the odds we could get. Happier now?
Laundry service is good & fairly cheap & the people seem O.K.
Can't get all my thoughts together at the moment. Whats the dope on Jule & Bern & please send my address to Newsweek[12] & Omnibook.[13]
You neglected to say anything 'bout your trip to Philly. I'll probably hear about it when mail catches up. Also send the 620 film[14] you have.
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 3, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], August 9, [1945], Manila (Philippines)*

Page 1 of 1:

Thurs.
Aug. 9
Dearest
Was all agog[15] 'bout Russia in the War & the new atomic bomb till I heard mail call. Got six from you and one nearly knocked me over when I read bout Fritzs baby. Had to stop & read one I got from Arnold which explained everything. Wish I had known before. I'd have gotten something for her in Panama. Tomorrow I'll see what Manila has to offer.
What I read of your trip sounded interesting. Whats this about yes Florida or no? Are you or aren't you? Do as you like but it'll be rough with just you & Rho[16] won't it? Mayhap[17] you'd be better off in Boston?
Our daughter sounds more & more interesting and I'd give a lung to see her. I'll write her tomorrow.

---

[11] The number 2 is written and circled above the word "coat," indicating the beginning of the letter's second page of the letter. This occurs in every letter that exceeds one page.

[12] Presumably a reference to *Newsweek,* a magazine from New York, established in 1933.

[13] Presumably a reference to *Omnibook Magazine*, published in New York between 1938 and 1957, containing shortened versions of popular fiction and non-fiction works.

[14] 620 film was similar to a 120 camera film. It was introduced by *Kodak* in 1932 and discontinued in 1995.

[15] Agog: very eager or curious to hear or see something.

[16] Rhoda, Sid Goldman's daughter.

[17] Mayhap: perhaps, possibly.

That picture in the "News" was not me as you knew. Would I be that far back in a line? We did go there much the same thing tho.[18]
That big bout Rho wanting a house, room a bath of her own a piano is all O.K. except the house. I'll tell her I'll look for a scroll or some pottery or jade but the Japs[19] pretty well cleaned it all out I think. Dark as well & only 7 P.M. No lites[20] in the tents yet.
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 4, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], August 10, [1945], [Manila (Philippines)]*

Page 1 of 2:

Friday
Aug. 10
Dearest,
Got another batch of mail this A.M. and as I write this I'm told there is yet some more which we'll probably get later.
We're setting up platforms so that our tents will be off the ground and I'll have before & after pictures to show the difference. I don't know yet how this camera takes 'em[21] 'cause[22] I haven't had any developed as yet.
I'm a carpenter now & have a fast blackening finger nail to prove it. Tomorrow I'll be sorting tires which needless to say I like much better
The balance of the story of your trip arrived and your descriptive powers are really something. I could easily map your itinerary. Geri's house sounds like something.
Couple long letters from Irv from Akron[23] and he sounds lonesome as hell. Had to close the joint for a week to go there & pick tires. Took the crew along. Wrote me all about Pa[24] & his condition & tho I'm not alarmed (or surprised) it does leave a rather uneasy feeling which you can readily understand. Got a picture of you & it looks like hell but

[18] Alternate spelling of "though."

[19] A reference to the Imperial Japanese Army, presumably during their occupation of the Philippines from 1942 to 1945.

[20] Alternate spelling of "lights."

[21] Alternate spelling of "them."

[22] Alternate spelling of "because."

[23] A city in Ohio, south of Cleveland.

[24] Presumably a reference to Sidney's father, Abraham Goldman.

Page 2 of 2:

(2)
was quite welcome. Mail from Bernie who sounds like somewhere in the Ryukus[25] Mandel is definitely on Okinawa as I found out last nite. Incidentally we went to town last nite (what there is left of it) and drank some of the lousiest rotgut whisky[26] (and expensive too, 7$\underline{00}$ a pint) that I ever tasted. Vito's corn was like nectar by comparison. (Had to pause here for mail call and drew 24 more monthly from you & Irv.) Don't know when I'll ever catch up but I love it. Two of the boys wives just had boys. Some excitement!!
Sorry 'bout that Saen Fratcaff[27] business but not at all surprised. Could be part of why Uncle Joe is in the hospital?
Could go on writing but I want to read the fresh ones & go to chow so forgive &
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 5, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], August 11, [1945], [Manila (Philippines)]*

Page 1 of 2:

Sat.
Aug. 11
Dearest,
The war is over or it isn't. There are a million contradictory rumors and no one knows the straight of it. The excitement was tempered for me with a letter from Irv telling me of Art's death on Okinawa. And at the end of the war too. Guess its more or less like Irv said. You can only duck for so long but why in hell does it have to happen to a guy like that? I'm going to town soon as my restriction is up & see what I can find out. Seems like five of us were too truthful t'other nite & came in 20 min. late. So we're restricted. Another guy Awol[28] for two days will probably draw a pat on the wrist C'est la guerre[29] I guess.
Been sorting tires in preparation for the shop opening & its rather rough. Work a few minutes at 1/2 the usual speed and you have to stop & rest. I've been taking salt pills in double doses but I'll probably get used to it.
Newest rumor is that we'll know definitely 'bout midnite tonite.[30] Naturally the topic of discussion is when will we go home? Best hope most of us have are that we'll be home early next summer tho there's really no basis to figure on. Next topic is when will they stop censorship. We seem more inter-

[25] The Ryukyu Islands, a chain of Japanese islands between Kyushu and Taiwan.

[26] A colloquial term for hard alcohol, indicating very poor quality.

[27] Presumably a name.

[28] AWOL: "absent without official leave" (but also without intention to desert).

[29] French for "That's the war."

[30] Alternate spelling of "tonight."

Page 2 of 2:

(2)
ested in that than most other outfits around here. Wonder why?
Did I tell you I got your snap? What a dilly[31] that was! Whoever took it should take a camera & find a nice cool jail where he can practice.
Your accounts of Suffolk[32] sound interesting too but how can anyone have four winners & go home with a saw? From your a/c[33] of having an 8-1 shot in the three hole, even tho he figured the best, you lead me to believe that the price scared you. How many times have I told you? Guess I'll have to come home & teach you all over again. Couldn't fool Irv could you?
Sorry to hear 'bout Uncle Joe. How is he? Seems like every letter has some sad news in it. Irv keeps me up on Dads condition & I imagine that if he takes it easy he'll be O.K. If not his ticker will act up. I'm a bit worried 'bout how he'll make it thru the dog days.[34]
Got a hunch you'll go Chi[cago] ward before the summer ends. Take Rene along or am I surmising[35] your thoughts? Irv & Hen will fight for you.
Could write on for another hour but I've a stack of mail to dig into. More tomorrow.
Love,
Sid

*Edition: Letter 6, Sid[ney] Goldman] to Rhoda Goldman,*
*August 12, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75, c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 13, 7-BPO [stamp field] AIR MAIL, 6 CENTS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere,[36] 51, Mass[37] [additional stamp] VIA US AIR MAIL [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] RM [illegible] 1st Lt.

[31] Dilly: an excellent example of a particular type of person or thing.

[32] City in Virginia.

[33] Abbreviation of "account."

[34] "Dog days," a period of stagnation or hot summer weather.

[35] Surmise: to assume something is true (without evidence to confirm it).

[36] City in Massachusetts.

[37] Abbreviation for Massachusetts.

*Figure 1: Letter 6, envelope.*

Page 1 of 1:

Sun.
Aug. 12
Dear Rhoda,
Its Sunday A.M. & the war is over & I'll bet you've got the funnies[38] spread all over the floor & the radio on full blast. Next year this time we'll be fighting over who goes after the paper.
Got some good news bout your newest cousin and I imagine you're anxious to see her. Don't say anything but I've a hunch your Mom may take you to Chicago before the summer ends & school starts.
You probably heard about your cousin Art & I know you feel as badly 'bout it as we all do. He was kind of a favorite of yours those things just have to happen. Just remember that when you grow up make sure there are no more wars.
You haven't written as to whether you got the perfume & castanets[39] I sent you. Hope you did & enjoyed it as much as I enjoyed sending it.
It's very hot here and I sure wish I were on the beach with you.
Love
Daddy

[38] Cartoons in the newspaper.

[39] Castanets: a percussion instrument.

*Edition: Letter 7, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldman, August 12, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 13, 7-BPO [stamp field] AIR MAIL, 6 CENTS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass[40] [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. [illegible]

Page 1 of 2:

Sun. Aug 12
Dearest,
Still waiting to find out the score on the War and it won't be long now. You complain that I don't comment on your letters. Seems to me that I do tho I never refer to 'em by date. You wouldn't remember that far back any way. Big noise just went up! Red Cross Truck pulled up with cold drink. Good too!
Lest I forget – I have some wants. Soap, (palmolive[41] preferred) 'bout 1/2 doz. watch bands, (cloth type only!! ½" lug[42] width) and a couple sun tan caps size 7 1/8 or if none available 7 ¼ will do. Thanx.[43] We get bout enuf[44] of everything else xcept[45] beer & liquor.
Rene sounds matured & beautiful. Did you do any good at the ball game or is there no action in that blue nose town? As to Rhoda she's really getting big isn't she? She'll be a beautiful young lady when I get there according to your description.
Haven't heard of Lou's boat but they all hit here at one time as another. When you write tell him I'm in Manila & he can look me up. Best info I can get 'bout Bernie is that he's up north of here somewhere.
Those jokes were rather stinko. Ill have to smarten you up a bit next summer. Speaking of jokes (or jokesters) did you hear

Page 2 of 2:

(2)
bout Danny Thomas?[46] He was taking the play away from Fanny Brice[47] so she "schmeissed"[48] him. Newsweek calls him the #1 coming comedian & predicts a

[40] Abbreviation for Massachusetts.

[41] A type of soap developed in 1898.

[42] Presumably a reference to the size of a lug nut, used to fasten car wheels.

[43] Alternate spelling of "thanks."

[44] Alternate spelling of "enough."

[45] Alternate spelling of "except."

[46] Presumably Danny Thomas (1912-1991), American producer, singer, and actor.

[47] Fania Borach, also known as Fanny Brice (1891-1951), American singer and actress.

[48] Yiddish verb, meaning "to toss" or "abandon."

national sponsor for him "tout suite."[49] Also a piece on "Baby" Kore Marie[50] & her suggestive? "C'e na luna mezzo mare.[51]" Remember she did it at the Chez[52] in Italian & Yiddish?
Sorry bout Grace but I won't write about it as per request. Whats wrong with the guy? Sounds like a psycho case to me. Why should he blow his top?
So you got a letter from Pollack. Nice guy. Think I wrote 'bout him before He also wrote to Irv. I'll write & thank him if I ever catch up with the next of my mail. I'm most caught up with you & at the moment have only three more to spread. Service is good I got your Aug. 3rd yesterday.
Doing much the same & its hot as well. Got a good tan tho its a bit yellow tinged from atabrine.[53]
Hope you're the same.
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 8, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldman, August 13, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

> Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 13, 7-BPO [stamp field cut] [hand-written] Air Mail [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] RM [illegible] 1st Lt.
>
> Page 1 of 2:

Manila
Monday
Aug. 13
Dearest
Believe it or not this catches me up with all your letters and maybe now I can write to someone else for a change. You certainly keep me busy.
Only news here is that Smokey went to the hospital. He's had a bad cold since we got off the boat and its murder to have your nose (especially his) stopped up in this weather.
Rather surprised you didn't take up Irv's offer of a Chicago visit. Maybe you'll change your mind yet.
Burned up plenty bout the Kraft business but what can we done 'bout it. Wish I were home but maybe Jule can knock some sense into his head.

---

[49] French for "right away" or "without haste."

[50] Likely an entertainer.

[51] Italian for "That's the moon amid the sea," 1927 Neapolitan song.

[52] Presumably a club.

[53] Atabrine: a medication related to chloroquine and mefloquine.

**F**ollowing baseball avidly. Looks like the Cubs are in but the A.L.[54] is going to be a foto[55] finish. Personally I think Washington will nose out Detroit and I make the Cubs 8/5 over Washington. I'd give a lung to see the series in Chicago. Maybe next year.
So you got the perfume & the bag. I'm glad you liked 'em. Seems like I remember your desire for an alligator bag from way ~~bag~~. back. Couldn't find any McCoy Nylons. They had some Brazilians silk but they looked a bit coarse & rather cheaply made to me so I

Page 2 of 2:

(2)
left 'em for the mooches[56] which were plentiful.
Not surprised at Grace's choice. I'd have been surprised if she did otherwise. Put yourself in her spot & you'd have done the same.
Cant understand "telling Rhoda if anything came for her." The castanets & the Tabu Cologne[57] also. I wrote her but you probably haven't heard as yet or rather up to the time you had written.
Is Suffolk[58] still open & how're you doing? Follow form & you'll do O.K. Are the dogs still running also?
Kind of hoped you would go to Chi[cago]. It might cheer Pop[59] up & you could write me the low down tho Irv keeps me pretty well informed. He sounds busier than the proverbial one legged cat.
Wish I were the same.
& You too,
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 9, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], August 14, [1945], Manila (Philippines)*

Page 1 of 1:

Tues.
Aug. 14
Manila
Dearest,

[54] American League of Professional Baseball Clubs, founded in 1901. One of two leagues that make up Major League Baseball in the United States and Canada.

[55] Alternate spelling of "photo."

[56] Slang term for beggar or scrounger.

[57] A fragrance/perfume, developed in Barcelona in 1932.

[58] A reference to the racetrack in Suffolk, Virginia.

[59] Slang term for "father."

Guess its really official now. Sirens & whistles are blowing and everybody yelling & a big smile on every face. Hope its not another false alarm. They say the other day they celebrated prematurely in the States.
Saw a few pictures. "Affairs of Susan"[60] which was quite good & last nite saw "Salome-Where She Danced."[61] The last stinko I saw that was that bad was Garbo[62] in Queen Christina[63] only this one was in Technicolor. Only salami I like is 'tween[64] two slices of bread with beer.
No mail today consequently I won't have much to write about which is just as well 'cause I'll have a chance to write some of my other correspondents.
Guy just came in who swears he heard it with his own ears. Its all over. Been a long time since that Sunday afternoon that Munk[65] called hasn't it? See you soon.
Love,
Sid

*Edition: Letter 10, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], August 16, [1945], Manila (Philippines)*

Page 1 of 1:

Manila
Thurs.
Aug. 16
Dearest
This is the third day we haven't gotten any mail but we still hope. At least the war is now officially over we heard Pres. Truman[66] say last nite that 5½ million men will be released in the next 12-18 mo's.[67] & that no more men over 26 will be drafted. Wonder what they'll do with us forgotten old men? Also heard that since July 7th all troops redeployed from E.T.O.[68] are being put there the States. Everything happens to us! Also heard that the celebration back home was unequalled in history. I miss out on everything. Then too he said that troops in Manila were wild with joy. That announcer was nuts. There was no joy here. Only bitterness especially since the rumor is that we're to start having basic, reveille,[69] & retreat & all the rest of the chicken. Damned brass[70] has nothing else

---

[60] *The Affairs of Susan*, 1945 American movie, directed by William A. Seiter.

[61] *Salome, Where She Danced*, 1945 American movie, directed by Charles Lamont.

[62] Greta Gustafsson, also known as Greta Garbo (1905-1990), Swedish American actress.

[63] *Queen Christina*, 1933 American movie, directed by Rouben Mamoulian.

[64] Alternate spelling of "between."

[65] Presumably a person's name.

[66] Harry S. Truman (1884-1972), 33rd U.S. President (1945-1953).

[67] Short for "months."

[68] Acronym for "European Theater of Operations."

[69] French for "to wake up."

[70] Term used to describe high-ranking officers

to do but sit on their big asses & think up more ways to make a guy mad at the world. If I sound mean & dejected think nothing of it. I am.
Hope you're not the same
Love
Sid
P.S. Let me know when you got the enclosed 5C. I'll send more after payday if I collect what I've got coming.
Love

*Edition: Letter 11, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], August 17, [1945], Manila (Philippines)*

Page 1 of 2:

Manila
Black Friday
Aug. 17
Dearest,
Now that "la guerre est finis"[71] the chicken has arrived but good!! Latest notice is that we will have reveille and retreat every day; until further notice (at least for three weeks) we will work 8 hours a day, seven days a week and all the rest of the Aberdeen chicken they can think up.
Now comes the payoff—For an undisclosed reason there will be no incoming mail until further notice. I imagine that is so that we won't have to waste any time answering our correspondents. Then too it may help morale 'cause we'll be in a state of suspense hoping there will be mail tomorrow. Don't be at all surprised if they give the Old Lady on Bedloe's Island[72] a coat of black paint in honor of the liberty we once had. Maybe I sound a bit insane but its things like that that drive people nuts. Its my guess that they'll also hold up outgoing mail so that folks at have won't know how we feel about all this crap. I understand that "you all" think the war is

Page 2 of 2:

(2)
over & that we won it. Don't you believe it. Its probably enemy propaganda. As I said before all this way sound silly or even insane but I was never more sincere.
Aside from that I hope that everything is OK on the home front tho I'm concerned about Pops ticker during the hot weather. Irv generally keeps me informed but this is the fourth mail less day with God only knows how many more to come.

[71] French for "The war is over." The correct spelling would be "la guerre est finie."

[72] Bedloe's Island, now "Liberty Island," New York, where the Statue of Liberty stands.

While I think of it—we don't have a cable address but I understand that a telegram to the APO[73] will get thru in case of emergency.
Nothing else of interest. If I had some-
thing with which to drown my sorrows
I would,—but good.
Hope you're the same.
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 12, Sid[ney] Goldman to Rhoda Goldman, August 18, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

> Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 18, 7-BPO [stamp field] AIR MAIL, 6 CENTS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [additional stamp] VIA US AIR MAIL [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. A.M [illegible]
>
> Page 1 of 1:

Sat.
Aug. 18
Dear Rhoda,
Thanx very much for the pictures. I liked the colored one mostly especially cause you remembered to wear a red dress for me. I showed the pictures around to all the men & we all agree that you're quite a beautiful young lady only don't let it go to your head. Next time you have your picture taken try not to screw up you face so much tho.
I've also taken quite a few snaps and will send 'em as soon and I can get 'em developed. They should be quite interesting.
By the time you get this you should be about ready to go back to school. Do you still like it as well as you did? If so you must be anxiously waiting. Hope I get back before next summers vacation & we'll really have a good time.
Love & kisses
Daddy

*Edition: Letter 13, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldman, August 18 , 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

> Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 20, 7-BPO [stamp field] AIR MAIL, 6 CENTS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [additional stamp] VIA US AIR MAIL [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. M [illegible]

[73] Acronym for "Army Post Office," used as an address if the recipient is on a military base.

Page 1 of 2:

Manila
Sat.
Aug. 18
Dearest,
Went to town yesterday afternoon and it strikes me more & more as ~~a~~ Revere Beach[74] only on a grand scale. Both of the main drags are full of open front clip joints they have plenty of merchandise. Prices are terrific and Buick convertibles are all tangled up with horse drawn carts. I got some good snaps if they come out decently. Only costs $1$\underline{70}$ a roll for developing & printing. Tried to buy something but couldn't pay those fancy prices unless I was drunk & I can't possibly get drunk on those prices either. They had some coarse woven Chinese linen handkerchiefs, nicely made, hand rolled edges but cheap linen for only a deuce[75] apiece. Wound up in a theatre, oh yes, got a shoe shine for a peso[76] (50¢) saw Jack Oakie,[77] Linda Darnell[78] & Dick Powell[79] in "It Happened Tomorrow"[80] Quite different, good, funny & no war. Bell for Adano[81] is coming in a few days.
Came back to find a letter from you. Don['t] know how it got here—It was the one with the pictures in the red dress. The smile is forced as usual but the one in profile was really somethin'. What an

Page 2 of 2:

actress! She's really growing up! Looks like she's getting tall & slim. Some punk!
Still sorting tires tho God only knows why. Latest news is that we'll all have left these parts in 10$\underline{2}$ mos. Won't be too soon for me. Some of the boys are working on a barge in the bay. As usual the guys that were sent out on D.S.[82] wound up with the best deal. They've been around here all afternoon ribbing us & comparing the deal they have with the crap we get.
In line with that—I had to stop writing just now 'cause some brass hat wants us to be parade soldiers. Had to listen to a bugle & stand retreat. Just the end of this "phoney war" I guess.
One of our boys if is fighting tonite. Theres a good card at the Stadium in town & maybe a guy can pick up an honest dollar.
Hope you're the same.

---

[74] Beach in Massachusetts, north of Boston.

[75] Slang term for a $2 bill.

[76] Spanish form of currency, used in the Philippines.

[77] Lewis Delaney Offield, also known as Jack Oakie (1903-1978), American actor.

[78] Monetta Eloyse Darnell, also known as Linda Darnell (1923-1965), American actress.

[79] Richard Ewing Powell, also known as Dick Darnell (1904-1963), American actor.

[80] *It Happened Tomorrow*, 1944 American movie, directed by René Clair.

[81] *A Bell for Adano*, 1945 American movie, directed by Henry King.

[82] Acronym, most likely meaning "defense suppression," or "direct support" in this case.

Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 14, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldman, August 19, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

> Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 19, 7-BPO [stamp field] AIR MAIL, 6 CENTS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [additional stamp] VIA US AIR MAIL [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. M [illegible]
>
> Page 1 of 2:

Manila
Sunday
Aug. 19
Dearest,
Went to the fites[83] last nite & while there was no action such as I'm accustomed to we saw eight pretty good bouts.[84] All amateur 3 rounders but we saw two colored boys who could really go. One was tall & slim & a fancy don something on the style of Nate Bolden[85] & the other was a little guy on the Armstrong[86] type. They were damned good. One boy got beat by a better infighter but we've got a light heavy in the battalion to which we're attached who is pretty good. There was only one K.O. & one casualty namely yours truly & heres how it happened:
We rode in a duck[87] both ways & when we got back I jumped off, hit a stone & turned my right ankle. I don't think theres anything broken but it swelled up like a balloon and is quite painful. I'm waiting now for a truck to take me to the infirmary. Maybe I'll get a discharge. Fat chance.
This Rizal Memorial Stadium[88] built in 1934 is really something. Its a complete outdoor sports arena. There's a large

> Page 2 of 2:

(2)
baseball field & stands, a football field & yea man!! A race track! The place we watched the fights is kind of like the Chicago Stadium only smaller. Looks like it seats about 10-12,000. The whole place was pretty well shot up both with artillery & small arms but must have really been something before the war.

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[83] Alternate spelling of "fights."

[84] Bout: short period of intense activity, encounter.

[85] Nate Bolden (1917-1991), American boxer.

[86] Likely Henry Jackson Jr., also known as Henry Armstrong (1912-1988), American boxer.

[87] DUKW (colloquially known as "duck"), a type of truck used by the U.S. military.

[88] Rizal Memorial Stadium, national stadium of the Philippines, built in Manila in 1934.

Otherwise theres no news that you don't already know. The Chinese delegation arrived here yesterday & it won't be long now. Latest news is that 1½ million will leave here in 10½ mo's which gives us some idea. I'm sweating out details from Irv about Art 'cause I've found out I can get transportation to Okinawa.
Other than that we've all been thinking more & more of home & as one Texan puts it "the chillun's[89] momma."
Wish I had you here to bathe my foot
X[90] Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 15, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], August 20, [1945], Manila (Philippines)*

Page 1 of 2:

Mon.
Aug. 20
Manila
Dearest
Caught a break & got 2 letters from you & one from Fritz all about the new baby. She also mentions that Joe is home for 34 days & looks swell. That, & your awaiting Jule & possibly Bernie makes me feel almost as good as I were home myself. I said almost!
The Doc glanced at my ankle & prescribed hot water & epsom salts & some stinky liniment.[91] Its (the swelling) going down steadily. Kinda nice being an invalid. They drive me to & from chow & the theatre & the infirmary. Smokey got out of the hospital yesterday & sends regards. From his description I'm happy that I didn't have to go. Conditions were deplorable. No change of linen or pajamas for six days & in this heat. Seems to be the general condition over here. Everything is af.u.-ed[92] & the red tape is miserable. If censors allow my personal opinion I'd say they need an Eisenhower[93], Patton[94] & Allen[95] over here. How's Rho's new tooth? I'll write & congratulate her soon as we get some stamps and/or Vmail.[96] Postal supplies

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[89] Southern U.S. dialect and African American vernacular for "children."

[90] X, symbol for a hug.

[91] Liniment: a lotion, especially one made with oil, intended as pain relief.

[92] Probably "afucked."

[93] A reference to Dwight David Eisenhower (1890-1969), 34th U.S. President (1953-1961) and five-star general for the U.S. Army in World War II.

[94] Likely a reference to George Smith Patton Jr. (1885-1945), a high-ranking World War II General for the U.S. Army, involved in both the Mediterranean and European theaters of war.

[95] Either a reference to Terry de la Mesa Allen Sr. (1888-1969), a World War II Major General for the U.S. Army, or to Roderick Random Allen (1894-1970), another Major General for the American forces who served in the same war.

[96] Vmail: Victory mail. Letters were filmed, sent, then printed; used during World War II.

Page 2 of 2:

(2)
seem to be tied in red tape also. Maybe the brass has a priority on that too. We're supposed to get a case of beer per man per month also. I spoke to some boys in another outfit that was on the boat with us and so far they've had <u>two</u> <u>cases</u>. One for July & one for August. Wouldn't be right to say that their outfit is on the ball & ours isn't. From the sounds of the revelry every nite from the officers quarters across the road it seems as tho the beer was only misdirected. Sound like too much bitching?—Its how we all feel. Only bright spot is the infrequent mail & the chow, showers & the movies. Saw "God is My Co-Pilot[97] last nite & tho corny, melodramatic & full of war it wasn't too bad. Tonite we have "A Bell for Adano" & if it lives up to advance notices it should be good.
Rice just came in. Says Hello. He too is working on the barge & happy. Says the reason incoming mail is slow is that they're holding planes to fly doctors & nurses to the Allied prisoners in Japan. If thats it I don't mind & I know you feel the same.
Glad you like the bag & perfume. With that & your new fur coat (for which I'll send more, lines after the first) I'll bet you really "look sharp."
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 16, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldmann, August 21, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 20, 7-BPO [stamp field] AIR MAIL, 6 CENTS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [additional stamp] VIA US AIR MAIL [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. A.M. [illegible]

Page 1 of 1:

Wed.
Aug 21
Manila
Dearest,
Got your letter of Aug 7<u>th</u> which isn't too bad & see that Irv informed you of Arts death I'm sweating out more info from Dad and will see what I can find out if as & when.
We start work in the shop this afternoon and I'll be working in the tire yard sorting. That is, as soon as my ankle gets better. Next to being home I'd rather be there.

[97] *God is My Co-Pilot*, 1945 American movie, directed by Robert Florey.

Been taking things easy catching up on my readin' & writin'. Can't put much weight on my ankle yet. The doctor says it should go down in 2-3 days & then he'll tape it up so that I can move around.
Had a good K ration[98] lunch today. I asked a few guys to let me know when a truck could take me to chow. A few minutes later a truck went by with a few "big wheels" on it. Then the jeep with the officers (poor dears[99] can't get their feet wet.") I ate K ration thats a sample of the cooperation you've no doubt read about in the newspapers.
Good to head that Jule is on the first lap of his trip home. He's probably home by now & was at Le Havre[100] when he wrote you. Hope he stays home when he gets there. When's the wedding?
By now you've probably heard from me from here. Looks like will stay here awhile. How long? I'll ask him when he comes in.
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 17, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldman, August 22, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

> Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 22, 7-BPO [stamp field] U.S. POSTAGE VIA AIR MAIL, 6 CENTS [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. RM [illegible]
>
> Page 1 of 2:

Wed.
Aug. 22
Manila
Dearest,
No mail from you yesterday but a long one from Irv about things in general. Particularly that Minnie[101] got a letter of explanation from Arts C.O. that he was shot by a sniper and died instantly. So our hope that he was wounded or perhaps missing is gone. Its very hard to accept and I seem to remember him best those nites we spent together when he was home on furlough. Remember the chorus girl writing notes to him at the 5100 & the De Lisa[102] later? Brings the war awfully close and especially when his death & that of a lot of other guys would be unnecessary if it weren't for a lot of blundering inefisciency I've seen so much

[98] K ration: World War II combat food.

[99] "Poor Dear," common expression of sympathy and affection, used sarcastically here.

[100] Le Havre, port city in Normandy, France.

[101] Minnie, Sid Goldman's sister.

[102] Nightclub and music venue in Chicago, Illinois.

of it here lately that I've been wondering (& I've lots of company) how we won the war or did we?
Didn't see Bell for Adano Mon. nite. Its tonite instead. Saw Tracy[103], Hepburn[104] & Ball[105] in Without Love[106]. Tracey & Ball were very good but the sound track was afu'ed[107] and maybe it was for the best 'cause we couldn't understand Hepburn. Remember "Morning Glory[108]"[109]?" She has a scene in this one also where she babbles threw 1/2 reel about love.
Irv also wrote that if the mountain wouldn't

Page 2 of 2:

(2)
came to Mohammed he'd wait 'till Jule came home and fly East for the wedding. Seemed rather angry that you & Rho wouldn't come to Chi[cago] for a while. "Bout the wedding—Ask Jule if he can hold off a while till I find out what the score is. There's a rumor that men over 32 will be discharged soon and if that's so I'd kind of like to be there. See how he feels 'bout it Geri wrote & she can't hold still but expressed a desire for my presence. She thinks I'm "sompin."[110]
Also news of Bill Prank which isn't good. Everyone else is in good shape seemingly and I got a letter by proxy from my new niece. I beat 'em tho. I wrote her one over a week ago. Pa's health sounds much better & he's going down to the joint 3-4 hours a day.
Is Suffolk still open & how are you doing or did you bury that few days winnings & pack in? If you have any left parlay it on the Cubs to win the series. They should be a slight favorite & win in a walk. Did you get the 5C's & was it enuf? I'll send a couple more payday if nothing happens.
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 18, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldman, August 23, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 23, 7-BPO [stamp field] U.S. POSTAGE, 6 CENTS, VIA AIR MAIL [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. RM L. [illegible]

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[103] Spencer Bonaventure Tracy (1900-1967), American actor.

[104] Katharine Houghton Hepburn (1907-2003), American actress.

[105] Lucille Désirée Ball (1911-1989), American actress.

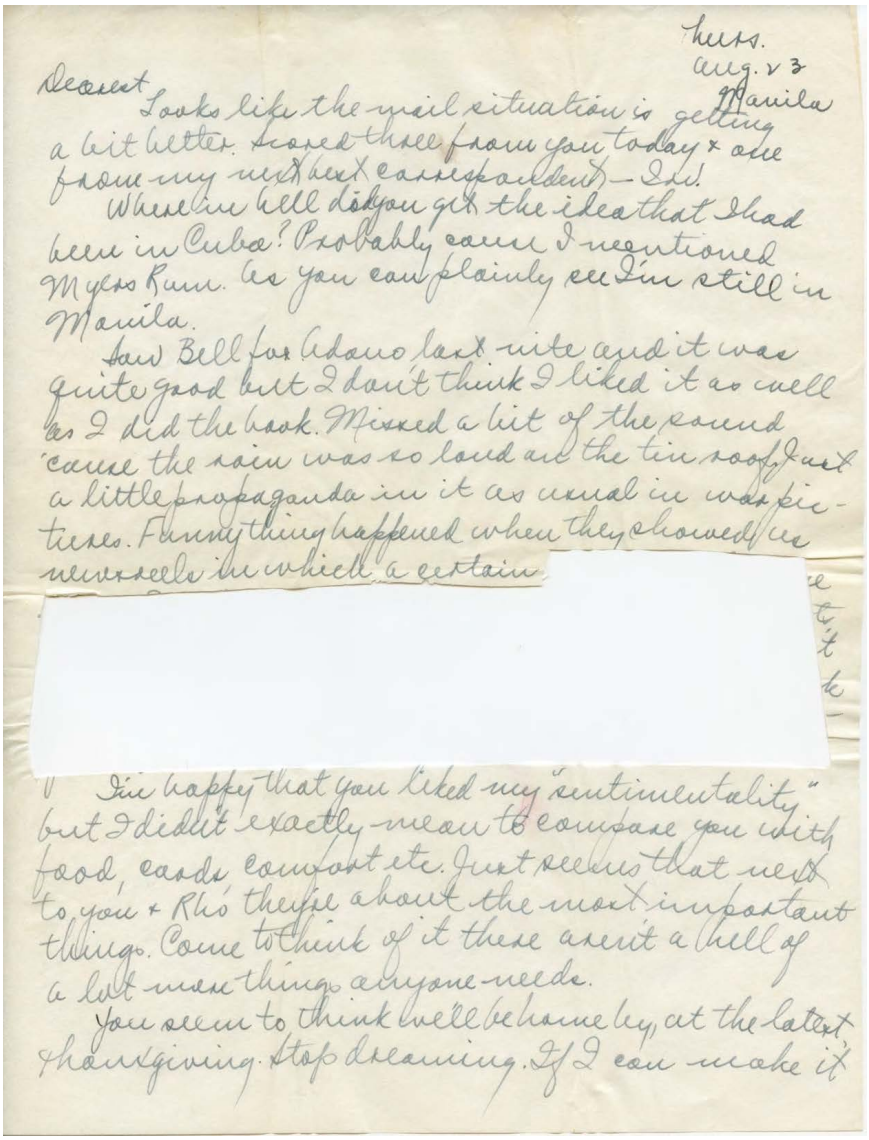
[106] *Without Love*, 1945 American movie, directed by Harold S. Bucquet.

[107] Probably "afucked."

[108] *Morning Glory*, 1933 American movie, directed by Lowell Sherman.

[109] Sidney crossed out the quotation marks to move them to the right of the question mark.

[110] Slang for "something."



Thurs.
Aug. 23
Manila
Dearest
Looks like the mail situation is getting a bit better. Scored three from you today & one from my next best correspondent—Irv.
Where in hell did you get the idea that I had been in Cuba? Probably cause I mentioned Myers Rum.[111] As you can plainly see I'm still in Manila.
Saw Bell for Adano last nite and it was quite good but I don't think I liked it as well as I did the book. Missed a bit of the sound 'cause the rain was so loud on

*Figure 2: Letter 18, page 1.*

Page 1 of 3:

[111] A brand of Caribbean rum, produced by American beverage company Sazerac

the tin roof. Just a little propaganda in it as usual in war pictures. Funny thing happened when they showed us newsreels in which a certain [censored][112]
I'm happy that you liked my "sentimentality." but I didn't exactly mean to compare you with food, cards, comfort etc. Just seems that next to you & Rho they're about the most important things. Come to think of it there aren't a hell of a lot more things anyone needs.
You seem to think we'll be home by, at the latest, Thanxgiving. Stop dreaming. If I can make it

Page 2 of 3:

(2)
by Rho's birthday I'll be very, very happy. Only thing is that if we stay here very long some guys will blow their tops. Personally I don't mind it too much but its no good.
Whats all this planning business? I haven't given a thought as to where, what, & how & when. You must have been reading books on this Veteran Readjustment crap written by a lot of old bitches that would be better off minding their kids. We don't need any "adjustments." Maybe some of the combat guys do because they've had it rougher than books, pictures and old ladies can depict. Only the late Ernie Pyle[113] could put it in words & he didn't write it all. As to me personally —Here's my post war plans—be nice quiet welcome from you Rho & Ma—Jule & Gerri if they're around—A couple shots of good bourbon filet mignon or porterhouse if no filet is available, cold crisp lettuce, baked potatoes, plenty of ice cold beer, your devils food cake & ice cold milk. If you can handle that you'll have fulfilled my post war plans. Thats as "post" as they go. The rest will take care of itself. Lets wait & see.
Whats all this about Labor Day wedding. Geri wrote that she'd wait till I got there to be the best man. See—even she knows that brother of mine sure looks for excuses to make trips. He'll feel hurt if he isn't invited. Can't you stretch "immediate family"a bit. On the other hand he might not wait for an invite.

Page 3 of 3:

(3)
Im anxiously waiting to find out what kind of a coat you bought. Don't put it away like the other thing I've sent you. At least you can send me a picture of you in it.
Everything else is more on less status quo. The swelling is most gone from my ankle and I've been restored to "light duty." As if I ever had any other kind. Irv's letter contained the good news that Pa has been coming down to the joint ½ days

[112] Approximately one fifth of the first page of this letter (about five or six lines) was presumably cut out by the U.S. army examiner/censor.

[113] Ernest Taylor Pyle (1900-1945), Pulitzer-Prize-winning American journalist and war correspondent, wrote about ordinary American soldiers during World War II.

& is in good shape. If he can get by the couple of hot weeks remaining he'll have it made.
Hope you're the same
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 19, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldman, August 26, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

> Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, AUG 23, 7-BPO [stamp field] AIR MAIL, 6 CENTS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [additional stamp] VIA US AIR MAIL [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. RM L. [illegible]
>
> Page 1 of 2:

Sunday
Aug. 26
Manila
Dearest,
This is the 3rd day without mail and it makes it rather miserable. That's about the only thing that can make things almost livable around here. If it weren't for learning new things every day we'd blow our tops. Today at reveille (yes on Sunday) we had a ten minute lecture on the proper wearing of and respect for, the uniform. As I get it we must wear a shirt at all times tucked in too and either have our pants legs tailored (at our expense) or have 'em nicely & neatly tucked in our boots. That is for G.I.'s[114] only. Officers, gooks,[115] & P.W.'s[116] who all wear the same uniform may go around comfortably dressed or undressed in any manner that they see fit. Someone loused[117] up & we didn't get any lectures before. Guess its all part of the readjustment program so that we will be prepared for civil life. They want to make sure that we know how to salute Western Union messengers & theatre ushers when we get back.
Still ~~working~~ putting in my time in the tire sorting yard. I go on swing shift. tomorrow (2:30 P.M. to 10:30 P.M.) for probably

[114] Acronym to describe soldiers of the U.S. military ("Government Issue," "General Issue," or "Ground Infantry;" originally "galvanized iron").

[115] Derogatory term for people of East and Southeast Asian descent.

[116] Shortened acronym of "P.O.W.," meaning "Prisoner of War."

[117] Colloquial term for "to make a mess."

Page 2 of 2:

(2)
a week or so which means that the little pleasure we're allowed (movies) will be unavailable for us. Missed "The Corn is Green"[118] last nite with Bette Davis[119] & can't say I'm sorry. Never cared too much for her & it was probably a "drahma" anyway.
Nothing else of interest or impart.[120] We're wondering whether we'll sweat it out here or go to Japan. The consensus wants Japan maybe because it's the lesser of two evils. Personally I'd just as soon or rather be there.
Next mail should be addressed to this APO (thats if we ever get a next mail) & we'll know that you'll know how & where we are.
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 20, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldman, August 28, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE 1945, AUG 26, 7-BPO [stamp field] U.S. POSTAGE, 6 CENTS, VIA AIR MAIL [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. RM L. [illegible]

Page 1 of 2:

Tuesday
August 28
Manila
Dearest
This mail situation is getting very unfunny. No mail since last Thursday and thats about all we need to break whats left of our morale.
Speaking of breaks—the Old Man finally found a spot & broke Smokey. He is now Pat Rieders as of yesterday. Guess they'll give his rating to someone whose more is more tanned (couldn't be longer) than Smokey's. Seems like he wrote a letter while in the hospital concerning the apparent lack of sanitation etc. and dared the hospital censor to send it there. The letter came back to the Co. then channels and Smokey was "busted," his pass revoked until further notice & to top things off he has to write from #1 thru #25 of the postal regulations 25 times. Small price to pay for "Freedom of Speech." They killed people because of it just a few years ago. I see by the papers that some Senate Investigating Committees have been appointed to find out just how democratic our Army really is. They'll

[118] *The Corn Is Green*, 1945 American movie, directed by Irving Rapper.

[119] Bette Davis (1908-1989), American actress.

[120] Formal term for "to say" or "to share."

eventually find out that in some outfits the work you do toward helping the war effort is

Page 2 of 2:

(2)
secondary to the way you wear your necktie. Remember way back when I told you I thought that a man who knew his business or trade could help bring the war to a quick victorious ending? Guess I was wrong as usual or else its just that we've outlived our usefulness as soldiers.
I've become bitter as hell but I'm determined that I wont come home a whipped pup with my tail between my legs!! I still have confidence that some day in the not too distant future I'll be back to where I was in civil life with my family, home & business & still able to carry my head high & how to no one except God & maybe the head waiter at the Chey.[121]
Getting down to more basic fundamentals—I see the Cubs blew & out of 5 to the Cards and it looks bad right now. Hope they swap out of it and start winning again. Also see that DePaul[122] & N.W.[123] will again play home games at the Stadium. How 'bout a date the first Sat. nite? I'll even sit with you at least thru the first game.
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 21, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], August 29, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

Page 1 of 2:

Wed.
Aug. 29
Manila
Dearest
Got a letter from you to their APO but its dated Aug. 18 & the last one I had was dated Aug. 11 which leaves me a week behind. Now that the occupation guys are Tokyobound maybe the mail will pick up. Also got a letter from Meyer in which he says absolutely nothing unless I want to put together what you've told me. As per instructions I won't answer it.
I knew you'd find some reason for not buying a coat. Its your dough and do with it as you see fit. I just thought it was a good idea. I see you've got the Florida bug again. I doubt like hell whether you'll go. You probably know that Joe is in Tampa. He had 34 days in Chi[cago] which must have been heaven.

[121] Most likely a restaurant in Chicago.

[122] DePaul University, founded 1898 in Chicago, Illinois.

[123] Presumably Northwestern University, founded 1851 in Evanston, Illinois.

The "busting" rampage is still on. Newest addition to the rank is Danonity our ex co. clerk about whom I think I wrote before in connection with pinochle[124] & klabbiash.[125] Wonder what they're saving me for? The guillotine perhaps?
You seem to think I'll be home quite soon. Rumors are thick & fast around here but mostly we believe what parts of 'em we want to believe. Sort of wishful

Page 2 of 2:

thinking. Biggest problem is transportation but we couldn't care if they stacked us three high in LST's[126] just so we got home.
I'm still sorting tires out in the yard as per enclosed picture. The developing and the paper is lousy but one of the boys has sent home for his developing outfit so perhaps the next ones will be better. The weather is hot & I've got a good sun tan. It seems to rain just enuf to cool it off when it gets really unbearable. Spoke to a guy this A.M. who was in New Guinea for 15 mo's & looks none the worse for it. How in hell they stood it is more than I can see. They think this place is Heaven.
Paper says that 90% of troops in ETO with the exception of occupation forces will be home by Xmas. Lest you forget—We're not in ETO anymore but how I wish I was.
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 22, Sid[ney] Goldman to Lillian Goldman, August 30, 1945, [Manila (Philippines)]*

Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 75 SAN FRANCISCO [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE, 1945, SEP 2, 7-BPO [stamp field] U.S. POSTAGE, 6 CENTS, VIA AIR MAIL [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, handwritten] Lt. RM L. [illegible]

Page 1 of 1 [Letter ends abruptly, suggesting that the archival record is incomplete.]

Thurs.
Aug. 30
Manila
Dearest,
Got another letter from you in the afternoon mail & things are getting better all the time. The new stationery is nice but by the way you figure we'll be home so soon aren't you a bit afraid you won't use it up? Reminds me of Joe Lewis[127] story bout the 50 G. Remember he saved 5G a yr. against a depression & at the

[124] Card game.

[125] Card game.

[126] Acronym for "Landing Ship, Tank" (to carry troops and vehicles for amphibious assaults).

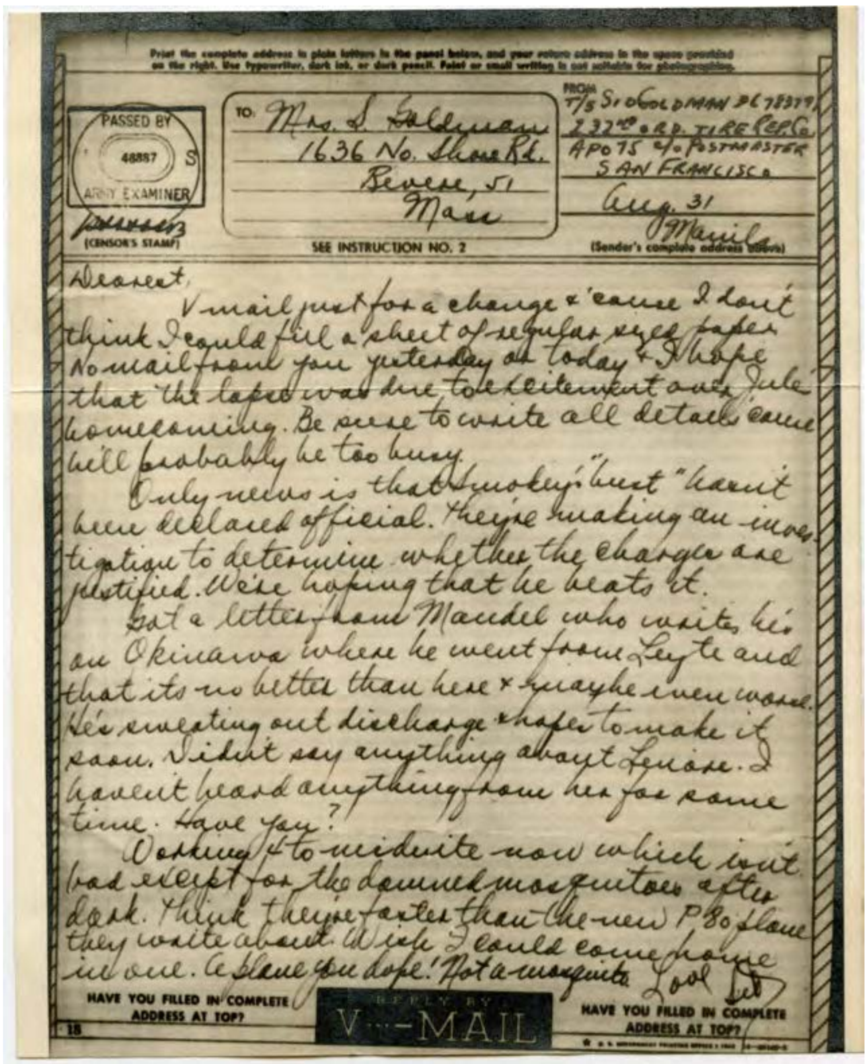
[127] Presumably Joseph Klewan, also known as Joe Lewis (1902-1971), American comedian.

end of 10 yrs. had 50G & there was no depression & there he was stuck with 50G?

You must have enjoyed that visit to Woburn[128] but didn't it make you feel kind of old? You also mention seeing Geat Talman who I presume is Roy' mother. Is Doc Talman home from the wars yet? Seems like I remember him being sent over here a couple years ago.

That pkg. sounds very good & I'll be licking my lips while waiting for it. They say it takes pkg's from 6 wk's. to 2 mo's. to get here & may be longer now but its worth while waiting for.

You seem to be expecting Jule momentarily & that should be some homecoming. Wonder if he'll be discharged & what his […]



TO: Mrs. S. Goldman
1636 No. Shore Rd.
Revere, 51
Mass

FROM T/5 S. GOLDMAN
237th ORD. TIRE REP. Co.
APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER
SAN FRANCISCO

Aug. 31
Manila

PASSED BY 48887 ARMY EXAMINER
(CENSOR'S STAMP)
SEE INSTRUCTION NO. 2
(Sender's complete address above)

Dearest,

V-mail just for a change & 'cause I don't think I could fill a sheet of regular size paper. No mail from you yesterday or today & I hope that the lapse was due to excitement over Jule's homecoming. Be sure to write all details 'cause he'll probably be too busy.

Only news is that Smoky's "bust" hasn't been declared official. They're making an investigation to determine whether the charges are justified. We're hoping that he beats it.

Got a letter from Mandel who writes he's on Okinawa where he went from Leyte and that its no better than here & maybe even worse. He's sweating out discharge & hopes to make it soon. Didn't say anything about Lenore. I haven't heard anything from her for some time. Have you?

Working to midnite now which isn't bad except for the damned mosquitoes after dark. Think they're faster than the new P80 plane they write about. Wish I could come home in one. A plane you dope! Not a mosquito. Love Si

HAVE YOU FILLED IN COMPLETE ADDRESS AT TOP?
REPLY BY V-MAIL
HAVE YOU FILLED IN COMPLETE ADDRESS AT TOP?

*Figure 3: Letter 23, V-Mail.*

[128] Name of cities located in both Illinois and Massachusetts, here presumably the latter.

*Edition: Letter 23, Sid[ney] Goldman to [Lillian] Goldman, August 31, 1945, Manila (Philippines)*

V-Mail form: [Print the complete address in plain letters to the panel below, and your address in the square provided to the right. Use typewriter, dark ink, or dark pencil. [illegible] or small writing is not suitable for photographing.] [CENSOR'S STAMP] PASSED BY ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [handwritten signature, illegible] [TO:] Mrs. S Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Rd., Revere, 51, Mass [SEE INSTRUCTION NO. 2] [FROM:] T/5 Sid Goldman DC 78379, 232nd O.R.D. TIRE REP. Co., APO 75 c/o POSTMASTER, SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 31, Manila [Sender's complete address above] [bottom of form (twice): HAVE YOU FILLED IN COMPLETE ADDRESS AT TOP? REPLY BY V-MAIL] [illegible V-Mail form information in bottom right corner]

Page 1 of 1:

Dearest,
V mail just for a change & 'cause I don't think I could fill a sheet of regular sized paper. No mail from you yesterday or today & I hope that the lapse was due to excitement over Jule's homecoming. Be sure to write all details 'cause he'll probably be too busy.
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Working 4 to midnite now which isn't bad except for the damned mosquitoes after dark. Think they're faster than the new P 80 plane[130] they write about. Wish I could come home in one. A plane you dope! Not a mosquito.
Love
Sid

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Emanuel Ayala of Anaheim, California, earned his A.A. in History at Fullerton College (2018) and his B.A. in History "magna cum laude" at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2020). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, where he is a member and the 2020/2021 president of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

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[129] Philippine island.

[130] A reference to the Lockheed T-33 "Shooting Star," an American fighter jet first used 1944.

Erika Victoria (editor)

# *The Real Pearl Harbor Experience: An Interview with World War II Veteran Arthur G. Herriford*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.
Project: Personal and Family History Collections.
O.H. 3066.
Oral Interview with Arthur G. Herriford, conducted by Chad Hoelker,
March 12, 2003, Van Nuys, California.

*Introduction*

The oral history transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "Personal and Family History Collections." The interview with Arthur G. Herriford was conducted by Chad Hoelker, on March 12, 2003, in Van Nuys, California. This interview is 1 hour, 3 minutes, and 26 seconds long, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2020 by Erika Victoria.

Arthur G. Herriford was born on April 17, 1922, in Cleveland, Oklahoma. He grew up with his paternal grandparents, worked on farms, and lived through the Great Depression. He received schooling halfway through the tenth grade, when his father lost his job and suggested he join the Army Air Corps, but he chose the Navy instead for the opportunity to educate himself on all the new technology used on their ships. After basic training, he was assigned to the USS Detroit located at Pearl Harbor in Oahu, Hawaii, in 1940. He was trained for various equipment and eventually became the main battery rangefinder operator for the Detroit.

Herriford was caught up in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. He describes his experience of realizing that the attack was happening and watching as other ships were attacked, such as the USS Raleigh and the USS Utah, and the sinking of the USS Arizona. He also recalls the reactions of his crewmates, and how experiencing the attack was like aging ten years. Herriford describes the aftermath of the attack, including fears of a Japanese land invasion on Hawaii, and a confrontation with a two-man Japanese submarine. He outlines his military career after the Pearl Harbor attack, including trips to the Far East, and then his eventual work in research and missile development, such as the Terrier guided missile. He retired from the Navy in December 1960 with credit for twenty-one years of service. He then explains his life after the military, working on building fire control equipment and—eventually—the Apollo program which facilitated the first lunar landing by humans. After the death of his wife, he began working for the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association, which led to this oral interview.

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Arthur G. Herriford's story provides a view "from below" of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor during World War II. Traditional scholarship has focused on logistics, casualties, and what the attack meant for the United States in terms of entering the war. Thanks to Herriford, what we have here is the first-hand account of a soldier who experienced the event. Herriford shares how the attack affected him as a human being who had joined the military without having any idea of what was about to transpire. Herriford also uses his interview to warn the next generation to watch out for the warning signs of potential war, and he advocates for not sitting idly by when signs of tyrants and their plans are apparent.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Erika Victoria of Santa Fe Springs, California, earned her B.A. in History at California State University, Los Angeles (CSULA). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She also served as an editor for volume 47 of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History" (2020). The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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*Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 3066)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

| | |
|---|---|
| NARRATOR: | Arthur G. Herriford [AH] |
| INTERVIEWER: | Chad Hoelker [CH] |
| DATE: | March 12, 2003 |
| LOCATION: | Van Nuys, California |
| PROJECT: | Personal and Family History Collections |
| TRANSCRIBER: | Erika Victoria |

AH: (coughs)

CH: Today is March 12th, 2003, and I, Chad Hoelker, am sitting with Mr. Arthur G. Herriford, interviewing him for the Cal State University Fullerton Oral History Department in his home in Van Nuys,[1] California, and here we go. We're ready to start. Uh, where were you born?

AH: Cleveland[2], Oklahoma.

CH: (repeats) Cleveland, Oklahoma.

[1] Located in the central San Fernando Valley region of Los Angeles.

[2] City in Pawnee County, Oklahoma.

AH: Um-hm, that's about thirty-four miles northwest of Tulsa[3] (phone rings) on the Arkansas River.[4]
CH: In what year?
AH: Uh, 1922 (phone rings), 17th day of April, 1922.
CH: Sounds good. What did, uh, what did your parents do?
AH: My, uh, most of—my parents, I mean, my background, uh, was cattle industry but, uh, and farming, but, uh, my Dad was, uh, well, he worked in my grandfather's grocery store for—in his younger days, uh, as a butcher and a clerk, and later he went into the oil (background voice) field business as a, well, for a while, he was a driller of wells, and then he later became a tank builder, and he built storage tanks for the petroleum.
CH: Right, did you work for him growing up? Out in the (both talking at the same time) farms or anything like that?
AH: (both talking at the same time) No, no, no, that—uh, the Depression[5] came along, uh, and few—few men had steady jobs in those days and, uh, the, uh (long pause), the emphasis was on just making a living, you know?
CH: Right.
AH: My, uh—I lived with my paternal grandparents for most of my teenage life, and, uh, I worked on the farm and, uh, then, later on, I started, uh, I hitchhiked out into western Oklahoma and western Kansas and made the wheat harvest out there, working the wheat fields.
CH: Right. That sounds great. Um, did you have any formal schooling? (phone rings) Did you go to high school?
AH: I only went halfway through the tenth grade when—my Dad at that time was a pro on a golf course in Oklahoma City, and golf course was sold and left him without a job.
CH: Hm.
AH: So, he suggested I go into the Army Air Corps, and I thought to myself, "No, the Navy has these highly technical ships of war that takes a lot of knowledge to build them, and it takes an awful lot more to operate them."
CH: Right.
AH: And there was a place to get an education. I had an extreme thirst for knowledge in those days. I wanted to go to school or (inaudible), and my sophomore year was just, well, it was, uh, out of this world, I really—really hated to give it up, and, uh, so I did, I went into the Navy.
CH: (repeats last part) Went into the Navy. Now, between the years like 1935 to 1940, kind of as things were starting to escalate in China and into Europe, with you being out in Kansas, Oklahoma, did you follow any of the events that were going on?

---

[3] Oklahoma's second-largest city.

[4] A major tributary of the Mississippi River, generally flows east and southeast.

[5] A reference to the Great Depression of the 1930s.

AH: Oh yes, I knew the day that Great Britain declared war on Hitler with his, uh, invasion of Poland.[6] That it was just a matter of time before we would be into the war. And I also knew that my age was such that I would be right in the midst of it.

CH: (repeats last part) Right in the midst of it. So, you got into the Navy because you wanted to learn ships and all that.

AH: No. No, I wanted an education.

CH: Right, and so did you enroll right there in the Midwest, or?

AH: No, I enrolled, or I enlisted in, uh, Dallas, Texas. I actually was accepted for enlistment in Oklahoma City, at the recruiting office in Oklahoma City.

CH: And what year would that have been in?

AH: April of 1940.

CH: Right. Um, so once you got into the Navy, you went to basic training.

AH: Went through basic training in San Diego. The largest, uh, training company ever put through that station. It was three platoons of 186 men. Normally two platoons was sufficient, but for some reason or another my company was the largest ever to go through that training center. And they kept us, I was in the first twenty-five, uh, group contingent to arrive in, uh, what they called isolation, the isolation unit. And normally that isolation unit covered the first three weeks. You couldn't have no visitors, couldn't go anywhere outside that area, outside the chain link area.

CH: Um-hm.

AH: And we drilled and learned all kinds of seamanship and, uh, Navy ways and means and, uh, so as it turned out, my first group, being the first group in there, we wound up being instructors for the boundless other people coming into the detention unit.

CH: Hm.

AH: And they kept us and added two weeks so we were, my group was five weeks in detention, we couldn't even get out of there.

CH: Right.

AH: Like being in jail. (both laugh)

CH: Thought you were in the Navy, and you found yourself, uh, in that mess.

AH: Yeah.

CH: Um, what are some other memories of that there in San Diego. Any good times?

AH: Not especially. Uh

CH: Just a lot of work?

AH: There was a couple of fellas in the company that, uh, at our first liberty, after we got out of detention, we went over into downtown San Diego, and these two guys wanted to get tattoos, and I got them back to the base without any tattoos. And the following night (laughs), they went over by

[6] September 1, 1939, through October 6, 1939.

themselves and came back with tattoos, and before the week was out they were wishing I had been with them—(both laugh)

CH: Yeah.

AH: —to prevent it. (laughs)

CH: Those are irremovable. Um, so how long did you stay in San Diego?

AH: Until the, oh, it was about the end of April, first part of May. I don't remember just, just how soon but anyhow upon—well no, it had to be in June because the, uh, when the company graduated.

CH: Um-hm.

AH: And finished their boot training. They offered everybody ten days of leave. And you had to have money in your pocket though to, uh, take leave, and I didn't have any.

CH: Right.

AH: So, I forewent the leave, and immediately they ordered me to sea. Uh, they ordered me to the light cruiser Detroit.[7] And, uh, at that time I had no idea where she was, and, uh, she was an old four-stack[8] cruiser built in, there was ten of those ships built in the early 20s.

CH: Hm.

AH: And, uh, they were, uh, all rivet hulls, 555 feet long and with a beam of 55 feet, and they weighed about 7,050 tons. (coughs) And, uh, so they shipped me and took me by boat out of San Diego training center, myself and several others, uh, to—out in the San Diego bay and put us aboard the destroyer, Anderson, the DD-411,[9] for transportation, excuse me, to get to the Detroit. We had no idea at that time where the Detroit was. And within a couple of hours after going aboard the Anderson, we got underway, and it was the following morning we found out we were headed for Pearl Harbor[10].

CH: Cause that's where the Detroit was.

AH: Hawaiian Islands, and that's where the Detroit was.

CH: Were you excited to be going there? Were you—

AH: Oh yes, yes. As a matter of fact, when—seven days later, when we arrived out there, the morning of that—we arrived, went on, went up on the weather decks and saw, the most beautiful scenery I've ever seen in my life was as we approached the island of Oahu, heading for the Pearl Harbor channel. They have a beautiful country.

CH: So, what was going to be your job aboard the Detroit once you got there?

---

[7] USS Detroit (CL-8), an Omaha-class light cruiser of the U.S. Navy, present at the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor of December 7, 1941.

[8] Ship with four smokestacks.

[9] USS Anderson (DD-411), a Sims-class destroyer of the U. S. Navy.

[10] American lagoon harbor on the island of Oahu, Hawaii, used as a deep-water naval base for the United States.

AH: The first three months I was in, uh (footsteps), may have been less than three months, I was in the third division which was the deck division (background noise), maintained the midpart of the ship (footsteps) between the forward,[11] aftward[12] superstructures,[13] and, uh, within three months, I got the stripe[14] for fire control.

*[00:10:00]*

AH: I thought I was going down into the fire rooms[15] but, uh, fire control,[16] the second [?] took me and told—and took me up on the tripod mast,[17] up atop the tripod mast into the forward fire control tower, and he pulled the cover off a Mark 7 Rangekeeper,[18] and I seen gears and shafts and—

CH: Hm.

AH: —and mechanisms that I hadn't ever dreamed of in this little machine, not not too large a machine.

CH: Right, right, two foot by two foot.

AH: There about, yeah, well, it wasn't, uh, about two foot by, uh, maybe, uh, fourteen or fifteen inches, and, uh, 'course it was that deep.

CH: Right.

AH: But, uh, I took one look at that, and I thought to myself, "Herriford, you will never ever understand or learn this stuff." But I did.

CH: Right, and what exactly did that do?

AH: Well that, uh, it solved the surface problem for the main battery[19] of the 6-inch guns.

CH: Right.

AH: We had ten 6-inch guns in the main battery, and, uh, we, uh, had to stabilize sight on that gun director,[20] this rangekeeper was mounted on one side of

---

[11] Toward the direction of the bow of the ship.

[12] Toward the direction of the stern of the boat.

[13] Name given to the part of the ship that emerges from the deck.

[14] Probably a stripe on the uniform to indicate rank or job.

[15] Also known as boiler room or stokehold where water was brought to a boil so steam could be used to power the vessel.

[16] Using fire-control systems that used such components as a gun data computer, a director, and radar to assist a ranged weapon system in targeting, tracking, and hitting its target.

[17] A type of mast found on warships that use two large support columns spread out at angles to brace another vertical column.

[18] Electromechanical fire control computers.

[19] Usually a reference to the primary weapon or group of weapons around which a warship is designed. The main battery of the Detroit were most likely the Mark 7s.

[20] Also known as an auxiliary predictor, it is a mechanical or electronic computer that calculates trigonometric firing solutions for use against a moving target and transmits this data to the firing crew.

the gun director, and it, uh, as a director, uh, swung in azimuth[21] by the, uh, people that operate the thing, the sight setters,[22] and the rangekeeper operator and the like had to, you know, follow the director, uh, that was what provided the gun orders.

CH: Right.

AH: For the main battery.

CH: Did you live aboard the ship? Or did you (both talking at the same time) live onshore?

AH: (both talking at the same time) Oh yes, yes, we lived aboard ship.

CH: Aboard ship the whole time.

AH: And those days, when I first went aboard, we didn't have bunks, we had to sleep in hammocks.

NN: Excuse me.[23]

AH: Alright dear.

NN: I'll call you about 3 o'clock.

AH: Yeah.

NN: Nice to meet you.

CH: Nice meeting you, too. Have a good afternoon.

NN: Thank you.

AH: So, uh, along about, uh, was it Christmas 1940? We came back to the States for the Christmas holidays, and we stayed, uh, in San Diego, uh, for that period of time, I don't know, almost a week. Then we went to Mare Island[24] up near Vallejo.

CH: Um-hm.

AH: Here in California, to the naval shipyard there, and they installed bunks and, uh—oh boy that was something. They weren't very wide, just about that wide.

CH: Right.

AH: And they didn't have nice springs.

CH: (laughs)

AH: On the bottom of them. They were laced with canvas bottles and so on. But, I'll tell ya (laughs), sure beat them hammocks.

CH: Traveling from Hawaii, then to California, then up the coast to, uh, from San Diego up the coast of California, were you guys training the whole time?

AH: Oh, oh, all the time, all the time. It was, uh, uh, even in port you'd have various drills like, uh, damage control drills, or fire drills, uh, underway,

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[21] Horizontal direction of a compass bearing.

[22] A member of the gun crew whose duty it is to keep the gunsight set at the proper elevation.

[23] NN denotes an unidentified party briefly joining the conversation.

[24] A peninsula in the United States in the city of Vallejo, California, about 23 miles northeast of San Francisco.

we'd have man overboard drills and what have you. Go to general quarters,[25] and, uh, anti-aircraft drills and the like, and we'd have airplanes fly out of various naval air stations and, uh, we would direct them. Uh, after two months, I was, uh, when I went into the fire control gang out of the deck force, uh, I was striking for a bargain role, and they made me operator of what they call the, uh, altimeter which was an optical rangefinder, mildly sensitive swing in the vertical plane and track airplanes, range on airplanes.

CH: Right.

AH: I operated that unit for, oh, three or four months. Then they made me operator of the, after, main battery rangefinder and later, uh, when the attack on Pearl come along, I was, uh, operator of, uh, forward main battery rangefinder, which was Range 1, and, uh, we manned that during, uh, battle practice, also, uh, when we got underway or entered port.

CH: And these were all visual rangefinders (both talking at the same time) because they didn't have—

AH: (both talking at the same time) Yes, optical, optical rangefinders.

CH: —yeah, they didn't have radar.

AH: They didn't have radar in those days.

CH: Right.

AH: Yeah.

CH: Right, so it was all visual (both talking at the same time) rangefinder.

AH: (both talking at the same time) Yes, you betcha, yeah.

CH: After the port in Northern California you guys headed back to—

AH: Back to Pearl.

CH: —back to Pearl?

AH: Yeah, and we operated out of Pearl Harbor then, and let's see, we, I'm trying to think if we got back to the States. We didn't. We were there until, well, let's see, after I became a fire controlman, I was sent back to San Diego to the Elementary Fire Control School for three months.

CH: Um-hm.

AH: And, uh, at that time, what is now the naval station, now down in San Diego, was known as the Destroyer base,[26] and, uh, so I went to school there for three months, learning basic fire control and, uh, when I went back to the ship, uh, in August of '41, I was elevated to fire controlman[27] 3rd class,

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[25] Also known as battle stations or action stations, an announcement aboard a naval warship to signal that everyone available onboard must go to the battle stations as quickly as possible.

[26] Most likely a reference to what is now known as Naval Base San Diego or the 32nd Street Naval Station, currently the second-largest Surface Ship base of the U.S. Navy.

[27] Abbreviated FC, a U.S. Navy occupational rating. They operate weapon systems on board surface combatant ships and are therefore trained in the repair, maintenance, operation, and employment of weapons.

uh, petty officer 3rd.[28] Then, uh, I was, uh, main battery rangefinder operator, until the attack, well even after the attack, my gosh, uh, well for that matter, until I left the ship in 1943.

CH: Hm.

AH: I was main battery rangefinder operator.

CH: In the two or three months leading up to December of 1941, did you guys feel an increased threat? Was there any—

AH: Oh yes, yeah, but, uh, everybody was of the opinion that "Gosh we could whip the Japs[29] in six weeks." You know, they really never, uh, considered the seriousness of it. Uh, we learned a lot, I'll tell you, we grew up in a hurry morning of December 7th, 1941. We all grew ten years I'll tell you.

CH: Right. How did that day, uh, how did that day start for you?

AH: I, uh, sat down to breakfast, I got up about, uh, oh it must have been 6:30 and, uh, so I went to breakfast, and I had just sat down at the table with, uh, my breakfast tray, and, uh, about that time we heard a couple thumps, and somebody remarks some boat docks[30] is gonna catch hell from the, from the OD,[31] from bumping his boat into the side of the ship, and, uh, about that time we heard another thump. Well, that happened to be the torpedoes that hit the Utah.[32] And she capsized, she was two ships astern[33] of us, and our sister ship, the Raleigh,[34] was directly astern of us, she took a torpedo and almost capsized. And, uh, she also took a bomb through her aftward superstructure that teared through the ship, out the bottom. Fortunately, it didn't explode, an armor piercing shell[35] that didn't even explode. So, uh, she was out of action, the, uh, Raleigh. And, uh, all the time, uh, we were general quarters and, uh, firing our anti-aircraft weapons.

CH: When did you, when you were eating breakfast and you felt those first couple thumps, how long before you realized (both talking at the same time) "Hey, it just wasn't somebody that bumped the ship?"

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[28] Above seaman and below petty officer second class, it is the lower rank of non-commissioned officers and the equivalent to a corporal in the U.S. Army and Marine Corps.

[29] An English abbreviation of the word "Japanese," generally regarded as an offensive ethnic slur, especially during and after the events of World War II.

[30] Most likely a reference to crew working on the docks.

[31] Most likely the abbreviation for "Officer of the Day," also known as duty officer, a regularly rotational position with different duties, for example, administrative duties.

[32] USS Utah (BB-31/AG-16), a target ship that had anti-aircraft guns to train gunners. It was hit within the first minutes of the attack by two torpedoes which caused serious flooding, causing it to roll over and sink, although most of the crew were able to escape. The wreck remains in the harbor with a memorial erected near the ship.

[33] Behind or toward the rear of a ship.

[34] USS Raleigh (CL-7), an Omaha-class light cruiser that took a torpedo in her No. 2 boiler room and claimed five victories with her anti-aircraft batteries with no loss of life.

[35] A type of projectile designed to penetrate body armor or vehicle armor.

AH: (both talking at the same time) Oh, almost immediately. Almost immediately. There was a chief gunner's main walking through the mess area. He looked out through one of the portholes, and he says, "This is the Japs and it's the real thing." And about that time the general quarters' alarm sounded. So, I just dropped, I didn't even take a single bite of breakfast, I just dropped my, my spoon or fork or whatever I had in my hand at the time and took off on the run to my battle station and, uh, so—

CH: And your battle station was at the view finder?

AH: Sixty-five feet up into the forward superstructure, above the pilot house, sixty-five feet above the waterline. And, uh, so, as I got up there, uh—

*[00:20:12]*

AH: —Homer Dates who was my assistant, he was a trainer for my rangefinder, the position on the azimuth, uh, he was squatted down, he beat me up there, and he squatted down behind the pedestal and the foundation of the unit, and he yelled at me to duck as I come up over a twenty-four-inch signal light[36] platform, and, uh, so I jumped and ducked into the rangefinder shield, was a complete housing and, uh, so we both got in there, activated the rangefinder, and, uh, after a few minutes we got out, well, while we were in there, uh, our forward three-inch gun, uh, the concussion from it, when it burned aft, it knocked the pipe covers off the port hole on either side of the shield, and, uh, it was an enclosed housing.[37] And, uh, Dates was looking out through his port toward Pearl City, well, once he put his, eh, ear, finger in his ear, and he leaned over on me, and he—tried to get him to talk, he couldn't say anything for quite a bit, finally took another look, took his fingers out of his ears, and he said, "That was the biggest fucking torpedo I ever seen in my life." And, uh, our forward machine guns are, we had four fifty-caliber machine guns in our, uh, forward fighting tower, and, uh, they were bearing down on us, right as they came in, and apparently, uh, they must have registered some hits on him because he veered off without dropping his fish.[38]

CH: Hm.

AH: And, uh, they missed us, uh, they launched a torpedo at us and missed our stern by about ten feet and right up by the beach on Ford Island.[39] And, uh, there was, uh, the horizontal bombers then, you know the second phase of the attack dropped bombs straddling us and, uh, put mud from the bottom

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[36] Signal light, also known as an Aldis lamp or Morse lamp, a visual signaling device for optical communication, typically using Morse code.

[37] Presumably a reference to the gun housing.

[38] Slang for torpedo.

[39] Ford Island, also known as Rabbit Island, Marin's Island, Little Goats Island, and Moku'ume'ume, an islet at the center of Pearl Harbor that became a strategic center of operations for the U.S. Navy in the Pacific Ocean and the center of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

of the harbor up on our weather decks. But, uh, otherwise there was just one machine gun hole through the number one stack, and we didn't have, but we had one man injured that—he caught a machine gun bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh.

CH: That was during just the first phase, or during the—

AH: That was during the first phase.

CH: Right.

AH: Yeah. And, uh, so we were strafed from stem to stern several times and, uh, Dates and I got out of the ranger finder after a few minutes (coughs). We seen two tracks across the top of the pilot house, the deck above. We had seen bright, shiny steel in the midst of what looked like, you know, little divots in the grey deck paint.

CH: Um-hm.

AH: It'd be bright shiny steel surrounded by red lead in the grey deck paint.

CH: Right.

AH: All over it so—

CH: So, you could see bullet holes right across the top?

AH: Yeah, so when he yelled at me to duck, he seen the plane coming in and, uh, we dove into the rangefinder housing and, uh, I've always said that he saved my neck from that. So, uh, we, uh, we eventually got underway, Admiral (inaudible) our, uh, he was, uh, a Destroyer flotilla[40] commander. Actually, he was, uh, commander of Destroyer's battle force specifically. But, uh (noise), his flagship was Detroit, and, uh, he had about nineteen destroyers under his command.

CH: And he was on Detroit at that time?

AH: He was on Detroit, and I remember looking down unto the wing of the bridge from my position above and seeing him giving orders to various of his staff officers to get various ships underway. And, uh, with them I took great courage from seeing them, because they were operating as if it was routine. Showing no sign of—

CH: Right, all the drills and all the training that you guys have been doing.

AH: Yeah, yeah. Oh, I thank my lucky stars many, many times for all the drills that we had. We had, uh, we were so well drilled that, uh, I think there was no one on the ship that couldn't almost fill in for any position on, uh, the anti-aircraft or main battery.

CH: Um-hm.

AH: Uh, and this happened quite a bit because some people were still ashore. Uh, the, uh, anti-aircraft guns, the three-inch fifty-calibers, we, uh, had people that would come along and pass them and see if they could see and they'd just fill in the spot, you know?

CH: Right.

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[40] A flotilla is a formation of small warships that may be part of a larger fleet.

AH: And, uh, they ordinarily wouldn't be on that position at all.
CH: Right.
AH: But they seen a vacancy, and they just, you know, filled the spot.
CH: So after those first torpedoes missed, after the first planes break through, and you look down and saw your commanding officer there, were you aware what was going on around the rest of the harbor?
AH: Oh gosh, yes, we had a ring-side seat for everything that went on in the harbor, unobstructed view, with nothing to do but watch it. We were looking directly at the Arizona[41] when she blew up. We, uh, seen water geysers across Pearl Harbor, or Ford Island, that, along Battleship Row,[42] that every time one of the torpedoes hit one of the battleships, there'd be a geyser go up about four to six times higher than their fighting tops,[43] and their fighting tops were 135 feet above the water line.
CH: Um-hm.
AH: And, uh, yeah we seen all that. We seen the Shaw[44] blow up in the floating dry dock.[45] Uh, and, scared, my God, I'll swear, we were dressed in white shorts and white t-shirts, skitty shirts as we called them, and, uh, I remember being very cold, yet it was in the tropics.
CH: Um-hm.
AH: And I remember shaking like a leaf, but still, I had the, the capacity to function at my job.
CH: Right.
AH: As I was supposed to. And everybody else I think was pretty much the same way. Now, many of the people, uh, that were below decks, for example, in the fire rooms and engine rooms and the like, and in the magazines,[46] could not see what was going on, so, uh, it wasn't, it wasn't any problem for them but my gosh, uh, for Homer Dates, and I with nothing to do but watch things blow up, I'll tell you we were, well, I was in a state of shock. I lost ten pounds in three days, and I never ate a bite of food. Well

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[41] USS Arizona (BB-39), transferred to Pearl Harbor as a deterrent to Japanese imperialism, was hit by torpedo bombers that dropped armor-piercing bombs of which one detonated in a magazine, exploded violently, and sank; lost 1,177 officers and crewmen. The shipwreck still lies at the bottom of Pearl Harbor.

[42] The grouping of eight U.S. battleships in port at Pearl Harbor, moored next to Ford Island when the attack commenced, took the brunt of the Japanese assault.

[43] An enlarged top with swivel guns designed to fire down at the deck of enemy ships.

[44] USS Shaw (DD-373), a Mahan-class destroyer, named after naval officer Captain John Shaw, sustained major damage during the attack, including a spectacular explosion of her forward magazine that provided one of the most iconic photographs of the attack.

[45] A narrow basin or vessel that can be flooded to allow a load to be floated in, then drained to allow that load to come to rest on a dry platform, primarily used for construction, maintenance, and repair of ships, boats, and other watercraft.

[46] A place for the storage of ammunition or other explosive material.

I ate one bite of food, that I had to force down, while we were at sea. But, uh, from Saturday night, on the beach in Honolulu was the last time I had eaten anything, until Wednesday afternoon, the 10th, when we came in, back into port to offload target ammunition and to strip ship, get rid of stuff we didn't need, and to take on fuel and stores and provisions and new ammo. And that was the first meal I had eaten in three days.

CH: How long did it seem like that attack went on? From when you had your breakfast till, you know, you got to your position?

AH: (sighs)Well—

CH: I mean how long?

AH: Quite long. It, uh, just seemed like it was never going to end and, uh, it was in two phases. First phase was from about 7:55 until, oh, it must have been about 8:55, and then the next one was 9:15 to 9:45.

CH: And your Detroit, your ship stayed right there in position.

AH: Oh yes, yes, well, we, we did get underway and turned around, uh, in East Loch,[47] and, uh, we were preparing to head to sea and, uh, we were ordered—

*[00:30:13]*

AH: —by CINCPAC[48] to tie up again at our berth. So we did and, uh, about thirty-five or forty minutes later, they made Admiral Draymore commander of task force one and ordered us to see, to investigate possible landing—[audio cuts out here: 00:30:35-00:30:43]

CH: Alright, so you were just, you were just leaving the, leaving the harbor.

AH: We left the harbor, we were one of three cruisers. It was, uh, the Phoenix[49] and the St. Louis,[50] left the harbor just ahead of us, we followed the St. Louis out. And, uh, we went through the channel at about 20 knots,[51] which is unheard of. Uh, normally, uh, you enter and leave port there, you do only about, uh, no more than 8 knots, 6 or 8 knots, through the channel, and we went out through there at 20 knots. Soon as we got clear of the harbor, one of the destroyers patrolling off the harbor channel sent us a blinker light

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[47] Most likely a reference to an arm of the sea, especially when narrow or partially landlocked, located at Pearl Harbor, east of Ford Island.

[48] Commander-in-Chief Pacific Fleet.

[49] USS Phoenix (CL-46), a light cruiser of the Brooklyn-class cruiser family, anchored northeast of Ford Island when the attack happened. They escaped unharmed and, shortly after noon, joined the St. Louis and Detroit and several destroyers searching, unsuccessfully, for the enemy aircraft carriers.

[50] USS St. Louis (CL-49), a light cruiser of the Brooklyn-class, moored to the pier in southeast Loch when the attack happened. They escaped unharmed and, shortly after noon, joined the Phoenix and Detroit and several destroyers searching, unsuccessfully, for the enemy aircraft carriers.

[51] Unit of measurement for the speeds of vessels relative to the fluids in which they travel, equal to one nautical mile per hour.

that two torpedoes was headed our way. So our skipper,[52] uh, Captain L. J. Wiltse took evasive action, and about six or eight minutes, maybe ten minutes later, we heard two end-of-run detonations on the horizon, from the torpedoes that were launched at us. And we investigated the, the western shores of the island of Oahu and discovered there was no enemy landing, and, uh, so then our orders was to seek out and engage the enemy.

CH: Did you think that ground troops were going to be following from the planes, when they first sent you out?

AH: Well, well, it was thought that that was possible

CH: Right.

AH: And, uh, it had been reported erroneously that there was troops landing on the western shores of Oahu. So, we investigated that and proved it was not true. And then we went looking for them. Thank God, we didn't find them, because we had no air cover and, uh, thinking their fleet had a 2-knot speed over us, I take it encouraged us to come into deep water, and then they had plenty of airplanes left. I think we only destroyed about 29 of their aircraft during the attack. And, uh, we had no air cover, so, uh, we operated at sea for the next, well, until the 10th, the afternoon of the 10th, we went back into Pearl. And, uh, we encountered, when we went back in on Thursday afternoon, or about noon Thursday, somebody spotted what was first reported as a periscope.[53] And, uh, somebody recalled it, "Oh it's only a swab handle,[54] swab floating in the water." But it so happened that one of our small boats put a grappling hook over the side and, uh, first thing you know the boat is being towed stern first by this swab handle. (both laugh) You might say. And, uh, Captain Wiltse, on various occasions, ordered all hands not on duty to the starboard side[55] of the ship just in the event of (inaudible) torpedoes. But then two-man Jap subs carried two torpedoes, one over the other and in the nose of the craft. And they were suicidal, you know, they, they had a big cutting guard around the nose of the thing, and they'd ram into the side of a ship and cut through the skin and detonate the torpedoes. And, uh, they would, they would do that given the chance. But anyhow, we, uh, fended this two-man sub off all Thursday evening and Thursday night with small boats and hand lanterns and, uh, Friday morning, Admiral Draymore ordered a PT boat[56] to come alongside, and

[52] The captain of a ship or boat.

[53] An instrument for observation over, around, or through an object, obstacle, or condition that prevents direct line-of-sight.

[54] The handle of a mop.

[55] A nautical term of orientation that deals unambiguously with the structure of vessels, referring to the right side of the vessel, seen by an observer aboard the vessel looking forward.

[56] Short for patrol torpedo boat; small, fast, and expendable vessels for short-range oceanic scouting, armed with torpedoes and machine guns for cutting enemy supply lines and harassing enemy forces.

our carpenters mates nailed a 2 by 4 across the counter, or the stern, of the PT with white lines, fastened underneath it, and they went over to a, uh, an old four-stack Destroyer[57] and got two 300-lb depth charges[58] and just set them down on the stern of the PT, the two (inaudible) had to keep them from sliding off the stern but they'd bring the white lines over the depth charges, and a sailor would sit there holding the lines, to hold them in place, with his, sitting on his butt with his feet up against the ash can.[59] And they had a safety wire stapled to the deck, and, uh, so when they'd get a position on this two-man sub, PT boats would make a round on that spot, kick these ash cans over and get the hell out of the way, and so, that went on for all Friday afternoon. Finally the, uh, they gave up these, sub positioned itself directly under the hospital ship, Solace,[60] and, uh, set down on the bottom of the harbor. And, uh, so the next morning, couple of tugs[61] come down and they towed the Solace broadside until the next, the next set of floating buoys, and they brought a floating crane[62] down and, uh, a big barge[63], and some divers went down put lines around this two-man sub and hoisted it out of the water, clear up on this barge, and that's the last we seen of it.

CH: Hm.

AH: So, uh, I—to this day I've never heard specifically anything about that particular incident, but we witnessed it, on the Detroit.

CH: Right.

AH: Yeah.

CH: Once you guys dealt with that sub situation, and you guys went and redocked inside Pearl—

AH: Yeah.

CH: —and did what?

AH: Well, we took on fuel and provisions, ammunition, stores of all kind. We stored, uh, food provisions in every vacant space we can find on the ship.

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[57] A type of Destroyer with three classes, Caldwell, Wickes, and Clemson, numbered at 273.

[58] An anti-submarine warfare weapon intended to destroy a submarine by being dropped into the water nearby and detonating, subjecting the target to a powerful and destructive hydraulic shock.

[59] A U.S. Navy term for a depth charge.

[60] USS Solace (AH-5), an unarmed hospital ship present during the Pearl Harbor attack, where a crew member, Eric Haakenson, captured the moment of the USS Arizona's explosion. The Solace evacuated the wounded crew of other ships and was left unharmed due to the rules of the Geneva Convention.

[61] A tugboat or tug is a vessel that maneuvers other vessels by pushing or pulling them either by direct contact or by means of a tow line.

[62] Also known as a crane vessel or crane ship, specialized in lifting heavy loads.

[63] A shoal-draft flat-bottomed boat built mainly for river and canal transport of bulk goods.

Chief Commissary Steward[64] opened up cofferdams[65] and voids[66] and what have you, and we loaded them up with canned goods, juices, and fruit, and what have you, canned fruit. Also, all kinds of canned goods for that matter. And, uh, because when we operated later on, up in the Aleutian Islands,[67] we had, uh, about three or four destroyers operating with us, and they didn't, they didn't have, uh, the capacity to store a lot of food and the like.

CH: Um-hm.

AH: And we had to reprovision them on occasion and, uh, refuel them. So, uh, it was, uh, quite an operation.

CH: So, once you got your ship restocked, then what was your guys' next job?

AH: We, the next job we had was escorting the first convoy of wounded and evacuees from the islands back to San Francisco. We arrived in San Francisco on Christmas, Christmas morning, 1942, '41. And, uh, we were there two days while they assembled the twenty-one ship convoy that we escorted back to Pearl Harbor. After that, we, we done a lot of escort duty, convoy escort duty and, uh—

CH: Between Pearl and—

*[00:40:01]*

AH: —Pearl to San Francisco, Pearl to San Diego, between those two.

CH: Um-hm.

AH: To, uh, the Samoan Islands[68] and, uh, several trips down there. So, uh, well, we were quite busy in that regard.

CH: Is that how you spent the rest of your military service on the Detroit after Pearl?

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[64] The senior crew member working in the steward's department of a ship, responsible to direct, instruct, and assign personnel performing such functions as preparing and serving meals, overseeing cleaning and maintaining the officers' quarters and steward department areas, and receiving, issuing, and inventorying stores.

[65] Essentially an empty compartment between tanks to prevent two different liquids from mixing if there is a leak.

[66] An enclosed space, usually in the cargo area, also the result of constructional arrangement for strengthening the ship's structure, otherwise it has no commercial or operational use.

[67] Also known as the Aleut Island or Aleutic Islands, known before 1867 as the Catherine Archipelago; a chain of 14 large volcanic islands and 55 smaller islands mostly owned by the U.S. state of Alaska, but some belong to the Russian federal subject of Kamchatka Krai. They extend about 1,200 miles westward from the Alaska peninsula toward the Kamchatka Peninsula in Russia and mark a dividing line between the Bering Sea to the north and the Pacific Ocean to the south.

[68] An archipelago in the central South Pacific, forming part of Polynesia and the wider region of Oceania.

AH: No, no. I, uh, I left the Detroit in May of 1943 at the island of Adak[69] in the Aleutian Islands (dog barking) What she yapping at? [audio cuts off and immediately returns] Operator then, uh, we went from the Equator to (dog barking) Kodiak, Alaska,[70] in eight days. We stopped in San Francisco for about four hours to pick up foul-weather clothing. And, uh, got underway from there to Kodiak, Alaska. We went from a temperature, well in the Equator, to 29 degrees below zero in eight days.

CH: Hm.

AH: And, uh, I don't mind telling you, that was bitter, bitter cold. Our heating system, our compartment heating system in the ship failed first time we hotted it up, because somebody had assembled steel tubing and the like in the heating system with brass fitting, so the incompatibility of the two different metals, expansion coefficients, just didn't match (laughs).

CH: And what were you doing up there? (phone rings)

AH: In the Aleutians?

CH: Yes. No, going from the Equator, (phone rings) going up.

AH: We, uh, went from the Equator into San Francisco.

CH: Right.

AH: We were there in port for four hours, took on foul-weather gear and got underway again for Kodiak. [audio cuts out, then in again] And we, uh, we got to (sighs) Kodiak, and all our guns and, and search lights and what have you, the dry trains, the gear box and so on were frozen, full of ice, the lubricants in them had frozen up. We had to dismantle them and put diesel oil—

NN: (inaudible) excuse me. Mom said to, for you to check for two more tears out in the shed. [audio cuts out and in]

AH: City of Hope[71] thing. The chapter that scares up, uh, donations and the like.

CH: Right.

AH: City of Hope. So, uh, anyway, we operated in the Aleutians, up there, for all, during the winter of '42 and '43. Got ashore once for about four hours in Dutch harbor,[72] otherwise we were at sea continuously.

CH: Wow.

AH: We'd go into Adak, after dark, reprovision alongside a tanker[73] was in there. And, uh, be out and back over the horizon before daylight. That went

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[69] An island near the western extent of the Andreanof Islands group of the Aleutian Islands in Alaska, houses Alaska's southernmost town of Adak.

[70] Kodiak is the main city and one of seven communities on Kodiak Island in Kodiak Island Borough, Alaska.

[71] A reference to the National Cancer Institute, a designated comprehensive cancer center and a founding member of the National Comprehensive Cancer Network, founded in 1913.

[72] A harbor in Amaknak Island in Unalaska, Alaska.

[73] Also known as a tank ship, designed to transport or store liquids or gases in bulk.

on all winter long of ’42 and ’[4]3. Average temperature was 34 degrees below zero. All that period of time and, uh—

CH: Wow.

AH: It was miserable. That’s why (both talking at the same time) I live in Southern California.

CH: (both talking at the same time) I was about to say, no wonder you live here now (both laugh). So that’s ‘42 and ’43, and then?

AH: Up until May of ’43, and then I was ordered back to the advanced fire control school in Washington, D.C. And, uh, from there I (coughs), I was, finished fourth in a class of thirty-six, and I made the mistake of writing a hundred percent on a hydraulic exam, for a GE hydraulic gun mount, and they decided to make an instructor out of me. They put me through two weeks of instructor training and sent me to Fort Lauderdale, Florida, to (coughs) Fire Control Operators School that they had established down there, and I was there for, oh, about eighteen months I guess it was. And I made chief petty officer down there and, uh, back to Fire Control, the Advanced Fire Control School again (coughs), and from there I—the war was over by the time I finished school and, uh, they ordered me to a new Destroyer that was being constructed. (yawns) Excuse me.

CH: No problem.

AH: And, uh, at the top Pacific shipyard in Harbor Island,[74] San Francisco or, uh, Seattle rather. And, uh, so I commissioned, uh, Hollister[75] there and, uh, following underway training in San Diego I was, I was sent—transferred to the Destroyer leader, uh, the division, flagship,[76] and, uh, since they had no chief fire controlman and, uh, we went to China, the Far East. China, the Philippines, Japan, Korea, and this was before the Korean War.[77] We operated for a period of time out, uh, Pusan,[78] I think they may pronounce Pusan, I don’t know. But, uh, we operated out of there, uh, South Korea, for, I don’t know, a month or six weeks, interdicting, uh, gun runners[79] up

[74] A reference to Harbor Island in the U.S. state of Washington in the city of Seattle; an artificial island in the mouth of the Duwamish River which empties into Elliot Bay, has been used for commercial and industrial activities, such as secondary lead-smelting, shipbuilding and repair, bulk petroleum storage, metal fabrication, and containerized cargo shipping.

[75] Probably the USS Hollister (DD-788), a destroyer manufactured in 1945 and commissioned in 1946.

[76] The ship in a fleet which carries the commanding admiral.

[77] A war (June 25, 1950, to July 27, 1953) between North Korea, with the support of China and the Soviet Union, and South Korea, with support of the United Nations, mostly from the United States; ended unofficially in an armistice.

[78] Busan, formerly Romanized as Pusan, now officially known as Busan Metropolitan City, is South Korea’s second-most populous city located on the southeastern portion of the peninsula.

[79] Most likely a reference to those who take or send guns into a country secretly and illegally.

and down the coast, bringing spies and gun runners and what have you into South Korea, before the Korean War.

CH: When you were in school down there in Fort Lauderdale, how did you actually, where were you at when you found out the war was over?

AH: Well, uh, I had left there, I made chief petty officer from there, I was ordered back to school, and it was when I was, before I finished school, that, uh, the war ended, and I was in the Advanced Fire Control School in Washington[80] at that time.

CH: Back, when you had come back from Washington.

AH: Yeah, and, uh, following that, well, I commissioned, uh, Hollister in Seattle and went aboard the James E. Kyes[81] for a tour of the Far East (coughs), and while out there, I was ordered again back to the Advanced Fire Control School in Washington D.C. And I, I flew from, uh, four-engine plane from, a propeller type, from Japan, from Haneda Airport[82] outside Tokyo, to Guam,[83] Guam to Johnson's Island, Johnson's Island to, to Pearl Harbor and, uh, then from Pearl Harbor to Moffett Field,[84] and, uh, Moffett Field and, uh, back to Washington D.C. National Airport, and I went through school there, again, and while in that school I took the entrance exam for the Fire Control Technician School. The Advanced School, by the way, was a thirty-three week course, and then the Fire Control Technician School was a fifty-two week course, and uh, normally, and I, uh, while in the Advanced School, I took the entrance exam for the Fire Control Technician School, took a day and a half to take that exam, and they only considered the top ten percent, of the grades, on that exam for the technician school. So, when I finished the Advanced School, two weeks later I was in the Technician School, and my particular course stretched an extra six weeks—

*[00:50:03]*

AH: —because they introduced, uh, a Fire Control Radar[85] course to the Technician School, for my—at the beginning of my class. When I finished that, a year and a half later or over a year later, I was ordered into guided

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[80] Washington, D.C.

[81] USS James E. Kyes (DD-787), a Gearing-class destroyer of the U.S. Navy, named after Commander James E. Kyes (1906-1943).

[82] Haneda airport, officially known as the Tokyo International Airport, is one of two primary airports that serve the Greater Tokyo Area located in the Ōta District of Tokyo, Japan.

[83] Guam is an organized, unincorporated territory of the United States in Micronesia in the western Pacific Ocean.

[84] Moffett Field, known officially as the Moffett Federal Airfield, a joint civil-military airport located in an unincorporated part of Santa Clara County, California, between northern Mountain View and northern Sunnyvale.

[85] Same as the fire-control systems, except with the use of radar sighting once it became available.

missiles at the Applied Physics Lab at John Hopkins University,[86] Silver Spring, Maryland.[87] And I was, uh, nine and a half years in research and development for, uh, the Terrier guided missile,[88] uh, out of which came the, the, uh, Talos,[89] and, well, the Talos was a ramjet[90] missile that was being developed at that time, and the Tartar[91] was a shorter-range version of the Terrier. So, uh, nine and half years in that program, and, uh, in the meantime, I was, while in that program I was sent to—from the Applied Physics lab to China Lake,[92] California, a naval ordinance test station.[93] And then, from there, to the USS Norton Sound[94] out of Port Hueneme[95] out here, near Oxnard,[96] and then back to the ex-battleship Mississippi[97] which was an experimental ship then, at that time to shake down the first automatic loading system for the Terrier missile, launchers, and the firing, more firing of, uh, Terrier.

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[86] Private research university in Baltimore, Maryland, founded in 1876 and named for its first benefactor, Johns Hopkins. It revolutionized higher education in the U.S. by integrating teaching and research and was the first research university in the U.S.

[87] Silver Spring is a census-designated place in southeastern Montgomery County, Maryland, near Washington D.C., officially unincorporated, but in practice an edge city.

[88] A reference to the RIM-2 Terrier ship-to-air missile, part of the development of the Bumblebee Project, the U.S. Navy's effort to develop a surface-to-air missile to provide a middle layer of defense against air attacks. It was first test-launched from the USS Mississippi in 1953.

[89] A reference to the RIM-8 Talos, a long-range naval surface-to-air missile. Talos was the end product of Operation Bumblebee in its development for protection against guided anti-ship missiles that used radar-beam riding for guidance to the vicinity of its target and semiactive radar homing for terminal guidance.

[90] A ramjet, sometimes referred to as a flying stovepipe or an athodyd (aero thermodynamic duct), is a form of airbreathing jet engine that uses the engine's forward motion to compress incoming air without an axial compressor or centrifugal compressor; useful in applications requiring a small and simple mechanism for high-speed use, such as missiles.

[91] A reference to the RIM-24 Tartar, a medium-range naval surface-to-air missile, part of the development of the Bumblebee Project. The Tartar was the third of the so-called "3 Ts" which were the three primary surface-to-air missiles the Navy fielded in the 1960s and 1970s, the others being the Terrier and Talos.

[92] Located in Kern County, California.

[93] Located in the Mojave Desert in inland Southern California.

[94] USS Norton Sound (AVM-1), a Currituck-class seaplane tender, named after Norton Sound, a large inlet in West Alaska.

[95] Port Hueneme is a small beach city in Ventura County surrounded by the city of Oxnard and the Santa Barbara Channel. Port of Hueneme is the only deep-water harbor between Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay area.

[96] City in the state of California in Ventura County, approximately 60 miles (97 km) west of downtown Los Angeles; part of the larger Greater Los Angeles area.

[97] Most likely a reference to the USS Mississippi (BB-41/AG-128), the second of three members of the New Mexico class of battleships. After World War II, it was converted into a gunnery training ship and also used to test new weapon systems, including the RIM-2 Terrier missile.

CH: So after that nine and half years did you stay in the military or—?

AH: Oh yeah, yeah. Then I, uh, I was ordered from the Mississippi back to China Lake, and I stayed about, oh, three years there. I was ordered then to, when I—back to ship, ordered me then back to the Norton Sound out of Port Hueneme, and all the time, this is, uh, Terrier guided missile, firings and the like, fired about 50, 60 missiles, I guess. Then, uh, and I was missile guidance radar crew chief for all that period of time but, uh, then I made Warrant Officer on the Norton Sound and they sent me to the USS Helena,[98] the CA-75, which was a heavy cruiser, an eight-inch gun cruiser (coughs), of the Baltimore-class, as fire control gunner on the Helena, and I was there for, uh, a couple years. We made a trip to the Far East, uh, and was flagship with the seventh fleet out there and, uh, when we returned from that, I was ordered into the Polaris[99] missile program. And then I helped introduce the Polaris missile to the fleet. I was, uh, I was missile assembly and checkout officer for, for the Polaris missile and we outloaded the first three submarines for patrol, uh, for Polaris patrol before, before, uh, I retired from Navy, I retired from the Navy.

CH: What year was that?

AH: That was 1960, first of December 1960, I retired with credit for twenty-one years' service.

CH: Where'd life take you after the Navy?

AH: Well I went to work for Northrop Corporation[100] in Anaheim[101] (coughs), building fire control equipment for the Polaris submarines. Uh, following that, I went into—went to North American Aviation[102] into the Apollo[103] program where, uh, we built the second stage[104] and I, I was test equipment

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[98] USS Helena (CA-75), a Baltimore-class heavy cruiser, built and commissioned after World War II.

[99] The UGM-27b Polaris was a two-stage solid-fueled nuclear-armed submarine-launched ballistic missile, the first of its kind in the U.S. Navy.

[100] Northrop corporation was an American aircraft manufacturer from its formation in 1939 until its 1994 merger with Grumman to form Northrop Grumman, which is an American global aerospace and defense technology company.

[101] City in Orange County, California; part of the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

[102] Most likely a reference to the North American Aviation plain in Downey, California, where the Apollo 11's Command and Service Module and the second stage for its Saturn V launch vehicle were designed and built.

[103] The Apollo program, also known as Project Apollo, was the third U.S. human spaceflight program carried out by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). It landed the first humans, Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin, on the moon in 1969.

[104] A reference to the stages in a multistage rocket, or step rocket, which is the launch vehicle that uses two or more rocket stages, each of which contains its engines and propellant in order to assist the rocket to reach its final speed and height.

engineer, and we were, uh, we were building automatic test equipment for the second stage of that Saturn V[105] rocket, that big—

CH: Hmm.

AH: —thirty-six story rocket, that put the Apollo on the moon.

CH: Right, right.

AH: And, uh, after that, I went to Hughes Aircraft Company[106] in the F-14, the Navy F-14 Tomcat program,[107] building, designed, uh, shore, or, ground support equipment for the F-14, the computer and weapons' control systems in the F-14. We built a computer test station that, that checked out the computer subsystem in the F-14 and the weapons control and interface systems in the F-14.

CH: Besides that one stop that you told me back, when you were flying back and you stopped at Pearl Harbor, have you been back since?

AH: Yeah, yeah I, uh, been back several times with the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association.[108]

CH: Right, how did you get involved with that?

AH: Well, being a Pearl Harbor survivor I, uh, I just quite by accident got into it after my wife passed away and, uh, somewhere here I have—here we go. I, uh, just kind of got involved with it.

CH: Right.

AH: And it's one of the finest organizations that I will ever—had ever hoped to be involved with.

CH: Yeah, this is actually how I got in touch with you 'cause I contacted them through their website.

AH: Yeah.

CH: And the gentleman was nice enough to email me—

AH: Yeah.

CH: —your name and number and what not.

AH: Well, right now I'm first district director, uh, in the National Administration and, uh, I have, my responsibility is Alaska, California, Hawaii, and Nevada.

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[105] The Saturn V was an American super heavy-lift launch vehicle, certified for human rating and used by NASA between 1967 and 1973, consisting of three stages and developed to support the Apollo program for human exploration of the moon and later used to launch Skylab, the first American space station.

[106] The Hughes Aircraft Company was a major American aerospace and defense contractor, founded in 1932 by Howard Hughes in Glendale, California.

[107] Most likely a reference to the creation of the AN/AWG-9 and AN/APG-71 radars that were all-weather, multi-mode X-band pulse-Doppler radar systems used in the F-14 Tomcat.

[108] The Pearl Harbor Survivors Association (PHSA) was founded in 1958 and recognized by the U.S. Congress in 1985. It was a World War II veterans organization whose members were at Pearl Harbor, or three miles or less offshore, during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. In December 2011, the organization was officially disbanded.

CH: Is that keeping track of all of—
AH: Yeah.
CH: —Pearl Harbor survivors? And how many?
AH: We've got, uh, well in California alone we've got about, uh, about sixteen-hundred survivors left.
CH: Right.
AH: My God, we're losing them at a rapid rate though. Uh, the average age is about eighty-one for all these people.
CH: And nationally?
AH: And nationally we had, uh, well initially about, uh, twenty-five thousand, and that's down now to, oh, less than eight thousand.
CH: Looking back at Pearl Harbor and your experiences there, you know over this many years, what would you like future generations to think about, to remember?
AH: Well, we got, we've got a very serious situation right now. Y'know, our motto in that organization is "Remember Pearl Harbor. Keep America Alert." And there is not a one of us that wouldn't walk ten miles out of our way to avoid a war or anything like that. But right now, this situation that is going on in the U.N.[109] and with Iraq[110] (coughs)—Excuse me.
CH: Bless you.
AH: Anyway, uh, that son-of-gun over there,[111] that tyrant has had almost thirteen years to comply with U.N. resolutions. He's snubbed his nose at the U.N. for about seventeen of them, seventeen resolutions that, uh, he hasn't complied with. Now France, Germany, and several of these other countries, China, they all have monetary interests in Iraq. France has been, well both, France and Germany have provided equipment and instruction to Saddam Hussein over this past, uh, twelve or thirteen years. There's a lot of money involved, for both those nations. And, uh, that's the one reason I think that they're lobbying so hard against a, uh, resolution by the U.N. to, to go in and take that guy.

*[01:00:02]*

CH: Lesson should be, be prepared and not let something like this happen again?
AH: Listen, if you give him more time, that's just more time for him to, to generate his, uh, weapons of mass destruction. He's had all this time that he's, uh, he's done this, we know he has them. And, uh, you know the, after

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[109] Abbreviation for the United Nations, an intergovernmental organization that aims to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, achieve international cooperation, and be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations.

[110] This interview on March 12, 2003, occurred days before the Iraq War started (March 20, 2003), which involved the United States overthrowing the government of Saddam Hussein.

[111] A reference to Saddam Hussein.

all you get along so far, and the guy keeps thumbing his nose at, at everyone outside his regime, it's time to call a halt to it. And the only thing he knows, I mean, here's a man that had used some of his, uh, biological weapons on his own people, in the north of Iraq.

CH: Right.

AH: Killed many thousands of them.

CH: Did you attend the fiftieth anniversary of, uh, the Pearl Harbor festivities that went on.

AH: Yes, sure did. And the fifty-fifth.

CH: Right.

AH: And the sixtieth.

CH: Going back every five years.

AH: Every five years, yeah.

CH: Did you still keep in touch—[audio cuts out here until 1:01:22]

CH: I was just asking if you still keep in touch, obviously through your organization, with all the people in California, or what not.

AH: Oh yes. At one time I think I knew every, uh, every survivor within the state of California and, uh, I still know many of them. A lot of them we've lost through death and, uh, so, well, even a lot of them on the national level I'm very well-acquainted with. Uh, not so much in Hawaii, they've become a little aloof to us. But, uh, we have to attribute that to one or two individuals out there that didn't want to be bothered so, uh, I'm taking steps to rectify that situation. But, uh, no we have, uh, I travel all over the state. We have twenty-five chapters active here in the state and, uh, they're some of the grandest people you'd ever, ever hope to meet.

CH: Right.

AH: And, uh, they—there's no B.S.-ing with them, you know. I mean they're, oh, we kid around a lot and the like, but I mean, when it gets down to serious business—

CH: That's a very unique bond you guys have.

AH: Oh, you betcha, you very well know. We all have one thing in common, and that was that we were there.

CH: Well, I'd like to thank you for allowing me to be here and share this time with you.

AH: Well I hope, I hope it's been beneficial to you.

CH: It has. And that concludes our interview of 3-12-03. Thank you very much.

AH: You betcha. You betcha and uh—[audio cuts off]

*[01:03:26]*

END OF INTERVIEW

Monique Garcia (editor)

# *"I wouldn't want my kids to go through that": Glover Young's Memories of a Native American Boarding School*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.
Project: Indigenous.
O.H. 0570.
Oral Interview with Glover Young, conducted by Christine Valenciana,
April 22, 1971, La Mirada, California.

*Introduction*

The oral history interview transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "Indigenous." The interview with Glover Young was conducted by Christine Valenciana on April 22, 1971, in La Mirada, California. It lasted 1 hour, 32 minutes, and 37 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH. The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2020 by Monique Garcia.

Glover Young was born in South Dakota, on the border of the Rosebud Reservation and the Pine Ridge Reservation; however, his Indian registration would state that he was from Pine Ridge, South Dakota. His family later moved out of Pine Ridge and lived in Bennett County. Unfortunately, Young, much like other Indigenous children, was separated from his parents at a young age and forced to attend a boarding school in Pine Ridge, more than 80 miles away. Once he had completed the eighth grade, Young moved back with his mother. His parents had divorced in the 1940s, and his father did not live at home. Young did not attend high school as he felt it was his responsibility to help out at home. At the time, not only were his parents no longer together, but his brother had been recalled to the Army. Thus, Young quit school and helped with the family's cattle. Young also worked for ranchers around the county until he joined the Air Force in December 1945. When he was discharged in 1947, he went back to his family, farmed, and took on various jobs. Young eventually got married and had a son who passed away in 1953; he later had three daughters. Young then decided that it would be best to move to California with his family. He had heard from his brothers that California was a good place to live, so he went to the relocation office to begin the steps of moving to California. After his arrival in California, Young was able to use his extensive work experience to get different jobs. He also used the money he had saved from serving in the Air Force during World War II from the G.I. Bill to buy his family a home in La Mirada, California.

Despite experiencing so many hardships and living an unconventional life due to the United States' treatment of the Indigenous, Young, in this interview,

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remains unphased and positive. He expresses detestation for the traditional Native American ways, as he feels that one will not be able to survive in the world without adapting. The Native American Boarding School that Young was placed in as a child seems to have succeeded in its objective, as Young has assimilated to American life. Young does not express any ties to his Native American heritage and roots, which demonstrates the cruelty of these boarding schools.

Glover Young's oral interview provides a personal narrative and a grassroots perspective on the experience and livelihood of the Indigenous in the United States, specifically during a time of war and conflict, the impact of Native American boarding schools, and life on a reservation. His oral history addresses the mistreatment of the Indigenous throughout their history and examines the importance of family—in fact, of the many distinct moments featured in this narrative, the forced placement of Indigenous children into boarding schools, which made Glover Young realize the importance of family, is probably the most haunting one.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Monique Garcia of Whittier, California, earned her B.A. in History and Chicanx/Latinx Studies at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2021), where she is a member of the University Honors Program and the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship. She is the 2020/2021 vice president and the 2021/2022 incoming president of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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*Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 0570)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

| | |
|---|---|
| NARRATOR: | Glover Young [GY] |
| INTERVIEWER: | Christine Valenciana [CV] |
| DATE: | April 22, 1971 |
| LOCATION: | La Mirada, California |
| PROJECT: | Indigenous |
| TRANSCRIBER: | Monique Garcia |

CV: This is an interview with Mr. Glover Young for the urbanization of the Indian Oral History Project. The interviewer is Christine Valenciana. The

interview is taking place at La Mirada, California.[1] The time is 10:45am. The date is April 22, 1971. (pause) Um, Mr. Young where are you from originally?

GY: Uh, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.[2] The Oglala Reservation[3] I was—I guess I was born in Rosebud, South Dakota[4] but, uh, my family's home was on—more or less—on the border of the Rosebud Reservation and the Pine Ridge Reservation. Uh, I guess, uh—I guess my registration as an Indian would be at, uh, Pine Ridge, uh, South Dakota. It begins (?) there, we of course left. We lived, uh, what's, uh, now Bennett County[5]. This is really in that area the only organized county in that part of the state down there.

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: Yeah, you had the Rosebud Reservation on the East and the Pine Ridge Reservation on the West end of that county. But, uh, we were—went to school at Pine Ridge, at the boarding school[6] it borders the state. Well, the whole school year September, I guess until May. You know?

CV: Who operated the school?

GY: It is a government owned or—and not owned. I guess you could say owned but government operated or run by the government. And, uh, I guess probably the Indian department, that I don't know for sure, but I think so. I started there when I was probably six years old—five or six years old.

CV: And you actually boarded there?

GY: Right.

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: That was quite a way of—that's quite a thing for—uh, kids. Poor kids, you know. Take a—I can imagine my own kids. Five or six years old, when they take them, and they stick 'em in a school up there—

CV: Yes.

GY: —at that age when we all went through it, my brother, my sister, uh, at that time—at that time, I guess there were six boys at one time, there were six of us boys and, uh, one girl, she was the younger than me, but, uh, I think there was five of us led by the (inaudible). I wouldn't want my kids to go through that—and the fact is I probably swore at one time or another that

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[1] City in southeast Los Angeles County, California.

[2] Place in Oglala Lakota County, South Dakota. It is the tribal headquarters of the Oglala Sioux Tribe.

[3] Reference to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. It is an Oglala Lakota Indian Reservation in South Dakota. The Oglala Sioux Tribe is the poorest Indian reservation in the United States.

[4] Reference to the Rosebud Indian Reservation. It is an Indian Reservation in South Dakota that has a group of the Lakota Tribe.

[5] County in South Dakota. The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation encompasses Bennett County.

[6] Established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These schools were established to assimilate the Indigenous population.

my kids would never go through that, and that's one reason we've brought them up the way we did or tried too.

CV: Mm-hmm. It must have been quite an experience for a child

GY: Oh—oh yeah, I can remember it.

CV: [breaks in, audio is inaudible as GY is talking]

GY: I know what I went through, and I know this goes on, yet you know, to a certain extent. But you, uh, maybe—this was back in the 30s of course, when I—when I—went there. I'm, uh, forty-three years old right now so that goes back a way, you know. Some of the first weeks of school still stand out.

CV: What was it like when you first got there? Do you remember?

GY: Well, of course. It was the fall of the year after having lived in the—as you should live with your folks all summer. We were out—way out moved up here. We were. We were way out in the sandhill county. The part that I lived on was not (?) our own country. It had (?) a river and horses and cattle and stuff. You know, we just had a ball (?) all summer fishing and swimming all summer, and we'd come from there sunburned, uh, to the crisp. You know?

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: And—uh—then get us up in that school where you had all kinds of rules and regulations you had to live by. And a lot of it was pretty strict, you know, as far as, well, I guess they had to do that. So, uh, it seemed like there was a lot of them that were pretty hard on us, you know, the kids. But I guess they couldn't have chosen them to be to—act like your parents could, you know. But, uh, no, it was quite an experience. You got pretty homesick, there was kids crying themselves to sleep at night (laughs) (?) at night, every night. You know?

*[00:05:10]*

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: And, uh, all those years we—wore on and seems we'd get a week off about Thanksgiving[7] then about, uh, Christmas. We'd get, uh, I think two weeks. And uh—

CV: And you didn't get to go home any other times?

GY: No, only on a special pass or something like that. Your folks could come up and see you anytime they wanted to, or they could. But now we were actually, uh—my folks, or their own place was about, uh, probably around 80 miles from (inaudible). So, in those days, the 80-mile trip took—

CV: Yes.

GY: —you know, I mean, you wouldn't do that, like you would now.

CV: Did they have a car?

GY: Oh yeah, most of the time. Yeah.

[7] Thanksgiving is a day of mourning for Indigenous Tribes.

CV: Mm-hmm.
GY: I'd say just about all of the time I guess—a car.
CV: Mm-hmm.
GY: But, like I said, that was a long drive, you know. The fact is, when we used to go to town, or we'd go to the market that was like 25, 30 miles away. You just didn't do that, uh, every day. You might go over there on a Saturday or something. That was always a big thing as a young kid you get to go to town. Yeah, uh. that does seem like a long time ago. I guess it is.
CV: Um, did you—did they give you any reason as to why you couldn't go home?
GY: Well, no.
CV: The school (?)—
GY: Oh, you mean, uh, no—no, I shouldn't, uh, say. I couldn't go home. But, uh, to the in—this school they had, uh, the boarders, which—which I was in with my family or my brothers and sister were—we were part of the boarders. They stayed at the school. They lived there. You know? And then there were the kids, the kids they called the day pupils, the day scholars. I guess they called them at that time. They would, uh—they lived in town or around—right around the town of the Agency—within. They had busing systems where they'd bring them in from the—the bus would drive up into the country and pick-up kids and bring them into school and then they'd take them back out in the evening. They were within probably a certain radius of Pine Ridge. And, uh, some of them lived right in Pine Ridge and town. Uh, we could go downtown. I'm told, well, the older kids, you know, the high school kids they could go down there every day as far as I know (?).Uh, my grandparents, my mother's folks lived in Pine Ridge.
CV: Mm-hmm.
GY: I mean, yeah. I guess they—they moved in there in, uh, oh, uh, probably the middle 30s or something. I remember when they moved in to Pine Ridge. Oh, uh, weekends we could go down there. Have—and then we'd have to walk down to—downtown. That was where the churches were. So, every Sunday morning they'd dress us up in our suits, and we'd walk down to the—down to church in the morning. After church, if you had relatives in town, there, well, then you could go over and spend the afternoon with them sometimes. Saturday you could go down there. Uh, I'll say this, they always had pretty good recreation for the kids. You know, they were shows. Uh, I don't remember how many now, two—a couple of times a week or something. Yeah, I think it was two. And there was always basketball games, football games, track, and baseball. We had some really good teams out of Pine Ridge. They still do in fact. Indians are pretty good athletes.
CV: Yes.

GY: They really are. And, uh, the fact is, I think just a year or two ago, that school actually that—they don't call it Pine Ridge Boarding School,[8] it's Oglala Community High School.[9] That's the name of that, that, uh, that school.

CV: It's still operating?

GY: Oh, yes. Yeah.

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: They've, uh, built, uh, quite a few new buildings up there now, and I really haven't been up there for, uh—so that I could really look around—for quite a few years. I drove up there a couple of years ago, when I was visiting my brother. He worked there at the time, but I didn't go around the school too much. I—but I would like to again to have uh—there some real' beautiful buildings there now, and the grounds are pretty. That, of course, is one of the older areas for the Indians, you know, the Oglalas used that area for a long, long time. You know? Uh, I think, uh, they talk about the, back in history they talk about the Indians camping on the White area.

*[00:10:12]*

GY: They call that, the—that area, I believe, was known as the Whiteclay Creek[10]–the Whiteclay area or something. And that was one of the major camping areas for them a long, long time ago. And I guess that why they built the Agency there. I have no idea when that Agency was originated or anything like that. I have no idea. It goes back a long time. That was the home of Red Cloud.[11] You know the chief Red Cloud. The fact is, I went to school with boys and probably some girls by the name of Red Cloud. And they're still there, some of their ancestors. One time it was known, I think, as the Red Cloud Agency, because of Chief (inaudible) [audio breaks off] I don't, there's, uh—[audio breaks off]

CV: Okay, now you're talking about your friend Red Cloud—

GY: (laughs, long pause). Yeah. (baby crying in background) I just said something about the Red Cloud Agency.[12]

CV: Yes. You were talking about—you were talking—telling me about your high school.

GY: Actually, High School don't come into it. I never—I didn't give you the High School. I stayed at school through the eighth grade. And I, uh—I don't even remember what year I left there. No, I don't. And I, I left there in about

[8] Also called Red Cloud Indian School, established to assimilate Native American children.

[9] Located in Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

[10] White Clay Creek State Park, located along White Clay Creek in New Castle County. It is a Delaware State Park that was established in 1968.

[11] Chief Red Cloud was a prominent and influential leader of the Oglala Lakota from 1868 until the early twentieth century.

[12] Established in 1871 in Wyoming. Oversaw the Oglala Lakota, the Cheyenne, and the Arapaho people.

March, I think, you know. I went back home and finished the eighth grade down at one of the schools in Bennett County, and I graduated through the—with the eighth-grade class in Bennett County there. But then I got that idea during the summer that I wanted to go to high school in Canada, you know.

CV: Uh-huh.

GY: That's an all-Indian school, you know. I transferred from the United States to go over there. So, uh, through, this is Whirlwind Horse[13] (inaudible). She was a—had something to do with, uh, I think she worked out of the superintendent's office, the Indian superintendent. Indian school, you know. She was kind of a coordinator or something I don't really know what her real title was or anything like that. Later on, I guess, she got to be pretty important—pretty important in that, in the school system—

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: —for Indians. And I went up to talk to her, and she put in a recommendation, one thing or other. I went to Canada that fall (?). I only barely started in the ninth grade. I guess at the time, it was the legitimate excuse. I liked school, I meant to go back, I never did. My, um—I stayed out there, and I went back down to my own place down after (inaudible).

CV: Why—why did you leave the school?

GY: Well, at the time—when I got—as I recall my brother was in the Army, and he got one of his only furloughs, and I met him in Kansas City.[14] And then decided from there I would go on back while he was on the furlough. We got back down home, and Martin left that area, Pine Ridge. And I found out that—well, I should go back a little bit. My oldest brother had a bunch of cattle. He had, I don't know, near 20 head then, I suppose, at the time. And there was no one down there to take care of them. You know? And this was in the fall of the year, uh, October, November time. (child coughing in the background) And there was no one down there, my mom wasn't able to take care of them. So, I decided I'd better try to take care of it, them. After he went back on furlough, my older brother (child screaming in the background, inaudible) So, I went back for a while (?). My oldest brother was in the Sioux (?) he was in T.V. there. He was in there, I think something like three years—four years. But, uh, so I talked Mom into letting me stay down and take care of the cattle until somebody could come around and take care of them. As it turned out, we didn't even probably look anywhere or for anybody else to look at. I took care of them by myself. I never did get back the next fall, and I didn't—I kept putting it off. I guess nobody pushed me to go back to school. I just wouldn't go.

[13] Sioux Indian.

[14] City in Missouri located on the border of Kansas and Missouri.

CV: Mm-hmm. Uh, you know, the first school you went to, you said, you went there almost up till the eighth grade.

GY: I went almost through the eighth grade.

CV: Yes, uh, were there just Indians attending this school?

GY: I'd say yeah. Yeah. There may have been a few, very few that weren't. There were very few. If they were in there, they were—if they were going to school—it's because maybe they were an employees, you know, some of the faculty or something like that.

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: But other than that, there was primarily Indians (?). And I think at that time you had to be registered (?) down at the Agency, and to be registered, I believe, it required a quarter. You had to be quarter Indian or Sioux or—I registered, I was able to register my kids in the Agency, and they still are. Even though, I don't know how that works out. I don't know. But I knew I was able to register them. Um, my wife is, uh, I guess either must be almost a quarter or an eighth Cherokee,[15] the rest is Sweden.[16]

CV: Um, why did your parents send you to this school? Was it by choice? Or why did they decide to send you to that particular school (?)?

GY: Well, I think I really don't know. I mean, they could have, I suppose, it is probably circumstantial. Probably mostly circumstantial. Because, actually, where we lived, their home place, where they were living was, uh, I don't know five miles to the nearest public school or there were little red schoolhouses out, there little red schoolhouses (?). And I know we were five miles from the nearest one, which is at our post office, which is (inaudible). I suppose transportation was easier. And while we were in the boarding school we were fed, so, and had our health taken care of. I'd say circumstance. Yeah, I'm sure it be circumstance. It'd be pretty hard to go five miles. I mean, I suppose they could have moved into town or something, but they did have their living (?) in a couple of places. Farm ranch, you know, they had cattle, chicken, ducks, and foals (?). And it worked in that area. I suppose that everyone is in the same boat, and maybe, uh, I guess, the folks were probably lucky to have a place their kids could go to and be cared for—

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: —and back in the 30s. Pretty rough, pretty rough years. You know with the drought those years (?). They always have, well, that ranch and farming takes up most of your time. I don't really know what he did during the wintertime. Of course, we had cattle. I'll say it, when we were home, we never really wanted to move. We were pretty lucky and happy there.

[15] Indigenous people from the southeastern United States. They were geographically distributed to Oklahoma.

[16] Scandinavian nation, country in Europe.

Always something to eat even though it wasn't very easy. I'd say we had a pretty good life. You know during the summer and everything they lost a lot of cows (?) (children making noise in the background), always had chickens.

CV: Did your parents own the land?

GY: Well, this, uh, was what I'd say was a land—it was Indian land granted to its, it was a plot land reservation. A lot of land (?).

CV: Oh, was it part of the reservation that you grew up on?

GY: Yeah, it was a lot of land. And at that time, that whole area, right in that area the biggest share of the land down there was Young, was owned by a lot of Young. Although there were very few living down there. We were affected, we were the only ones down there, but the land adjoining ours and around it were owned by Young, I mean was allotted to the Youngs. But at that time, it was leased out to farmers and ranchers. Eventually it has been sold, all of it, except at one it was section 360 acres down at the river there, the old place. And that is because I mean, the reason it hadn't sold, is because there is too many heirs to it they can't find, they can't get all the heirs to agree to sell it—

CV: Oh wow.

GY: — so it would be tied up. I mean it's still there.

*[00:20:55]*

GY: I mean, I know that at this time it's leased out to a rancher. Uh, kind of jumping around a bit, we lived on (inaudible). And our first two children were born out there. We left there in the spring of 1950 (?). I should say that's when we left there by. I guess since that time, we've leased it out to a farmer or rancher. It's very good land. Some farm lands. I mean, there's a quarter section down by the river that's (inaudible) —

CV: Sounds like a pretty nice place.

GY: —but it was way out in the country, I mean, way out. That country has some mighty severe winters, you know. Growing up, it got pretty rough, we could just, didn't have it to make a living, I guess, they didn't use—I guess I wasn't serious enough. I think we left there in about May, about May of 1950 (?) was when we left there. I went to Pine Ridge and worked at Pine Ridge for a while around town worked at filling stations.

CV: Did you think—did you leave um the (inaudible) because you didn't like farming—

GY: No.

CV: —because you said you thought maybe you didn't.

GY: Well, I guess it got to the point where we didn't have the money and I had to work for somebody, and had I used my G.I. Bill.[17] I had been brave and used it at the time. We probably would have still we'd probably still be there.

CV: Didn't you think of it?

GY: Well, I had good advice. And I was young, stubborn, I guess, or know-it-all or whatever you want to say, but I didn't want to use that advice. I didn't look into it, and I eventually used that G.I. to buy this home. I very well could have used it back there, it would have set me up pretty good. I just didn't look into it. Once I started working out at work, I guess—we were married in what year? In—was it '48? Okay. October of 1948.

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: I'm not much good with dates but we were, uh, left, I got out of the Army in 1947. And I started leaving (?) right after I got out of the Army. I worked with my dad down there for a while, farmed together. We farmed horses. I've been jumping around for a while.

CV: Why don't you go ahead and tell me the, the thing in the Army, the service?

GY: Oh yeah. Well, I, uh. (pause) Well, I should say the—I left, I went in the Army in 1945, December of 1945. Maybe I should go back a little further than that after I left, I told you I left the school.

CV: Oh, okay.

GY: Yeah.

CV: Why don't you go from there then when you left Tassel.[18]

GY: I left Tassel (?) in about 19—must have been 43—no it must have been 1944. Well anyway l lived, uh, a batch down the river near this complex. I took care of cattle. And then, when I could, I would stay with some of the neighbors there. (inaudible). Some of the most wonderful people took me in. I suppose they (inaudible) But I stayed with them. They had. (inaudible) (car engine starts) I, uh, worked for the different ranchers around the country there in the summer. Breaking horses, just general ranch work for the different ranchers. I did a lot of that type of work and, uh, I broke horses for this one (inaudible). Then, in 1945, I went into the Army in December. And, uh, I was an Air Force,[19] I got put in the Air Force.

CV: Were you drafted or did you—

GY: I was drafted, yeah. At the time, the rancher I was working for at the time (inaudible), he said, at the time, you can get a deferment[20] because (inaudible). He said that he could easily get a deferment for me. I didn't

[17] The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 provided benefits to veterans returning from World War II.

[18] Name of several Cherokee chiefs.

[19] Service branch of the U.S. Armed Forces

[20] Postponement.

want to do it. If I was going to go in the Army I might as well get it over with. As soon as I became, uh, eighteen, I was eighteen in September, and October I went in for my physical, and in December I went into the Army. (inaudible) Fort Snelling, Minnesota.[21] From there, I went down to Sheppard Field, Texas,[22] for basic training. I went from there to, uh, Radio Operators' School in the Scott Field,[23] Illinois. I didn't like being a radio operator. They had a 16-week course. And I went 14 to 16 weeks. But there was no way I could get out of it. I mean, there was no way you could walk out. There was no way that, if you made bad grades, it just set you back, right? Not that I tried to or anything. I made good grades. You know, I've kept up with the class, I understood what I was doing. I sat in there for six hours or whatever, it was six or seven hours ago, with those darn earphones on, it just about drove me out of my mind (mumbles). Anyway, I heard about the deal. At that time, they quit drafting.

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: So, they were after the guys that had been drafted. They were after them to get them to reenlist in the regular Army. So, they give a bonus thirty days if you'd reenlist from being a drafty to being in the regular Army. So, I went on for thirty days and received (inaudible). I got over there, and I was lucky enough to, into—well, I pulled guard duty and K.P.[24] And at that time, they had the Jap prisoners there.[25] Well, I got stationed in Guam.[26] I guarded prisons there for a while. And then they opened a school on Guam, and evidently I had the right IQ. They put me in there as a full lab technician, and I didn't mind that at all. It was interesting.

*[00:30:08]*

GY: I guess I was overseas for a little over a year, and then I came back. I got discharged (?). Got the good conduct medal (?).

CV: (says something but it is inaudible)

GY: I played a pretty—yeah, I was pretty—I was happy there. I enjoyed it. I wanted to get out. You know, I mean, when the time was up, I really had a ball—(door closes in the background) I really had a lot of fun because I've always, I guess, enjoyed meeting people. But then, as I say, well, when I got out of the Army, I went right back ranching. Working for ranchers and for farmers. (inaudible). And, uh, my dad at that time was back in the country. I should mention that, uh, my folks were divorced in the 1940s (inaudible).

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[21] Currently a National Historic Landmark and former Army base near St. Paul, Minnesota.

[22] Sheppard Air Force Base, located in Wichita County, Texas.

[23] Now Scott Air Force Base in St. Clair County.

[24] Kitchen Patrol.

[25] Japanese prisoners-of-war during World War II.

[26] U.S. island territory in the West Pacific.

That is one of the reasons for my leaving school. It took—if they would have been together, I probably would have gone through school. That is just a good excuse for me to go on to taking care of that, you know, figuring I had a pretty good responsibility to take care of those cattle down there, and this and that. Uh, so I get out of the Army in '47 and farmed for two years down there. Raised corn and wheat, barley, and a pretty big vegetable garden down there, raised potatoes you know, for our own use. It was a good life. It really was. It was rough during the winter time. Of course, for the first year or so you—I had a small income from the Army, you know. They had that 52-20 Club,[27] or whatever they call it. Where you got a hundred dollars a month if you were in the military.

CV: Oh, I didn't know that.

GY: Yeah. That is, I believe they call it the 52-20 Club. Where you got 20 dollars a week for 52 weeks. But being on the ranch they paid it to me, they mailed it out every month. I guess I got a hundred dollars in the mail. Paid expenses (?). But I left the farm (inaudible) in 1950, in May and worked in Pine Ridge for a little while. And then I heard about—this was right at the outbreak of the beginning of the Korean War,[28] you know. And there were ordinance that went (?) back, their Black Hill[29] (?) ordinance that worked (inaudible) out there. I went up to the mountain (?) and went to work there. August—August 1 or something like that, 1950.

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: And I worked there until 1956. Had various jobs there. Spray painter for a while and a truck driver for a while. Warehouseman for a while, and then I got into, uh—in 1954, I believe, it was I got in a post engineer (inaudible). And worked as a building maintenance inspector, and I was there till '56. Which was a good job but (inaudible). And uh I should say that at about '55, '56 a couple of my brothers were living out here in California. One of them was in the Navy out here, and I guess one moved down to Oceanside. And they were going on about how great it was in California. They kept saying that I should go out and come out here. My wife got the idea that there wouldn't be any better place to live. I really believe if I had three boys instead of three girls, I never would have moved to California. I would have stayed back there. We, uh, we had a boy our oldest boy, we lost him in 1953, but having three girls, well, I couldn't see where it mattered that much, a small town or a big town. And the wife said (inaudible). I eventually gave in and moved down here.

CV: How'd you go about coming here?

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[27] Some states offered veterans $20 a week if they worked and followed other regulations.

[28] Conflict between North and South Korea (1950-1953).

[29] Mountain range located in South Dakota and Wyoming.

GY: Oh, I should mention that too with—they, uh, they had this program of relocation.[30] I guess they call it relocation. Yeah, it was relocation. Uh, even though I was working—and I have—I should mention, it was a very good job at this ordinance center (?). I was set for life as far as a job, you know. I was proud. (child coughing in the background) I was a permanent grade twelve step four, that was as high as I can go in that grade—(child coughing in the background) a very good chance for advancement. I was the youngest, uh, in that department, there were eight I guess of us in that department. (child coughing in the background) And I was youngest by twenty years.

CV: Goodness.

GY: And I had, uh, I had the ability—and I have the ability, actually, I was able to do the work and get along well with people. I just had the feeling that, uh, eventually I would have a very good chance with that (?). But anyway, a lot of them told me I was crazy when I left. Well, maybe I was. Uh, once I made up my mind and heard about this relocation and looked into it we decided that it (inaudible).

CV: Where did you hear about it?

GY: Well, through relatives and other Indians working there at the ordinance depot. There were a lot of them that worked there. But it's a good chance to make good money and permanent job (inaudible). The fact is a lot of the better job go by Indians here (?). A very good job. Uh, heads of departments. One relative over at the renovation department, a very good man in his field, an explosives operator. A very good man. I understand he'd been sent all over to Japan, all over to Britain. But I know there were—are other Indians there that did a very good job. Uh, I've never found that being an Indian hampered me in any way. (inaudible). I believe maybe I'm getting into another subject. Anyway, I heard of this relocation, so we looked into it, and they moved us to California. We, uh—I quit, I gave notice on November 19, 1956, that that would be my last day there (?). About the first of December we moved to California. We got to Los Angeles.

CV: What did you have to do to get into the relocation program? Did you have to fill out any forms? Did you have to apply for it?

GY: Oh, yeah. Mm-hmm.

CV: What did you have to do?

GY: We went to the Agency at Pine Ridge, and they had a relocation office there. We went and turned in our application to an employee at the company (?). I guess they (inaudible), they had to compete physically—the whole family had to compete physically. I guess they'd check out your uh eligibility or something like that, the opportunity officers. But, anyway, they paid for my, you know, they paid the trip out here. I was fortunate. I had a pretty

[30] Resettlement.

fair, uh, car. You know a car good enough to drive out to California. Pulled a trailer (inaudible). [audio/recorder cuts off] They uh—they never really tried to discourage me in any way for quitting that job out there. I don't know. I guess that really, what they—well, I don't know what—there would be no reason to discourage. I guess what they did, they tried to let me know that I may get a job out here that was, that maybe wasn't as good as the one I had back there.

CV: The Relocation Agency?

GY: 'Cause, it was a good job, you know, no two ways about it.

CV: So, they didn't encourage or discourage you?

GY: Right. I made it, I guess, when they found out that I really had made the move out here to California. That I had liked to move to California. A lot of it is, I wanted to—I wanted to, uh, prove to myself that I could. A lot of them would tell me that, well, I'd hate it out here and others (inaudible). You know the opportunities were there. There is no doubt about it (?). If you've got your ambitions or at least a willingness to work. (inaudible). I was pretty determined to stick to (inaudible).

*[00:40:42]*

GY: But this life in—when we first moved here, we didn't like it. I had never been to Southern California.[31] I'd been to (inaudible), I just had never been to a big city before, never anything like this. We got to Los Angeles on a Sunday night, coming down the San Bernardino Freeway,[32] with the traffic jammed up.

CV: Oh no!

GY: I was about ready to turn around and go back. All confused, and this and that. I suppose I was confused for four years. It is pretty rough. (inaudible).

CV: Los Angeles.

GY: Yeah. They had a relocation center there. I can see their way of, uh—it was pretty rough having some of the people come out from the reservations. I felt sorry for some of them that had never been off of the reservations, you know. Uh, at that time, there was one other family from South Dakota being processed down here, and they were all from a farm, you know, they had never lived in a town. Well, it was pretty bad for them, but they're also, I got to know, one family personally, a Navajo,[33] a young couple. They've never been anywhere. You know, I mean, she couldn't speak English.

CV: It must have been awfully hard for them.

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[31] Region in California; its largest city is Los Angeles.

[32] Interstate 10, also known as the Christopher Columbus Transcontinental Highway, stretches from Jacksonville, Florida, to Santa Monica, California.

[33] Native American Tribe, relocated to parts of Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico.

GY: Oh man. The first job that I went on here was a (inaudible) for the Los Angeles Reserve—Los Angeles Times[34] (?). And this Navajo boy you know worked there at the same time (?).

CV: How did you get the job? Did you—

GY: Through the office. Through the Indian—yeah, they helped me. Through different employment offices. You see, they would have a housing department, a clothing department, furniture department, and you say they would help you get these things. First of all, they'd helped you find an apartment (?) or some place to live. Well, I was, again, more fortunate than a lot of them because I had my own car. The ones that come out here on a train or bus or something, they were hurting when they get to Los Angeles. Can you imagine?

CV: (mumbles something)

GY: You know, well, I—they'd naturally have a city map. And they'd say all right, you're going to live here. And this is how you get to our office. If they had one route, you know, they'd fix it, so it'd be a pretty direct route. Well, they'd not show up on weekends, so some would kind of look around a little bit and eventually get lost in the (mumbles). But I was going to say, that this family didn't have a car. And, uh, that would be a rough thing, living in Los Angeles without a car. You can't do that. So, the families would move out here on the, they'd come out here on the train or the bus or something. That's a real rough road (?).

CV: (inaudible)

GY: And yet they do, you know. I've heard them tell you, "Be here at eight o'clock in the morning," or something. I don't know what time they have to be—well, with us, they moved us, they found us a house in Bell Gardens.[35] Well, now, at that time now, or even now, I wouldn't know how to get from Bell Gardens to downtown. You know from (inaudible) anyway they'd they tell them. Can you imagine what time they'd have to leave home to get there at eight o'clock? But then they sent me on different interviews, places I'd never been (?) I had no—I didn't have too many problems with getting a job. Uh, because I was pretty well experienced in a lot of that type of jobs that you'd find all over the warehouses. Truck driver, driving any type of truck, the forklift, and things like that. I was a great painter, although I do look into (inaudible). I couldn't—that was one job I couldn't keep back there. It would affect my, uh, skin. I mean, I don't know I was maybe allergic to it or something. (inaudible). But anyway, they got me a job in this production plant. I worked there. Well, I shouldn't say worked, I was on their payroll for thirteen months. And I still say that, out

[34] Newspaper based in El Segundo, California.

[35] City in California, located in Los Angeles County.

of that thirteen months, I lost a good five months (inaudible). At that time, we went on strike.

CV: Oh yes, I remember that. That was when Chrysler[36] (?) went on strike.

GY: Yeah, they were. I went to work just before Christmas. And I think I worked two nights, and they laid us off for a week. We got hit hard. It is terrible, you know. And they were leading up to the strike at that. So, one night we'd go to work. Something had happened up the line. The Union would say we'll walk out—we'll walk out for four hours. We'd picket for four hours. So, the next night, we'd come to company workers where we'd work for a couple of hours and then send us home. And this went on, and you'd never get a whole paycheck. Luckily, another thing that (inaudible), that had been a civil service job back there. It took a while to get the paperwork done. I had an early retirement (?) for this company. But I got that. And, you know, being on relocation you have to be sure that—well that you're on a job. So that they can't help you too much unless you're desperate—the most desperate situation, which we weren't (?). If you made short paychecks, you could make it on that. Anyway, we lived in Bell Gardens, and we weren't happy there. It wasn't our type of a town, not at all, but one of the things that we made up our minds on was that we had that retirement money plan and also the vacation pay that I had—we took this money, and that's how we got this house. We made it. We could buy a house and pay to make the payments cheaper, and we could pay rent, and we'd also have something pretty decent to live with, you know. (inaudible) So, January we got a new house (?). And we moved in, I believe, the first part of March 1956. And the day we moved into the house we went on strike for Chrysler for six weeks. (laughs) But, uh, luckily, like I said, we did have a little money in the bank. You know, but that went away right away, because when you're working and when you're on strike, there's no one that's going to hire you, knowing that you were working at Chrysler. But I scrounged around and got a couple of part time jobs. Contract with remodeling houses (inaudible). And, uh, that, uh, summer I went to work—I should say while we were on strike, I finally went back to the relocation office. That is, I should say this is, I mean, I must say that this is the only time I've ever got a job because I was Indian.

CV: At Chrysler.

GY: Well, no, not that job so much. I went back, and this guy that was interviewing—the employment—the guy that had to do with the employment that was interviewing and, uh, he got on the phone and called this guy. He found out I had a ton of experience. So, he called up a plumbing and heating group (?), a pretty well-known place in West L.A. He told me they had needed a plumber, and at that time plumbers were pretty hard to

[36] Automobile manufacturer in the United States.

come by. He had got in contact with the guy advertising in the papers. Anyway, the guy said, "I've never seen an Indian plumber." He said, "I've never known an Indian plumber. Why don't you send him out, I'd like to interview him?" So, I went out there. The guy hired me. You know you don't have to be interviewed, I guess, he wanted to see if I could do it. No, I got the job, and I really liked that type of work. I did well. (inaudible). I catch on fast. They hired me.

*[00:51:02]*

GY: I mean, I—they, uh, they said I had a job as long as I can stay there or if I can get in the Union–the plumber Union. Uh, I never, I went down to see the Union. They wouldn't take me in as an apprentice there because of my age. Uh, anyway, I had to give the job up because I couldn't get in the Union.

CV: That's too bad.

GY: Yeah it was a good job. I liked that type of work. They were building new houses up in Hollywood—apartment houses I should say, I guess I worked for him until August or something. Went back to Chrysler for a little while. And then, in 1958, I went to work, we were laid off again by Chrysler. I went over to a friend of mine, uh, here in La Mirada. I guess he's a plumber for a (inaudible) company downtown, in Los Angeles. So, I went down. His wife and my wife were real active over at the school, you know, Saint Paul High, said her husband was doing a little hiring—

CV: Mm-hmm.

GY: And the wife (?) said her husband is doing work (?) so I went down to talk to him.

CV: (inaudible) What's his name? (?)

GY: Rob Wilson (?). So, I went down. And just (inaudible) —I went down to talk with him. He took me on, part time at first because things were slow. (inaudible) early part of 1958. But I eventually got on their schedule, uh, and, uh, at the time there were just (inaudible). And, uh, I worked for Western Union[37] about six and a half years. And, uh, I got to be, uh, a building operator. I guess I was a roller operator, about six years ago, no five and a half years ago. It was a real complicated piece of machinery. It's a pretty good piece of machinery. We made aluminum. I rolled it and rerolled it (?). Anything from a hundred thousand thick down to two and a half thousand. Well, anyway they went out of business because of Chrysler and this and that. Too many things were involved. They moved to Sacramento[38] and gave out (?) eventually, I guess. Through a friend, I was recommended, uh, the job I have (inaudible) in 1965, April, I went to, uh,

[37] An American financial service and communication company.

[38] State capital of California.

work with the Pacific Union in L.A.[39] Uh, there's a (inaudible). Actually, I got my experience for Miller Lite (?) work probably though the ordinance where I worked as a building maintenance. I mean repair maintenance not, uh, scrubbing floors. The actual installation of the doors, anything that had to do with (?) the repair of the building and, uh, and naturally (?) my employment experience out there, working for this plumber out here (inaudible). I had the maintenance secure with machinery, this was quite impressive, uh. a lot of quite types of big machinery. And, uh, mechanical (inaudible) it was a pretty nice building I have to say. To be (inaudible) its naturally (inaudible) you're mechanically inclined or not to do it.

CV: Was it easy, or?

GY: Well. Uh, I've been very fortunate about what's happened. In fact, it was the only job I had where (inaudible). Uh, I suppose a mechanical awareness would do the job (?), uh, I find that if you don't have that you won't be able to work anywhere. You got to have at least awareness (?). I guess attitude that's the main thing. You have the right attitude on the job (inaudible). Mostly (inaudible). And you know in every job just to be yourself (inaudible). Anyway (inaudible). That goes without saying (inaudible).

CV: (inaudible)

GY: Well, they tried to, but that don't work. You see there's a (inaudible) lacking a person that's faster than anything (?). (inaudible). [audio/recorder cuts off] They, uh, I was there a year and a half, and then I (inaudible) for a year, and then I went on a (inaudible), and I've been on (inaudible) for three, four years. (inaudible). But, uh, I guess they had, well, I had, uh (inaudible). They never—I never tried to get a reason. (inaudible). We would (inaudible). But its—it's all in (inaudible), you know, you work for yourself, I guess.

CV: Uh, you were telling me about when you first came to California you had contacts with other Indian People. Did you have contact with one familiar (?) Navajo family?

GY: Uh—yeah.

CV: (inaudible) Did you have any contact with your old friends (?)? The ones you spoke of earlier (?).

GY: Not really. Uh, we lived in Bell Gardens for a while. And, like I said, this couple, this Navajo couple lived right across the County Court area (?). We lived in, I don't know, a multiplex type of house. There was two or three of them down there, and they lived directly across from us, and I really felt sorry for them, especially her (?), because he'd be gone to work, and she'd be stuck in the house. They had this little baby, and they had it on, uh (?), and she'd (inaudible) strap it on the board. The really old ways (?). (inaudible).

[39] Presumably a reference to Union Pacific, the largest railroad in the United States.

*[01:00:00]*

GY: I often wondered if they actually stayed in L.A. (?). As far as I am concerned they were out of place (?) (inaudible). I don't really know if they really wanted it, or if someone talked them into it, or what (inaudible), especially her, I could never picture someone like that living (inaudible) in Los Angeles. They were rural, as far as (inaudible). Maybe that's just the old ways of talking about it (inaudible), I mean, that I've talked about (?). I just can't picture it because she worked all day, uh, a lot of the Indian people that lived that way, that adopt that way of life (inaudible), as far as I'm concerned, will never be happy in Los Angeles (?). It never (?) (inaudible). I'm not (inaudible) and it took me—oh we have been out here for fourteen years. I would tell you that ten of those years I couldn't say I was happy. I mean, I never felt really settled in the sense, there was always some thought there or wish or (inaudible) whatever you want to call it. (inaudible) It was a good life (?). But then I say, in the last four or five years, I have finally begun to realize that this is home, this is where my kids will grow up (?). I never had in these fourteen years, I have never seriously doubt thought about South Dakota.

CV: (inaudible)

GY: No, I would say at first. Well, I shouldn't say that probably too because, you know, a few times when we were broke, out of a job just like everybody else. In the 1950s, that area(?), I think, there was a recession. It was a slow time, a lot of money was taken (inaudible). No, I don't think we really thought about that. (inaudible) I might have said it sometime or another (?). We never really seriously, uh, kept the (inaudible). There were times that we were in danger of moving. I don't know somehow, someway we were able to get back down. We might have payed—we might have payed late charges for ten years. We always (inaudible). I think this house was (inaudible). It had something that we strived for. We had—I don't know what it is. It began to become a symbol or something like that. Our kids, all three of them, go to the grade school over here and they went on through Saint Paul High,[40] and I have never been through anything. But for me, compared to what I know of other people (inaudible). (inaudible) You had to watch your, uh, you know, uh, and, uh (inaudible). Credibility, uh, no two ways about that. Very poorly managed (?) (inaudible). I know that we wanted our (inaudible). Basically, I think that's all, that's all you can do. Basically (inaudible). Uh, I kind of went off topic (?). So, uh—

CV: Why do you think you were able to (inaudible)?

GY: Well, that's a tough one, speaking for other people that I have known about. I don't know, maybe I was little more determined. I know jobs are, I've had jobs where I've started out on the very bottom. You (inaudible). (inaudible)

[40] St. Paul of the Cross School in La Mirada, California, a private Catholic school.

way down there. Too many people had missed them. They can't stand that, and maybe I, maybe I wasn't looking at trying to do good work (inaudible), and maybe (inaudible) start at the very bottom and get the same opportunity. I don't know. It started to go down and everybody that I know of got the same options. Some people are natural, [audio cuts off] but they don't have that, I would tell you that the average person was looking over the fence and was starting off with too much money or was expecting more than they should.

CV: (talking in the background, inaudible)

GY: Yeah.

CV: (talking in the background, inaudible)

GY: But, uh, if anyone asked me about the (inaudible). (inaudible). I'll tell you the, the, uh, I worked the day shift, and I drove out to East Imperial from Los Angeles every day. And there were days, so many days, where you'd be so tired coming back. Especially in the summer and fall, when it's so hot. It got so hot in the traffic I'd almost want to jump out of my car and run down the side of the road screaming. You know that, I think (inaudible) that's something really hard for me. I'm sure it affects other people out here. I was remembering one morning (inaudible). (door shuts, child crying in the background, background noise). (inaudible). [audio/recorder cuts off] Yeah, I think everyone remembers, yeah, I mean in a situation like that. You know where you're going (inaudible) that's the (inaudible) (shoveling in background), that was, uh—that day-to-day traffic will get you. I mean it will get you good. Of course now I don't have that problem. Because I work the graveyard, I'm going against the traffic (inaudible). Uh, you'll naturally (?) try and get away from it (?). I mean (inaudible), your job just every day to day, every now and then (inaudible) try recreation. Probably not going to have much recreation (?). (inaudible). That's one place you can go relax and really forget yourself. (inaudible) It's close, well, get down there. I think's its twenty miles from here down at the beach (?).

*[01:10:11]*

CV: Yeah, (inaudible).

GY: Uh, we've been, uh, I should say I've been camping a few times (inaudible). We went as a family (inaudible) and went a week or so to the mountains. But that (inaudible) has always been (inaudible). Last fall, we went (inaudible). We got to (inaudible). I spent the whole part of two different weeks (?) out there. I have been up in the Sierras,[41] you know, camping. No one else around for miles (inaudible). I think (inaudible). (inaudible). (inaudible) to get back.

CV: Do you (inaudible)?

[41] Sierra Nevada, a mountain range in California.

GY: I am sure. Yeah, they went (inaudible). Uh, I don't know if this is the (inaudible) or what. I spent a few years before I got married (?) being down here alone and (inaudible), uh, I don't know how long I could take that now (?). To get away for a few days (inaudible). I suppose you could (inaudible). Although, uh (inaudible)

CV: Do you have any contact now with (inaudible)?

GY: No, no other than, uh, talking to, uh—uh, I should say no, because I've talked to (inaudible) who came down to see our situation. They settled down here. No, I haven't been in contact with anyone. I've seen a couple of films on the T.V., and they clearly are in support of a lot of them (?). We have never found (inaudible) long distance (inaudible). I don't know, it seems that we were occupied pretty well up until now we've had time pretty (?) well taken care of. (inaudible) Activities with our church, school, and this and that—[audio/recorder cuts off] We've got some very close friends here in this area some (inaudible) and, uh, before I had a relative that moved out here and lived in La Mirada for quite some time, I guess he bought a home over here, within four, five blocks or, you know, within a real short radius (?) from here. I didn't know, I found out through a mutual friend that he was living here in La Mirada, and we went over to their house a couple of times, and then he—they moved back to South Dakota. They didn't live out here for (inaudible) other than that I don't know about anyone. I have nothing against gatherings and this and that. I guess, having been out of touch, I never know what's going on, maybe I just haven't been that interested. I don't know, I just (inaudible) probably (inaudible). Uh, I enjoy talking to when I do. The times that we have been back home, we've been back on vacation a couple of times. I've talked to these people (inaudible) back there (inaudible). 'Cause I said before one of my brothers is living in Pine Ridge, and one of them lives on the reservation in Oglala (?). He works for the government and another one (inaudible) moved back in to Rapid (?) City here[42] (inaudible) a year or two. I guess there, building a home in Rapid City. (inaudible). My mother lives in Rapid City (inaudible). Uh, they, uh, I guess, uh, my mom was out here for a while, and she went back quite a few years ago. My sister lives around here (?). And I can think of any number of people I have been around on the relocation program for different areas (inaudible), the ones that I at least knew about at the time they went back.

CV: Do you think this relocation program has been good? Or bad?

GY: Well, it was a good way for us to get down here. I wasn't—I wasn't too happy when we got out here. It was lacking something (?), I don't know what it was. I felt it was pretty cold to some of the ones who really needed the help. I feel, I still feel that when we came out we would be like the

[42] Located east of Black Hills National Forest, South Dakota.

average, not the average but any race around here, any culture or anyone moving to California, would be confused and going through the same reaction (inaudible). We, uh—but some of these people, the Indians that moved out to L.A., I could see why they didn't stay (?), they knew nothing else. They weren't trained for any particular job, but I understand that they put them through schools, uh, I don't know. I never looked into the school situation. With the Indian program (inaudible). I guess, uh, we were pretty determined to make it when we got out here. We were pretty determined to be independent, I know that. This is what I think it's supposed to accomplish in the long run anyways, to get the Indians away from dependence on the government, if you will. Uh, other than going through that school I can't ever really feel that we were dependent on the government (?) I mean, personally. They, uh, other than, uh, I don't want to say that the benefits weren't there. They've helped me, they've helped us. With hospitalization, health care, and any number of times that I needed it, they've helped, they've cared (inaudible) when I've needed it. After I got out of the Army, I was in the hospital a couple of times. (inaudible) I was born in (?) Pine Ridge Hospital (?) Well, I guess they—the relocation program was supposed to accomplish to get you away from being dependent (inaudible). I still take the credit for (inaudible). Finding jobs after (inaudible). I say that from 1958 on we've been on our own. But we've, if we've accomplished anything, we've done it on our own. By ourselves.

*[01:20:09]*

CV: You mentioned something before we started, actually, the interview about prejudice when you started your service (?).

GY: Oh, well, uh, I think I said that I have never actually found prejudice against me in too many ways. I know that it was there, there's no doubt about it. Uh, the only time, not the only time but the only time that I can remember I should say, is back, uh, oh, I was young. And, uh, being away from the reservation in the Army. You'd go into the bar and get a drink when you felt like it, or sit there and have two or three beers. One time, I got off of the train in a little town there, a border town. I say border town between South Dakota and, uh, Nebraska[43]. Well, I got off the train and went with somebody, and they said, "Let's go have a beer," and I said fine. And I walked in, and they turned me down because I was Indian, they refused to serve me. And I was in uniform, but I know about this happening to quite a number of guys. Uh, I knew how I felt at the time, and there's nothing you can do about it. I was confused (inaudible), uh, but, uh, that law was changed back in about 1954, uh, I think it was for the better. But I really haven't, uh, I know it's there, no doubt about it, but I personally have not

[43] Midwestern U.S. state

run into (inaudible). I know I have never felt that at my job as far, any job. I'm sure it goes on for other races (?). And I'm—maybe if the guy was backwards a real loudmouth Indian—how should I put that? Someone would just come off to him. Some of them are backwards, they don't give as much as a (inaudible). You may not find it here as much as you find us in South Dakota or possibly other states (?). I am sure you (inaudible) I know they have different protest groups going around, uh, I understand they picketed up at Mount Rushmore[44] and Black Hills somewhere last summer.

CV: I hadn't heard about that.

GY: Well, it's pretty much the same group that had been up at Alcatraz.[45] That, I don't know, I suppose they're still there. I am not sure. (inaudible) I remember in that situation, some of the people that were involved (inaudible) went to school. But, I guess, the students (?) have been pretty outspoken. They've always been pretty outspoken. They (inaudible). (inaudible). And I can't say they have no reason to be. As far as we've been, we drove across a couple of reservations in Arizona, New Mexico, just as far as I'm concerned it's all desert. There's nothing. So much different from what we had back home. They have their way of life, and we have our own. Two different types of people altogether. Yet, I guess they have a lot of problems (inaudible). Trying to blend into society.

CV: Are you glad that you left the reservation (inaudible)?

GY: Yeah, I am. Like I said, uh, I really haven't felt like I lived on (?) the reservation for many years. At one time (inaudible) There's no doubt about it. But I think at the time when I went into the Army I was (inaudible). Uh, now that hadn't (inaudible). Some of them (inaudible), some of them went back. My youngest brother is married with four. I don't know if Carol (?) is full-blooded, or mostly I think she is full-blooded. They've adapted, they kept, I shouldn't say adapt, they've kept that way of life. Uh, the reservation with kids that's the way they live. One other brother, Art, uh, he married a girl from California. A Dutch girl, I guess she is Dutch. And they're so much, I guess they'll never live on an Indian reservation. Onita and I got pretty close to it when we got married, a lot of (inaudible). Uh, one brother lives at Pine Ridge, he lives (inaudible). (inaudible). I guess he—when he lived in California, in Los Angeles, he could do anything he wanted. You know, he's the type of person that could fall into any job and do it well. He worked from operating machinery to bartending, and he just got the

[44] Mount Rushmore National Memorial is a sculpture carved into the Black Hills region of South Dakota of U.S. presidents George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln. It is a controversial monument as the Black Hills are sacred to the Lakota Sioux.

[45] Alcatraz Island is located in San Francisco, California, and is the former location of a federal prison. Native American activists occupied Alcatraz Island for 19 months (1969-1971).

personality, I guess he just chose back there and (inaudible). I, uh, I really feel now when I get back on a reservation, especially Pine Ridge, I get uneasy. When I get to Pine Ridge, I feel I don't care for it, I don't know what it is about it. The people, I don't like the people there. It's just something about that (inaudible) maybe, uh, I'll (inaudible), I don't know what it is. But I wouldn't go back to Pine Ridge. I probably would never go back to South Dakota. But if I would, it wouldn't be Pine Ridge, it would be, uh, Black Hill. If I were to leave California, I doubt that we would go back to South Dakota. We like (inaudible). But I, like I said, I have no plans of leaving. It took many years to realize that though.

CV: Yeah. You started to talk about the, uh, the, uh, the incidents that had been happening at Mount Rushmore and the Alcatraz. You think they should carry on with those things, or you think they should stop it, or what?

GY: Well (mumbles), the deal that they had at Mount Rushmore, I'm not really familiar with what they were trying to accomplish there. I know now they are having, they are talking, according to the paper, the Rapid City (inaudible). They talked about going to this new mountain (inaudible). It sounded to me like they were in favor of that. (child crying in the background) They had some folks (inaudible). Uh, Alcatraz, I really—I don't know, they must have had a point. I'll be honest, I don't really know, I don't see what they accomplished. Other than proving they could stick together, I guess, that's probably they were trying to prove that they could unite with a common cause, I don't know. Like I said, I've been pretty wrapped (inaudible) with family. Maybe that shows how far I've gotten away from (inaudible). Yet, I feel very strongly about (inaudible). My ancestry (inaudible), but maybe not strong enough. I don't know. It seems like I've for a long time now.

CV: You've said quite a few things. Do you think you have any of your Indian (inaudible) left, since you've been gone for so long?

GY: Oh, yeah, I am sure I do. To pinpoint, I found out that I have a lot of feeling (inaudible) when I get out. Last fall when I was (inaudible) I really enjoyed that a lot of the things I hadn't thought about for years and years, and then get out (inaudible). I remember they all come back. It's second nature. Yeah. I don't know what else to cover.

CV: I think I really enjoyed talking to you. It's been wonderful talking to you.

GY: It's been good.

CV: I guess we can end here.

*[01:32:37]*

END OF INTERVIEW

Michael Ward (editor)

# *The Struggles of Segregation in Orange County: Silvino Ramirez and Mendez v. Westminster (1946-1947)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.
Project: Grassroots Politics.
O.H. 4915.
Oral Interview with Silvino "Jimmy" Ramirez, conducted by Jesse Oswald, November 15, 2011, Orange, California.

*Introduction*

The oral history interview transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "Grassroots Politics." The interview with Silvino "Jimmy" Ramirez was conducted by Jesse Oswald on November 15, 2011, in Orange, California. The interview lasted 1 hour, 0 minutes, and 21 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2020 by Michael Ward.

The story revolves around the upbringing and early life of Silvino "Jimmy" Ramirez (born 1935). Unlike most Latino students, Mr. Ramirez attended a desegregated elementary school, so he was accustomed to a diverse school and confronted with segregation only at a later age. His experience of attending a segregated school entailed a prejudiced school administration rather than prejudiced teachers. He acknowledges that the school principal targeted Hispanics, and the only Hispanics attending non-segregated schools were those passing as "White." He points out that he had been raised speaking English in school, but when he switched schools many Hispanics were speaking Spanish in school. Mr. Ramirez's father, Lorenzo Ramirez, was an activist who fought against education segregation, and while his activism went far beyond education, he is best known for his desegregation efforts in Orange County, California. Mr. Ramirez dealt with prejudice and racism throughout his life, yet growing up he did not think much of it; he simply attributed it to the way the world worked.

Today, many people believe that segregation and prejudice in schools happened a long time ago, but this oral history reminds us how recent it actually was. Mr. Ramirez grew up during the 1940s and 1950s, when segregation was alive and real in Orange County, and his father helped with the push to end that. The Mendez v. Westminster case (1946-1947) was not an isolated incident, and this oral history gives credit to those who fought segregation, such as Mr. Ramirez's father. It shows how favoritism in the school system back then was bestowed upon those with fairer complexions, and that Orange County's segregation did not just impact

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students: adults, too, were turned away from certain establishments based on their skin color well into the 1960s.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Michael Ward of Pomona, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He is working as the social media manager for CSUF Forum. The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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*Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 4915)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

| | |
|---|---|
| NARRATOR: | Silvino "Jimmy" Ramirez [SR] |
| INTERVIEWER: | Jesse Oswald [JO] |
| DATE: | November 15, 2011 |
| LOCATION: | Orange, California |
| PROJECT: | Grassroots Politics |
| TRANSCRIBER: | Michael Ward |

JO: I'm here today with Mr. Sil-Silvino Ramirez, and, uh, my name is Jesse Oswald. And we are here today, uh, to talk about desegregation in Orange County schools, specifically the, uh, Mendez versus Westminster case.[1] And, um—um, I'll start with my first question, and that is, ah, if, uh, what is your full name and date of birth?

SR: Silvino Ramirez. Nickname Jim.

JO: Right. (laughs)

SR: January 11, 1935.

JO: And what is—is your, uh, ethnic background?

SR: Mexican, I guess (rustling in the background), but, uh, American with, uh, Mexican descent. How's that?

JO: Sounds good. American with Mexican descent. And, uh, where, uh, were you born?

SR: El Modena,[2] California.

JO: Okay, and, uh, what did your parents do for a living?

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[1] Federal court case (64 F.Supp. 544: S.D. Cal. 1946; aff'd, 161 F.2d 744: 9th Cir. 1947) that successfully challenged segregated schools in California, especially targeting Mexican remedial schools, which led to the integration of schools in California.

[2] Area in the city of Orange, California, surrounding El Modena High School.

SR: My parents—my father passed away in 1950—1965, no, '66, and my mother, uh, she is, uh, bedridden, but she is still alive. She is bedridden right now.
JO: Right, and, uh, what did your—uh, father do for work?
SR: Uh he was a—foreman at Murphy Ranch. Then he was a straight for Bridge and Holland in Tustin,[3] cutting orange trees. Worked in Irvine,[4] and then he, uh, rode tractors, and then, uh, he got elected vice president of the labor local 652 , and, uh, 10 must have been about 60s, early 60s.
JO: Ok, and, uh, as far as—what was—how can you describe growing up with your family, with your, uh, brothers and sisters and your parents? What type of environment was it?
SR: Oh, we had a very good time. I mean, I—I had good brothers and sisters, and we never got into fights. The only time we got into a fight was my older brother and I. My dad made me—put shit underneath his boot and made us lick it.
JO: (laughs)
SR: (laughs) I'll tell you what, we never got into a fight again.
JO: Never got into another fight again?
SR: No, we actually fight, and we, uh, we had a good bringing-up. My mother, every time we didn't come home for supper, something like that. Oh, they were mad. Next day, my mother would tie us up to the tree.
JO: That is harsh. (laughs)
SR: (laughs) But it was a slip up. We could have gotten out anytime we wanted.
JO: Yeah. (laugher)
SR: Just knew we better not, but she—they never hit us. My dad never hit us, us. I'm not talking about other brothers. He never—he would never hit us. The one whose job to keep us in reign was my mother.
JO: And what about your, uh, neighborhood? what was it like?
SR: Well, I lived in two neighborhoods, Whittier east, Murphy Ranch. I think those were the best days of my life. I stayed there until 1944. And, uh, we had the run of the whole ranch, I mean, we could just do anything we wanted to, running around the hills and orchards.
JO: Lot of room to roam. (laughs)
SR: Yes, and then when we moved to El Modena. We mainly stayed on the street we live on. And the reason was—there were so many kids right here to play with. So, we never went out.
JO: It was more urban.
SR: Yeah. We, uh, just stayed from, um—we lived at that time, it was the end of, uh, Earlham, a big house at the end, up to, uh, Chapman. And just on that, uh, block right there. We stayed—
JO: You—

[3] City in Orange County, California, adjacent to Irvine.

[4] City in Orange County, California.

SR: —we lived by—eight, uh, about nine kids there. We played marbles, tops, anything, you know, fly kites—we had a good childhood. I can't complain. I really can't complain about—about my bringing up.

JO: Really? What about having, uh, been—I understand you went to segregated schools, then non-segregated schools, then back to segregated schools. How do you describe the, uh, effect and the, uh, transition from each?

SR: Really, I did not feel much effect. I just thought that was where I was supposed to go.

JO: Really?

SR: Because I don't remember. A lot of stuff they tell me they remember. I was about nine years old when I started that. And I just really remember going with my dad to the Roosevelt school—

JO: Mm-hmm.

SR: —then walking back to Lincoln. That is all I remember. He said, "That's your school," and so—but after a while, after we got through all that and stuff, and I got to be one of them, well, that is where our friends went to school.

JO: Yeah.

SR: So, we really didn't think about school. The only reason we knew, there was a school next door, but we never—uh, Roosevelt, Roosevelt. I went to Lincoln. Roosevelt—we never saw students there. We never saw their faces. We never saw them until that picture right there.

JO: Really?

SR: We never knew who they—we go in at different times, take recess at different times, eat lunch at different times, and go home different times. So, we never got to see each other.

JO: What prompted them to do the, uh, a picture with both, their class with your class? What made them want to do that?

SR: The case.

JO: Really?

SR: Yeah, because we, uh, never took pictures before with both classes.

JO: Really?

SR: That was the first time. That had to be in 1948, I think that's when I graduated from Ramshoe.

JO: Okay, and, um, just to reiterate. What—what was your first school in order—to start out, your first school that was segregated?

SR: It was not segregated.

JO: Your first one wasn't segregated?

SR: It was an east Whittier[5] school.

JO: Okay.

SR: On Whittier boulevard.

[5] City in Los Angeles County, California, adjacent to Orange County.

JO: And, uh—
SR: Now it is an administration building of some sort, my school.
JO: What years did you go there?
SR: I started there in 1939 to 1941.
JO: Oh, okay, and then the next school you went to?
SR: El Modena.
JO: Is that Modena?
SR: 1944, I mean that is, uh, probably after summer, June, and everyone started in September.
JO: Mm-hmm.
SR: So that was in 19-4—same year.
JO: Yeah, exactly. And, uh, how long were you at the El Modena school?
SR: Until about 1948.
JO: '48, okay.
SR: That is when I graduated.
JO: And as far as English in the schools, was it—you have to, uh, only speak English or were you allowed to speak Spanish?
SR: No, English—you could only speak English. The teacher was right there with a ruler to hit you on the head.
JO: Really?
SR: And, uh, Hammerstein was the principal of the school.
JO: Mm-hmm.
SR: And he had a paddle with big holes in it, and if you did something he didn't like, or you started mou-mouthing back to somebody, he would go out there and give you a swat.
JO: Yeah. He was really strict?
SR: Oh, he, uh, didn't like Mexicans. I, well, I read this, but I can't say this, but, uh, he really didn't like Mexicans. The only ones, Mexicans that went to the White schools were the White complected, with light brown hair.
JO: Perhaps half-White—
SR: No.
JO: Oh, full—
SR: There was a family there with all Mexicans, but they had the, uh, light—light brown hair.
JO: Really?
SR: Their skin was really light. Lighter than yours.
JO: (laughs)
SR: Yeah, no lie. That is the way they were. And just, uh, they went to that school.
JO: Really?
SR: With, uh, I guess it was to show that Mexicans went to school there.
JO: Yeah.
SR: They didn't let people who were dark—that went to school there.

JO: You said, um, Hammerstein just did not like Mexican students. What about the teachers? How did you find certain teachers worked with kids?
SR: Well with teachers. I found that they were all very good.
JO: Good.
SR: I mean, uh, they didn't—there was no, uh, like prejudice, not like that, but, like I said, every time you went down you better be—you better start picking names in school.
JO: So, you would—would you say more of the racial tension came from the administration and the higher-ups than the teachers?
SR: Yes.
JO: Okay.
SR: Boy, those Mexican guys were—but not the whole class hated Hammerstein. He would just walk up. And now I'm gonna cry.
JO: Mm-hmm. Yeah.
SR: They got a paddle of them right there.
JO: I saw it, with the holes.
SR: That is it
JO: I saw that at the, uh, old courthouse.
SR: Yes.
JO: That exhibit, yeah, um, um—now your father was involved in the, uh, Mendez versus Westminster case, and perhaps we could you—go over his role in that case, told as straight from the, uh, family.
SR: I didn't talk to him then.
JO: Sure, sure. Well, now, uh, just to talk a little bit about your father now, uh, did he tell you much about it as a child growing up? Did he give you any insight?
SR: No, because every time the adults come together in the living room—
JO: Mm-hmm.
SR: They would just say, "This is adult talk," so we would have to leave, so we never were in any discussions. We never heard anything being discussed. For that reason, see—no children in that time. Grownups and children were separated.

*[00:10:15]*

JO: Right, uh, a more traditional structure.
SR: Right. It was order and tradition.
JO: And, um, now, as far as—when you became an adult, did you start to ask your father about it? Did you inquire about the, um, case?
SR: No.
JO: Or was it something that you had forgotten about?
SR: It was forgotten about—it, until my brother, he started researching.
JO: Was that what sparked your interest? Was it your brother's research?

SR: Yes, uh, and that LULAC.[6] (pounds table) They were, uh, the ones that called us and gave us the paper.
JO: Mm-hmm.
SR: They were the ones that told us to find out more about the case. That is when they told us to get all our pictures together.
JO: Yeah, yeah.
SR: And that really sparked interest and more interest, because they were taking all the credit for it, and what really disgusted us was that she[7] would took all the credit for it, even when she got that quick medal of freedom.
JO: Mm-hmm.
SR: She did not once mention the other families that were involved in this.
JO: Right.
SR: So that is why—why I get angry, because she doesn't mention nobody. Just like she did it by herself.
JO: Right.
SR: Like, it was like that.
JO: Like it was one family, versus, yeah—
SR: And it was, like I said, each one went to one different district, so they can't say they did the whole thing, when they did the—
JO: Right.
SR: —when it was a class action suit. To me, afterwards, because he kept talking about, and that is the only thing that really bugged me about the date of him and the other families. Even when they wouldn't put "al" or "el," they wouldn't put nothing like that.
JO: Right
SR: We got papers that says everything.
JO: It ju-just says Mendez.
SR: Yeah, instead of saying, well, these other families were with us and all that stuff. None of that was ever said.
JO: It is almost as if, uh, that there are four cases under the name of one case.
SR: Yes, that is all that it is, with each one going to a different school district. And, you know, this—El Modena was a district by itself. It was a part of the city of Orange but it was the El Modena school district.
JO: Right, so you have, uh, different rules and regulations that you have to fight against.
SR: You got Silverado, Modjeska, they had one school back there, and we went to play scoop there, and that was the only school we played against.
JO: Really? Um, I was reading some quotes and things, I forgot, about things that your family said. One that, uh, struck me was your father saying that

[6] The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), established 1929.

[7] Presumably a reference to Sylvia Mendez (born 1936) who played a key role in the Mendez vs. Westminster case and received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2011.

he would rather die on your feet than live on your knees, um, live on his knees.

SR: See, that is what I say. My father was a smart man. He would—

JO: Yeah.

SR: Did you ever read the one from the, uh, oh yeah, from the trial, and he was talking about day with the Black, Japanese, Mexican, that is what he was talking about. He was talking about that. It's right there. It is in the book.

JO: Right.

SR: I acted really surprised when he—surprised when I heard my dad said that.

JO: Yeah.

SR: Like I said, my dad was more involved than what they say.

JO: And, uh, that brings up a good point, when you talk about, you know, African Americans and Japanese Americans, and, uh, basically the Brown versus Board of Education[8] case really seemed to be connected to the Westminster case.

SR: Can I, uh, see that there?

JO: And, uh, it was referenced, and, uh, that being said, do you kinda like—how do you compare the segregation of Hispanics in Orange County, uh, which—that African Americans and Japanese Americans sort of had to deal with in a similar way during that same time?

SR: Yeah, well, you know what, like I say, that we had our, uh, I never thought of segregation even growing up. I never really thought about it. Even growing up, we went our way, they went their way. I never really thought too much about that.

JO: Right.

SR: Well, now you go in the city of Orange in the Plunge,[9] that's what she talks about, she never said anything about the Plunge, but we did. We saw that, went through Orange city. The Plunge, do you remember the Plunge?

JO: Yeah, the pool.

SR: No, no, by the park down south.

JO: Oh, okay. I'm not familiar—

SR: You can go in the day before they change the water—

JO: Right.

SR: —that was the only day you can go, and, uh, we said that—

JO: You said—

SR: —we took everyone's context by saying, putting it there, so that's what, uh, we were the ones that went through all that stuff. And it never showed that El Modena school.

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[8] 1954 U.S. Supreme Court case (347 U.S. 483), ruling "separate but equal" unanimously unconstitutional with regard to education and thus ushering in school desegregation nationwide.

[9] Park in Orange County, built jointly by the Works Progress Administration and city workers in 1935.

JO: In any of these DVDs and such?
SR: Nothing. Did you see it?
JO: Yeah. You are referencing the Sandra Robbie DVDs.[10]Yeah, I did see it, it, uh—
SR: But, uh, at that time—
JO: It is focused on—of the families, primarily just the Mendez Family.
SR: Yeah, well, but this school, look at this picture with both schools at an angle. But, uh, the Mexico school was a brown, dark building, and the White school was stocked with light—light yellow, and from a distance it looked almost white, but it was light yellow.
JO: How fitting. (laughs)
SR: But, uh, it was real light, but they—we were only like 120 yards apart. See, that's what makes it, I think, unique, because they built that Roosevelt school. Because my dad went to that Roosevelt school. My dad said he went to school there—
JO: How was he then—
SR: And then there is a picture, a 1924 picture, that—I can't remember the name in El Modena—that shows a picture of a class of 1924 and shows a school picture, in the right hand corner on the top, they were building Roosevelt in 1924—
JO: Really? And I, uh—
SR: —and dad was in school—in 1924—in school there.
JO: Really?
SR: He had to start from first grade to, uh, and learned English.
JO: Is—with your dad, I was reading that he actually went—went to school with some the administration that were now working for the school and, uh, working against him. And that, uh, that he sort of felt, you know, kinda felt betrayed. Because these are people he had grown up, you know, in an integrated school, at the Roosevelt school.
SR: Well, people he went to school with—some were judges and some owned stores—they all talked to him. "Hey Larry," they called him by name, "Hey Larry." He had three names. Lorenzo in Spanish, Lawrence, or Larry. {laughs}
JO: Oh, okay.
SR: So, that was names. Lorenzo mainly Mexican. The White people would call him Lawrence or Laurie. He used to get in trouble—not much, but a sister of mine got a ticket one time, and he went to see a judge to talk to him, and he said, "Well, you know, Larry, I am going to have to fine your daughter $10," that way they wouldn't come back there again.
JO: (laughs) That is not too bad.

[10] *Mendez vs. Westminster: For All the Children/Para todos los niños*, 2002 documentary, directed by Sandra Robbie, covering the Mendez vs. Westminster case.

SR: So, ah, he knew important people.
JO: Yeah.
SR: He knew a lot of important people. He was, ah, although he wasn't an American citizen, there were some papers he had to sign because it's an American citizen, but he was not an American citizen.
JO: Right.
SR: And, uh—uh, he was an intelligent man compared to us. We were dummies compared to him.
JO: (laughs)
SR: He was a smart man. He went to school in Mexico, too, in a seminary,[11] but not to become a priest. He wanted—my grandmother wanted him to have a higher education. So, he got that there. So, when he came over here, he already knew all that, mathematics and all that stuff, the only thing he didn't know was English. He learned that.
JO: He picked it up quickly?
SR: Yes, because he had to go to school there, and, like I said, there was no segregation, so he learned it in a hurry.
JO: Um, I was also reading about your father that he was in-involved with other movements prior to that. With, um, working with—
SR: Mexican workers.
JO: —working with Mexican workers rights.
SR: He worked with the Mexican consul.
JO: Right.
SR: He worked at—the Mexican consul in 1942, I think, but in 1940, '41, he went to, uh, get his picture taken and—I'll show it to you, up there. It got the seal of the Mexican consul on there. (rustling) Yeah, see, right there.
JO: Oh, okay. That is the picture that has got the seal on the picture.
SR: Yeah, it has got a big one right there, and, uh, he worked with them for, I think, the last time, I think, was in '43, I think, or '44, something like that. They were in—the Mexican consul to San Francisco federal court to get better living conditions.

*[00:20:18]*

JO: So, would you say that—because he worked towards that movement, that, that contradicts the idea that only the Mendez family wanted to prosecute, that they had to convince other families to. Because he was already an outspoken person, he was already working in other forms of, uh, activism. So, do you think that kind of contradicts that statement that he, uh—
SR: Yeah, I do. My father, you can read it, their father's deal and my father's deal because he got more. Even right here, it says here, is no record ever the Mendez family meeting that lawyer. So, I don't know about true and what

[11] A college that usually prepares its students to be priests, ministers, or rabbis.

is true, but my dad, since 1941, something like that, he started working and he went, to the—that picture there is in 1940, '41, so he was already in there. I'm not saying it was not there or nothing. But, uh, I remember when we went to San Francisco to the—just to see San Francisco, but then we found out that was what it was for. It was for the rights of the braceros.[12]

JO: Right.

SR: I really think my dad knew more rights than anybody else.

JO: Really. Really?

SR: I really do, because—because they didn't meet him until before the case. They had another lawyer.

JO: Whereas your father knew a lot of people as it was.

SR: He had a mouth on him. Anytime you wanted a say in, uh, the union, my dad was so sick, he was almost passing away, and it came out, they took him to the Indian homes, so they could—and they stood him up, and he talked to them, so they would vote for him. I mean, every time, he was such a good talker. That they knew, they would always call him to vote. That they would always call him, like president, and they would also call him to help with stuff that—

JO: And that was even after this case, so that was years later.

SR: Yeah, that was after the case. Because I don't think I voted until the 19—early 60s, it has to be the early 60s because I went to work in a union. My dad passed away in 1966. So, it had to be before than—late 50s or early 60s.

JO: So, you—would you classify your father as an activist, as a political activist?

SR: He really was an activist. He was no—just show people. Do you know, he was the type of person who said, "I don't care if my name was on there as long as it was done."

JO: Yeah.

SR: That was him. I mean I'm not trying to make him sound better. But it was—that was the person he was.

Jo: Right

Sr: And there's, according to some papers I read, El Modena and Santa Ana were the first ones.

JO: Really?

SR: Then they got the rest. And then they got the rest. Like I said, El Modena was the only one that was unique because of the two schools that they built especially for integration. Those schools already had schools. They just separated them.

JO: If these two schools brought the case first, um, what makes you think that ohhh—or why do you think that the Mendez case became a name? Like why, why, di—

[12] Seasonal agricultural laborers from Mexico, working in the U.S. temporarily.

SR: Oh, they picked the name for it, I guess, I don't know. Because they said it was gonna be a meeting at a bar, oh, I don't mean bar, I mean restaurant.
JO: Ah, okay.
SR: And that's where they had some meetings. My dad never said anything about going there, so I don't know.
JO: Really.
SR: I really don't know anything about it. Don't know how it got its name or nothing Most of the time you hear his name was when you heard through the school board.
JO: Do you now consider yourself an activist?
SR: No, an activist for what? There's nothing to be activist about. (laughs) No, I am not that. But, do you know what, I was never prejudiced against Whites like that, I was never brought up like that. My father—you respected people the way you were supposed to be respected, and if they don't respect you, well, it's a different story, but you always respect something, respect everybody. So, we were brought up that way, we would never do it that way. We respected everybody.
JO: Did you have close White friends growing up? Kids? Were you close with White friends—kids growing up?
SR: No, none. Like I said, we went to school, and we knew a few there, but they would never talk to us. Except for one of the girls, it was at the movies. They were like, "Ramirez, take me to the movies." I said, "Hey, did you want me to get killed?" (laughs)
JO : That was the time—you really feared that?
SR: Even to this day, I do not speak to some people. (phone ringing)
JO: We're just going to pause for one second. [audio is cut]
SR: You want to pay a bill? (laughs) [audio is cut]
JO: And I'm back now with Silvino Ramirez after a short break, and we were going to discuss your transition from elementary school to Jr. high to high school and—going to El Modena, can you tell me a little bit about that?
SR: Well, in high school, at the start, we didn't have counselors. They wouldn't give us any classes to prepare for college. The only thing they gave us was FFAs,[13] shops, PE,[14] for many reasons, because we could not speak English for four years. So, I had no English, no mathematics, nothing. They said, "We need a lot of fruit pickers, and we need a lot of field workers." That was it. So, we never got an education. They would just—knocked us down, I am just talking about my school. I'm not talking about anyone else's.
JO: Right.

[13] Future Farmers of America.

[14] Physical Education.

SR: I went to Orange High School and Chapman College now, and, uh, that's how it was, nothing but shops, and we stick together. And the only—we all—the only thing we could do is play handball. (laughs)
JO: (laughs) Really? Were you good?
SR: My brother and I—nobody could beat us.
JO: Really? Legendary? (laughs)
SR: Our hands got really swollen from hitting tennis balls.
JO: Oh yeah, you would get all swollen, yeah.
SR: There was a high school that just—nothing, didn't prepare for nothing.
JO: Would you say they were trying to make you—prepare you to be laborers rather than, uh, college students?
SR: Yeah, that's all they wanted. When I was in school, all my class nobody went to college.
JO: No—no Hispanic students went to college?
SR: No, not to the school I was in. And, uh, I grew up so I just got out of high school and started picking lemons. And I could not get a job. Finally went to the Army.
JO: Did you work when you went to school?
SR: Yes, oh (laughs), we used to work, uh, smudge pots[15] when it started freezing. Lighting smudge pots in orange groves and lemon groves. When it got to about, I think, 34 degrees for oranges, they would call us out in the middle of the night to go turn on some smudge pots. Lemon, I think, was 28 degrees.
JO: Really?
SR: And we stayed out there when the grass was that high, and then we run out there and to the sky, and first guy. Do you know what a smudge pot is?
JO: No, I would love for you to explain that.
SR: They are about twelve-foot high and would have a big bottom where the diesel would go in. And they were, like, stacked like foot high, and they had a top—we had to open the top and open the bottom. And then, uh, the first time a guy would run down and he would up both of them, then the second guy came down, he lit the bottom one, he came back and covered the bottom, and it was like putting hot water in the half, holes open, so they would, like, get air to get the frame going. Well, well. And all it was was a bunch of smudge. Your car's full of smudge.
JO: They would get all dirty?
SR: Yeah. And then, we had workers' permits so we could do that. We would get to school, but we would get there late. But they wouldn't get—but that's what we would do as young kids. And when I was in high school, I was picking lemons. You couldn't find a job anyplace else, or, uh, at one time

[15] Oil containers with some crude oil burning in the bottom, used in fruit orchards, especially citrus groves, to provide protection against frost.

when I was, uh, in FFA, the guy wanted workers for his turkey ranch around Thanksgiving, before Thanksgiving. So, they had me butchering and hang them up and butchered them and had other guys try to clean them. So, that's how we did. Even when I came back from the Army, the only thing I could find was doing a foundry, American Sea Bells, didn't last long there. After that I said, forget it, I went to spray orange trees, get up at four o'clock in the morning and didn't get home until about six o'clock at night, and after—after that, that is when I went to the Army, I was just, just tired. And I had never knew—met a Black guy until I was in the Army, and I was nineteen years old.

JO: Really?

*[00:30:36]*

SR: Because Orange didn't allow no Black people in when I was a kid.

JO: Right.

SR: They just flat tell them no, they aren't allowed here, like Orange had their own segregation. They had Cypress Street, but El Modena was there. It had a community by itself, of Mexicans, and Orange was all the way around on Lemon Grove, all the way around, so there was nothing else but that.

JO: Did you, uh, did you find that all your classmates and such—did you work with them, too? Did you guys work together and then go to school together, or did they have kind of different jobs?

SR: No, no, they kind of have the same job, not with me, but most of them would pick oranges in the summer because Valencia[16] was the one in Orange County in the summer. A neighbor in Orange—here it feels like winter, but up there it was summer, so they would do a lot of picking there. A lot of kids would pick up walnuts. I remember when we used to have big walnut groves.

JO: Yeah, right, right, but that was seasonal, though, wasn't that very seasonal?

SR: Yeah, you can tell when they were working because their whole hand would be black—

JO: Yeah.

SR: —from the acid. The whole hand and fingers and hand would be black.

JO: Uh, yeah, that's—it definitely seems that's—that led to part of the reason why it was segregated, it was to give—provide classes that they felt would be applicable for what they thought you would do with your life. It's just to work in the fields, so that none of the classes seem to be, uh—

SR: No, they just told you flat to your face, and what we need, uh—

JO: They didn't sugarcoat it?

SR: No, they did not.

JO: Really?

[16] A type of sweet orange.

SR: And even in sports in high school, there was, when I went there—there was one football-player Mexican at El Modena, because he was big and strong, and there was one in B and I remember on C, but I played basketball, and there was A, B, C, and D teams, and I was on the D team.

JO: Hey, it's a team. (laughs)

SR: And I had to walk home three miles in nothing but orange groves. From Orange to my home.

JO: From basketball practice?

SR: From Chapman College, I would walk home, all the way home, every night for practice, and we would come from a game at ten o'clock from another school, and I would walk home. My dad said, he—"I ain't going to pick you up." Well, he had to work, so I go home, and I walk and go, with my walk, but you had to get, well, my walk—Chapman, at that time, was only a two-lane road, and the orange trees were hanging over the road, except the big trucks, there—hardly any big trucks there, and that's the—

JO: Funny, because I live by there, Chapman and Canon, and it is so much different now. You know, uh, I was, I was reading one of the, uh, quotes about your mom, and, um, your mom was saying that she was particularly offended by segregation, because it was built on these stereotypes that Mexican kids having ragged clothes and were being dirty and these stereotypes, and she was, like, "Well, I take very good care of my kids, and I make sure that they were clean cut, and they—you know, presentable in public." So, if they were not fitting the stereotype, then why would we—does it still apply? I was, uh, reading, uh, I think it might have been a video with her, but she seemed very upset about that and just—

SR: I mean, she made us clean every day, because we were dirty from school. And the other schools didn't mention about this, but it—at El Modena, they would get those, uh, tongue depressors and look at our hair to see if we had lice.

JO: Really?

SR: and it was about once every two weeks. And it, it came up on our TV. They, uh, asked my dad—did you say all the other Mexicans were dirty, and my dad said, but that, it—what they all said, that we would all used to go dirty. But there were some people that were a little more dirty than the others, but they were really poor people, and, uh, almost ninety percent of us were clean, but they always were looking for that lice on our heads.

JO: Really? Um, I read this a quote from the—Richard Harris, the Westminster school district superintendent, and it—he, uh, basically said that an English-speaking cultural background came from the early days in England, and that these stories of American heroes and stories of American frontier did not compare to the cultural background of Mexican families, and he said that Mexicans had no conception of these stories, no

understanding of them. And for that reason they needed special help. How does that quote make you feel?

SR: I don't know what he was talking about. We were not that, uh, that, uh, that, uh, well, this one, you know who also said that, too? Hammerstein.

JO: The, uh, special help?

SR: Those who didn't need help couldn't transfer due to lack of, uh, seating.

JO: Yeah, that is the only excuse they used?

SR: That is the only excuse they used, in that picture I can show you, there was only eight or ten with eighth grade.

JO: Like that, there's only eight kids in there, uh, I mean desks in that, uh—

SR: Yes, it was eight desks. There's more than that, that I know, there was more than that, but they just went from Green Garden to eighth, so it was that—there was all kinds of people, not that many, because the only surrounding area, there was, well, one of the guys I remember was this guy, David Irvine, and his father was a—uh, what do you call them, a ranger, in Irvine park, that's the only guy I remember, but, uh, the rest I did not know. I saw them at high school, but never talked to them.

JO: Yeah.

SR: So, it's a—

JO: I just thought that quote really embodied some of the, uh, mentalities of the White administration.

SR: Yeah, but, uh, you could see, Hammerstein had a lot to do. He was the one who started the, uh, lice, and all that dirt, well, when we got there. It was already like that, so you just go with the flow, I guess. We couldn't go to another school.

JO: Um—

SR: And then we get, uh, at that time, we had one hour of religious retreat. They could—we could, for one hour, to any religion of your choice, and they take you from one hour of grammar school.

JO: Really? Did you go to Catholic school?

SR: I went to, uh, no, I was, uh, Catholic, but they had, uh, a Baptist church and, uh, close to El Modena, close to the Mexicans. And they had a Quaker church—

JO: Right.

SR: —remember the Quaker church?

JO: Yeah. You don't see that anymore. (laughs)

SR: It's a restaurant.

JO: Is it? (laughs)

SR: They controlled that town. There was no liquor allowed there. You could not sell liquor. In El Modena, you had to go to, uh, what they used to call it, the railroad, there used to be a halfway point between El Modena and the freeway now—

JO: Oh, okay.

SR: —there used to be railroad tracks across there. And on the other side, there was a store, right, like a food produce, but they sold liquor there.
JO: You had to drive outside El Modena just a little bit.
SR: Yeah, they did not allow liquor in El Modena.
JO: Interesting, and what other forms of segregation, uh, outside the school did you see throughout the years in the 40s and 50s?
SR: Well, in the theater in Orange. We'd go to the Plaza. There's two theaters, the Plaza and, uh, Orange theater. If we went to the Orange theater, we had to go sit on top, couldn't sit on the bottom, and the Plaza, it was only one level, but all the movies were Mexican like. Cabo inside. That's, that's what we all liked, so we'd go there, and, uh, Santa Ana only had one Mexican theater, the Yost, I remember that. But yet, they had a Woolworth[17] right there on the corner, I guess, on, uh, Spruce and Fourth Street, and it was owned by a Jewish person. I remember him, you could go in there and order a hamburger, but you couldn't sit down and eat it there. You had to go outside to eat it. I went to a bar, and that—it was after I come from the service, I'm talking about this bar, and we went there, and everybody got served, and I sat there for an hour and just—nobody served me nothing.
JO: Huh.
SR: And it was right after I came back from the Army.

*[00:40:03]*

JO: That must have been frustrating.
SR: It is, and forget about that. There is other bars. I did not have to give them my money, that is how I thought about it. I did not care, I just wouldn't go back.
JO: You used to—
SR: When I was younger, like that, with Woolworth, the whole counter was empty. Do you remember the Woolworth—before, there was, uh, like a—how would I say it, like, uh, it was a bit of everything, okay. But it was, uh, a Woolworth, a big store, and they had them all over the place, and there they had a counter where, for the hamburgers and stuff like that, and they had seats over the counter, but we were not allowed to sit there—
JO: Really?
SR: —and it could have been empty, but we still wouldn't be allowed to sit there. We had to go outside and, yeah, we ran into, a lot, in there. But when I went to the Army, we went to the South, and they were worse there.
JO: Really, in the South?
SR: Oh yeah.
JO: Tell me about that.
SR: They had a drinking fountain for White and Blacks or Negros, and White.

[17] Department store chain, first established in 1879, in operation in the U.S. until 1997.

JO: What did you drink out of?
SR: What, uh, the White one, that is classified. On my paper, I was Caucasian. Because there are only, what, uh, like five nationalities around the world, and, uh, Mexican isn't one.
JO: Right.
SR: No, races.
JO: Right.
SR: And, uh, Mexican was not a race or nationality. See, that's what a lot of people don't understand, that it—a nationality. So, hey, I went—go with the flow. I would not go near where the Black people were, because I got robbed too many times.
JO: (laughs) So?
SR: But they had their own, um, waiting room in the bus, everything was separated. They walked on the sidewalks—too many White people on the sidewalk, they had to let them go by, they were not allowed in no bars, and, uh—
JO: Did you find that, when you were, uh—
SR: —and they had the last four seats of the bus.
JO: Oh yeah, the last four seats, right. Did you have, uh, Black friends at the time? Did you sort of mingle with Black people at all?
SR: No.
JO: No?
SR: Mostly just, uh, when I was in the Army, there were only like fifteen, twenty Mexicans per company, but there was nothing wrong with White people. We would get along with them, too. We would get together with the Blacks, too, they were just, uh, I guess I lived so many years like that, they couldn't get over it, and not many joined the Army, and, like I said, I was ninteen years old when I met my first Black person.
JO: How would you, uh, how would you say that, uh, coming back from the service affected your views on segregation and society?
SR: It did not change. It was still segregated here.
JO: Yeah.
SR: Yes, I got out and went to apply for a—take a test at the post office—not a Mexican test, not a Mexican test. Every time I went there, it was all Whites. Oh, and, uh, El Modena school district, they had, uh, all the janitors were White, except one Mexican.
JO: All the janitors, you said?
SR: They only had one or two janitors, but one was Mexican, and afterwards that—there were tokens—they put him in Orange High School. And we had a bus to go to school. They stand at the biggest bus stop in El Modena and pick kids up for school, and if it was late or something we wouldn't go to school, because no other bus was gonna pick us up.
JO: (laughs) So, you would just be like, today we are off?

SR: (laughs) Or late.
JO: Or late. Yeah, we were walking—
SR: And we had to go to the office for a tardy slip. There was a bus coming from Trabuco and Modjeska High School, and they wouldn't stop and pick anyone up.
JO: Yeah, they did not want to mix on the bus, that is understandable. Um, one of the other ideas that was coming up from the time, as far as you know, I guess—from the prosecution in that case, supported—was the idea that—
SR: You have to say it louder, I can't hear you.
JO: Oh, I am sorry. I apologize. One of the witnesses for the prosecution was Ralph Deals, and he was—and in—one of his arguments was that by keeping Mexican and Spanish-speaking children together simply means that they only speak Spanish together, and therefore it makes it even harder to learn English, but if you were to mix English-speaking and Spanish-speaking—it would—makes it easier to make that transition. Do you agree with that?
SR: Yes, look at my father. It's true. If you put any foreigner that doesn't speak English, and you put them in there, they will—going to learn in a hurry. They will not sit back and say, oh well, forget it. I really do believe that if they put them together—
JO: —it speeds up the process.
SR: When I see other people my age, they went to college. And, I say, from—where I come from that was a no-no, so I can't, that's why I say, I speak from where I was at, not from another school
JO: Yeah, let's see. Is there any other stories or interesting, uh, ideas through, uh, about segregation you would like to tell me today?
SR: You know, one time in the Army I had my uniform on—
JO: Uh-huh.
SR: —and that girl said, "What kind of foreign Army are you in?" (laughs)
JO: What was your reaction? Just laughed?
SR: I just laughed, um, "I am in the United States Army." (laughs). In the south, I did not see Latins in the South at the time I was in there.
JO: Really?
SR: but there were some Native Indians. They never thought of that. I don't know why they just, just said, "What foreign Army are you in?"
JO: Was this, uh, was this a Black lady or a White lady?
SR: Oh, it was a White lady.
JO: Oh, it was a White lady—
SR: —because we were not allowed to sit with the Black people. I was coming home, right I was coming home on leave, and it was a transcontinental railway, at that time, it was that or a Greyhound,[18] or the transcontinental

[18] U.S. long-distance bus company, established 1914 and named "Greyhound" since 1929.

railway, so I took a transcontinental railway. And she just sat next to me and asked me.

JO: That is a funny story.

SR: Huh, what—

JO: That is a good story. You know, how would, you know, compare—because, you know, you went to both schools, how much different was your experience as far as like, uh, things, what was available to you in a segregated school and an integrated school? Did you find that you had more extracurricular activities and may—perhaps equipment in your class in the integrated school than at the segregated school?

SR: Well, in Mexican schools, we had the hand-downs, we had the hand-me-down books.

JO: Really?

SR: And, uh, that is about—we had second-hand tools, except in high school, I mean, but they gave us secondary teaching, I don't know, for preparatory or for college or nothing.

JO: Yeah.

SR: That is my main thing right there. They did not allow you to go to college. The city of Orange was very prejudiced.

JO: Yeah.

SR: They didn't, uh, as I said, they were very prejudiced—even to this day, they are still prejudiced.

JO: Yeah, there was—

SR: Even prejudiced to Mexicans, that is what gets me.

JO: You had to deal with that, didn't you?

SR: Huh?

JO: You had to deal with that, right?

SR: Yeah.

JO: Tell me about that.

SR: Well, in school, say, all the guys that, uh, who did not want to speak to Mexicans or to anyone like that they hung out with White people. They did not want to be Mexicans. That is what I said. That got me real mad, especially in that time. They were prejudiced to their own race, that is what got me. Just give me a minute.

JO: Is that because you only spoke English, is that because you mainly spoke English?

SR: Well, not necessarily. Now, at that time, well, when I was going to El Modena, it wasn't bad, but that is when I told you I learned how to speak Spanish in a hurry, (laughs) so—but the, uh, most of my life, we—I spoke Spa—English in schools and everything, except in El Modena is like, uh, where I learned to Spanish, then we started to speak Spanish to my mother, but she could understand English. My mother can understand English, she just can't talk anymore. She had two strokes.

JO: Oh, yeah. I'm sorry.
SR: She was ninety-nine this month, on eleven-eleven-eleven.
JO: Really? Her ninety-ninth birthday was eleven-eleven-eleven? Oh, what a coincidence that is. (laughs).

*[00:50:03]*

JO: Did, uh, I actually saw her on a DVD just a few years ago, and she was, uh, she seemed very ecstatic to see that her husband, even after, uh, such a long period of time, was finally being recognized, and that really meant a lot to her. Uh, I think it was a reaction to—in the play, when they acted out—
SR: That is what she always tells us. They say, well, "Ask her if they want her library—name on it," but she says, "No," she says she wants her husband's name on it, as long as his name is on it, "I want him to be recognized," so—
JO: And, he is, uh, he is getting a library dedicated to him, correct?
SR: Yeah, I think it is a library.
JO: And where is that going to be at?
SR: El Modena. (talking to female) Hey, babe, what's the name of the school that my dad is gonna be—name of the school?
NN: El Modena?[19]
SR: El Modena High School or El Modena Jr.?
NN: It's gonna be the library.
SR: I know, I know, they got a library there now. They are building a library in that school. The one right there. And we have nothing to do with it. It's the people who—that knew my dad—are the ones doing it. So, it's not like we are pushing for it. We haven't done nothing for it, so—
JO: Yeah.
SR: So—
JO: Well, you can share your stories here.
SR: Huh?
JO: You get to share your stories here with me and the archives and such. I mean, you are definitely contributing.
SR: I went through a lot of that stuff. But, uh, I guess I am the only one who ever spoke about that. The other kids don't speak about how they went through school with—whenever I hear them, they never say nothing.
JO: Yeah.
SR: Uh, unless they did not go through what—the one that I did. And I am not lying, this is just facts about what I went through.
JO: Yeah, well I appreciate everything you have been able to contribute for me today, everything has been great, uh—
SR: If you have any more questions, just call me.

[19] NN denotes an unidentified party briefly joining the conversation.

JO: Yeah, don't be surprised if you hear from me, if I might call and ask you a question.
SR: No, it's alright, it's alright, like I said, I will not tell you any lies.
JO: (laughs) Well, I appreciate that.
SR: Because everything I am telling you right now is something, I am telling you, is not a story—it is a life story, but it is not a story that is not real. I am trying to remember something else. Well, I will show you some prejudice. My grand—my son, my step-son, was playing in a Catholic league, and a coach with a young kid said, "Oh man," he says, "here comes the Mexicans again. They are going to play today."
JO: About when, about your son?
SR: Fifteen years, when he was playing—the kid, and, at that time, well, uh, churches were, well, I will tell you another—when I was in the Army, I went to, uh, a Catholic service, and I looked around and saw different nationalities and said, what the heck, am I in the wrong church? I was used to it being all Mexicans where I was at, so I went outside and read the sign there, and sure enough it was Catholic. (laughs)
JO: Yeah.
SR: Once you get out of our hole in the wall, like, because, uh—
JO: Um, yeah.
SR: —that is, uh, a church, all Mexicans, I mean there is—no other went there, and you go outside and look at the world and say, uh, uh, something is wrong here with me. (laughs)
JO: Yeah, yeah.
SR: So, I mean, I can get along with anybody. I don't care. I never got mad at anybody, but, uh, in fact, I did not fight with anybody in high school for nothing.
JO: Really?
SR: Well, I did with one other Mexican guy, (laughs) from my own town, too. My dad would say, "Don't you ever fight," but after a while you get beaten up too many times. It's just like—
JO: Yeah, sometimes it happens—
SR: —and, yeah, you beat at a guy, then no more, so—
JO: Well, thank you so much for all your stories. (laughs) They're great, and, uh, you know, if need be, I would, uh, like to be able to contact you and ask you more questions. I might come bother you again and, uh— (laughs)
SR: Well, like I said, I'm retired, just call me ahead of time in case—I am not leaving right now, because I do not know—so, so, I am not going any place, just to name my granddaughter Ana, just to let you know, or just tell her. She will let me know.
JO: Being with family is the most important part of life.
SR: I am going to show you a picture here—(rustling).
JO: Sure.

SR: —or am I? See, that is the brown building, and this was the (rustling, showing photos)—
JO: This is the, uh, white building.
SR: Yes, well, they both are right—now, well, this is Lincoln and Roosevelt. There is the brown building. Stucco, white, light stucco, light yellow stucco building. (background noises)
JO: There you go. How old are you in this picture?
SR: Twenty.
JO: Twenty.
SR: I get that is why people ask me if I was in the Army, because I had so much stuff on me. (laughs)
JO: They weren't used to it.
SR: But my older brother was in the paratroopers, too, and my—one of my younger brothers was in the Air Force.
JO: How many people served in your family?
SR: Eleven.
JO: Eleven people in your family?
SR: Eleven.
JO: This you, too, right?
SR: My younger brother Josue—Joe.
JO: That, your mom?
SR: See, this was when my dad passed away.
JO: How old was your dad when he passed away?
SR: About 50, uh, fifty-five, something like that.
JO: Relatively young.
SR: Yes, (showing pictures) that's my mom, was really young. (laughs) See, uh, I have a couple of my dad, too.
JO: Out of the, uh—with all these different families being a part of this case, what was your—did you know the children of these other families personally?
SR: No.
JO: No?
SR: No. Well, it was from different areas, so I never did meet them. And it was all done at the same time, and, like my dad always told us, it was only adult talk, so—but he never, all the other people didn't meet my dad at the house. It was just for the people of El Modena themselves. They were—see, here is a picture I was telling you, it has some cover.
JO: Oh, this one has the seal on it.
SR: Yeah, uh, what year is it, does it say it right there?
JO: It does not have a year.
SR: I think 1940, '41, something like that. I guess he needed that, back then, you didn't need a passport to cross, you just needed a nickel to cross it. And he

had to get a ID because he wanted to join the Army, but they did not take him.

JO: They didn't take him?

SR: They gave him a deferment, put him in agriculture. So, that is how that stuff ends.

JO: Do you have any contact with any of the families now?

SR: My brother, elder brother does have now.

SR: (taking to female) Hey, what's the name of the ones in Mira Loma.[20]

NN: Her name is Beverley.

SR: Beverley Galegos. My brother talks to her a lot.

JO: Okay. Alright. I am going ahead and stop the recording while I look through this book, but again, thank you so much for everything today.

*[01:00:21]*

END OF INTERVIEW

[20] City in Riverside County, California.

Starlina Sanchez (editor)

# *A Lifetime of Lessons in Just One Year: A. Peter Bailey, Malcolm X, and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (1964-1965)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.
Project: African American Collection.
O.H. 1685.
Oral Interview with A. Peter Bailey, conducted by Joan V. Feeney,
July 27, 1976, New York, New York.

*Introduction*

The oral history interview transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "African American Collection." The interview with A. Peter Bailey was conducted by Joan V. Feeney on July 27, 1976, in New York, New York. The interview lasted 1 hour, 9 minutes, and 4 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2020 by Starlina Sanchez.

Alfonzo Peter Bailey, also known as A. Peter Bailey or Peter Bailey, was born on February 24, 1938, in Columbus, Georgia. An accomplished writer, activist, lecturer, and educator, Bailey was the co-founder of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (1964-1965) and editor of their newsletter *Blacklash*. He also served as associate editor for *Ebony* magazine and associate director of the Black Theater Alliance, editing their *BTA* newsletter. His publications include: *Revelations: The Autobiography of Alvin Ailey* with Alvin Ailey (1995); *Seventh Child: A Family Memoir of Malcolm X* (2000) with Rodnell P. Collins; *Harlem: Precious Memories, Great Expectations* (2003); and *Witnessing Brother Malcolm X: The Master Teacher* (2013).

The interview edited here reflects upon Bailey's relationship with Malcolm X, whom he refers to as Brother Malcolm, even walking through their last interaction together at the Audubon Ballroom on February 21, 1965—just moments before tragedy struck. Bailey begins by recalling his personal introduction to the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) and his glimpse at the stature of its leader, Malcolm X, months earlier during his first summer in Harlem. He makes the distinction between Malcolm X's two organizations, Muslim Mosque, Inc. and the OAAU, as they clashed beyond their shared political ideology. Bailey comments on the pioneering nature of the OAAU's constitution, which influenced not only the Black Power Movement but subsequent figures of the Pan-Africanist Movement due to its values of restoration and community control through self-defense, education, and economic security. He distinguishes Malcolm X from

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other leaders of the time due to his vision, international presence, and mindfulness as provocateur in all realms. He affirms that Malcolm X had support beyond the working class in circles that even surprised him. Bailey dispels misconceptions about Malcolm X that may have been generated via media distortion, taking it upon himself to dissect controversial aspects of his late mentor's life, including the Kennedy assassination and his ban from France. Bailey concludes his interview with the key factors that, in his opinion, ultimately led to the demise of the OAAU and adds his thoughts regarding the alleged involvement of the Nation of Islam in Malcolm X's assassination.

A. Peter Bailey presents not just an intimate perspective on the Civil Rights Movement and Black liberation, but also the inner workings of grassroots movements from the position of a founding member. He provides insights beyond American media on Malcolm X as a leader, mentor, and orator. The latter's revolutionary legacy reflects a commitment to challenging oppression in all its forms and upholding global solidarity. Bailey's captivating memories of Malcolm X and even his own artistic contributions have become subject to erasure; just like the cultural impact of countless other Black figures. The erasure of Black individuals' lived experiences pervades academia, even more so in the discipline of history, making it crucial to acknowledge the voices of Black individuals beyond mere simple respect. A. Peter Bailey "is" Black history, and his testimony is an act of cultural restoration.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Starlina Sanchez of La Habra, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in Sociology and Women and Gender Studies at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She is a member of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship. The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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*Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 1685)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

| | |
|---|---|
| NARRATOR: | A. Peter Bailey [PB] |
| INTERVIEWER: | Joan V. Feeney [JF] |
| DATE: | July 27, 1976 |
| LOCATION: | New York, New York |
| PROJECT: | African American Collection |
| TRANSCRIBER: | Starlina Sanchez |

JF: Taking place in New York City with Mr. Peter Bailey on July 27, 1976. The interview is being conducted by Joan Feeney.

PB: My name is A. Peter Bailey, and I am currently the associate director of the Black Theater Alliance,[1] um, a job I've had for the last eight months. Before that, I was an associate editor and writer for ten years with Ebony Magazine.[2] The reason I'm involved with this project is that, before that, I worked very closely with the late Brother Malcolm X[3] during the last year of his life, having been a founding member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity,[4] which was the organization that he formed when he left, uh, was suspended from the Nation of Islam.[5] I got involved with the OAAU, uh, through a friend of mine. I remember back in, uh, early February 1964, this friend of mine who worked near me, a girl—a woman, she asked me to have lunch with her, and while we were having lunch, she said to me, "There is a new organization being formed, and would you like to be a part of it?" and I said yes. Well, a new political organization, would you like to be a part of it, and I said yes, and she gave me a little brief overview of what the organization was all about. Then, she said, "I cannot give you any of the other—any more details but, uh, I will call you, and there will be a meeting on Saturday morning. I will call you Saturday morning and give you the time and the place. This will be the first meeting." So, Saturday morning I got the call, and they told me where to go and where the meeting was going to be. At this time, I had no idea who were going to be the other people there, except, you know, her. When I got to the meeting, I got there a little early, but as I saw people come in, I began to see people that, you know, that I knew and recognized from having seen them around at various rallies and meetings in my other activities. And then just before the appointed time, in walked Brother Malcolm X with about five or six of his aides. Well, this really shocked me because I was, you know, uh, I had no idea that when she started talking that Malcolm X was the one who was gonna be involved in the founding of this new organization and that really began. We sat there, and he ran down to us what was going on with the organization; what the organization was all about; what it was planning on doing; uh, and then we all, you know, came up with ideas and suggestions, uh, as to how things should work. And in fact, from the next, from February

[1] Federation of African American theater companies in New York City.

[2] First monthly magazine with the African American community as its target audience.

[3] African American Muslim minister and human rights activist (1925-1965).

[4] Also referred to as OAAU, founded by Malcolm X after his departure from the Nation of Islam, fought not only for the rights of African Americans but strived to uphold unity among Africans and those of African descent, collapsed in 1965 after Malcolm X's assassination.

[5] African American political and new religious movement, combining traditional Islamic and Black nationalist philosophy.

until June, we had those meetings. We had decided that the organization was going to be announced publicly at a public rally.[6] In the meantime, we would just keep it quiet, and we would meet and kind of formulate the plans, uh, for the OAAU. The name came out of those meetings, you know, because there were several names thrown around. This was the name that came out of the meeting, especially since we had a very, very, uh, international as well as national lean to us. We figured that we would call ourselves the Organization of Afro-American Unity in line with the Organization of African Unity,[7] which existed, you know, on the continent. That's how we, you know, got the name. I can't remember exactly who was the person who came up with that name, but I do remember that when it was, you know, when it was said, everyone, like, agreed unanimously that this was the name we wanted. Uh, so we began to meet every week, we would meet up at this—a motel in Harlem to discuss—

JF: This was the Hotel Theresa,[8] you were (inaudible)?

PB: —no, this was not the Hotel Theresa. After the organization was formed, we made the Hotel Theresa our headquarters, but this was a motel up at 153rd Street and 8th Avenue[9] in Harlem. I think it's about the only motel in Harlem and we used to, you know, we would meet there in the mornings usually. Uh, finally, in June of 1964, the OAAU was publicly announced at a rally, you know, and from that time on, you know, it became a functioning organization. In fact, right after, uh, the announcement of the OAAU as an organization, that was when Brother Malcolm had to leave because he went off to, uh, on a trip to Cairo[10] and to the OAU conference which, I think, that year was being held in Addis Ababa,[11] Ethiopia. But he was allowed to sit in on that conference as an observer, which was the first time that a Black American had been so honored. He was not a partic—he could not vote in that kind of thing. They did allow him to sit in and watch the proceedings, which was a first and which gave a big impetus to our, you know, international, uh, meaning. It was a recognition of him as an international person. And he left right after the meeting. It was, I think, the first week of June, right after that he took off and went, you know, to this meeting. So,

[6] June 28, 1964, at the Audubon Ballroom.

[7] Also referred to as OAU, an intergovernmental organization in Ethiopia that inspired the formation of the OAAU, replaced by the African Union in 2002.

[8] New York City landmark and designated building on the National Register of Historic Places due to its notable guests and prominent role in Black social relations, still standing, but no longer functioning as a hotel.

[9] Frederick Douglass Blvd.

[10] Capital of Egypt.

[11] Capital city, founding location of the Organization of African Unity.

those of us who were behind, uh, had to like, you know, do the actual, you know, groundwork of getting the organization—

JF: (inaudible)

PB: —formed. It happened so many times that on those Sundays when Brother Malcolm was around to speak, we got hundreds out, you know, but then on those Sundays he was away, it was those true believers who came out and who really did most of the work. I became the editor of the newsletter, kind of, I guess, by, um—since there was no one else to do it. At this time, I had no writing experience. I felt that I wanted to write, I began to take some courses in nonfiction writing at the New School for Social Research,[12] and I became the editor of the newsletter. And the newsletter got its name because there was always talk about, you know, at the time it was about backlash and backlash and backlash—but to be worried about the White backlash, so we decided to call our newsletter "The Blacklash" and that's really how it got its how it got its name.

JF: (laughs)

PB: Uh, the *OAAU Blacklash*, and we tried to come out, uh, you know twice a month, but we didn't always do so. But that was my main responsibility with the organization while it was in existence, I mean, while it was in existence with Brother Malcolm at the head of it. I guess I should say at this time that there were really two organizations. Brother Malcolm did it deliberately, he had the Muslim Mosque Inc.,[13] which was geared, you know, [as] a religious organization. It was for the people who were religiously involved as Muslims, and then there was the OAAU which was an organization, an inclusive organization of anybody who, you know, shared our ideological beliefs and who wanted to participate in the, you know, organization. Sometimes, I must say that at the time, these two organizations did not exactly get along with the best—because the Muslims, many most of them, were young Brothers who had been with Brother Malcolm, you know, from the very beginning, from way back when he first became prominent and those of us who came in later in the OAAU. They kind of looked at us as outsiders. And it took us awhile to build up a—and some of them did not really participate in the political organization; they maintained most of their participation in the, you know, religious organization. But of course, there were many of them who participated in both. There were those of us who were just in the non-religious organization, but only participated, you know, on that level.

[12] Private research university, founded in 1919, still standing in New York, New York, but renamed to the New School.

[13] Islamic organization formed by Malcolm X around the same time as the OAAU; Mosque of Islamic Brotherhood is its successor.

PB: Uh, I think I should say here how I first became aware of Malcolm X and how I became involved with him. Uh, in 1962, I moved to Harlem, uh, for the first time, and I think the very first was the summer of '62. In the very first weekend that I moved up there, I was out walking with my roommate, and we walked down Lenox Avenue,[14] one of the main avenues in Harlem, and we got down to 116th Street and Lenox Avenue, and we saw a lot of people up the street, the street was blocked off and people was, you know, standing in the streets, and we asked what was going on, and they said that Malcolm X was going to speak. Well, at this time, Malcolm X didn't really mean very much to either one of us, uh, we had vaguely aware of who he was, and, uh, we were both more involved in what you would call the traditional Civil Rights Movement[15] and the school boycott meetings and the rent strike groups and the NAACP[16] which what I started off with when I went to college—we had sympathy pickings at Howard University,[17] and so we had, you know, were very involved in, you know, uh, we were all Brothers under the skin, "We shall overcome,"[18] brotherhood forever, we were in that end of the Movement. The first time I heard Malcolm X speak, uh, he had an immediate effect on me because I had become frustrated, you know, in what I was doing in the Movement at the time. And, uh, it had an immediate effect—it was an effect which I resisted but I began to go back every single Saturday to listen to him speak. And as I heard him analyze the system and the discrimination and the racism that was practiced against Black people—I mean to me, I became convinced of that sympathy, was no arguments against what he was saying. I mean, his description of the system and how it functioned was for me the first time I had ever heard someone personally (telephone rings) who to me was describing exactly what I thought the system was all about, uh, uh, I mean with no holds barred. I mean he just really laid it on the line. And so I began to go back and listen to him, that was as close as I'd been—could become involved with him for the simple reason at that time, he was still a member of the Nation of Islam. And if you were not a Muslim, there was no way to become intimately involved, uh, with him, and with the organization—other than, you know, just going to rallies and listening to him speak.

*[00:10:00]*

[14] Later named Malcolm X Boulevard; both names are officially recognized.

[15] 1954–1968.

[16] National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, established 1909.

[17] One of the preeminent Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the nation; located in Washington, D.C., founded in 1867.

[18] Originally a gospel song, later one of the anthems of the Civil Rights Movement.

PB: So, uh, that was all the involvement that I had. I kept up my participance in Harlem core organizations like that but by the end, near the end of 1963, uh, again I became very conscious of him when you know President Kennedy[19] was assassinated, President Kennedy was assassinated, and they took him and his comment about it was that "the chicken is coming home to roost,"[20] and they took it out and made it sound that he was saying that he was happy that Kennedy was assassinated, but what he was not saying that, what he said, he really had been saying, is that ever since 1963, those little girls were killed at Birmingham,[21] and Medgar Evers[22] was shot in 1963, those little girls were murdered in Birmingham, other things were happening and he had said that if the authorities did not do something about this, you know, eventually, the killing is gonna reach them. And as an old, old saying, you know, when you do something, when you let a situation deteriorate, eventually the chicken is gonna come home to roost—that was in the matter that he used it.

JF: Quite often, the press, they did this—

PB: — with him or they did—

JF: —they really manipulated what the person was saying.

PB: I would go to rallies and hear him speak, then hear the papers the next day, and if you didn't think that your head was on right, you might wonder, you know, were you crazy when, you know, read what the reporter was saying that he said and compared it to what you had heard while you were sitting there. You know, that's when I really—also of course when I began to learn about the, um, what the press is not the great instrument of freedom that is always proclaimed. Again, it was something I kind of, you know, you think you feel but you never quite have any concrete evidence, but this is where I got the concrete—you know, when I worked with Brother Malcolm—concrete evidence of how the press manipulates and distorts, you know, uh, people whose positions they happen to dislike. And, uh, so then I read about him being suspended from the Muslims; this happened in, I think, December of 1963, uh, he was suspended from the Muslims. It was supposed to be a temporary suspension. Um, and I remember when this happened, there were several meetings that were held, and I went to these meetings. These were public meetings, and he was explaining what had happened—why he was suspended and everything. And, uh, then in early, this was in December of '63 and early '64 was when this woman friend came

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[19] 35th president of the United States (1917-1963).

[20] *God's Judgment of White America (The Chickens Come Home to Roost)*, speech, December 4, 1964.

[21] 16th Street Baptist Church bombing, September 15, 1963.

[22] African American Civil Rights activist, NAACP's first field secretary for Mississippi, World War II veteran, assassinated by a white supremacist with affiliation to Citizens' Council and Ku Klux Klan.

to me and said about this new organization and did, I want to be a part of the founding of it, and that's how I got involved with the OAAU and with Malcolm X on a, you know, uh, a personal level and political level.

JF: Yeah, you mentioned when you went to this original meeting, you didn't know who was going to be speaking at the meeting, but you recognized many people—

PB: Mm-hm.

JF: —that were there.

PB: Mm-hm.

JF: Can you name some of them? Would their names mean anything? Uh, were they well known people?

PB: Uh, some of them were well-known, uh, and I would mention some of their names, uh, John Henrik Clarke,[23] the historian and letterer was there; uh, John Killens,[24] the novelist was one of the people who was there; and then, uh, the others were people who were known in the Black community, but who would—did not have national—they were about fifteen people altogether.

JF: Did people like R. C. Davis[25] participate?

PB: Oh no. R. C. Davis was not involved in those meetings. These were people who were, who were writers, um, activists on various levels, uh, writers and activists basically on various levels and people with, you know, very specific skills. For instance, the woman I befriended was working at NBC[26] at the time. But there were people that were Black, um, professional middle-income-type people—

JF: Right.

PB: —who, you know, were attracted to his program, which helped to also dispel this whole knowledge that many people had, that he just attracted, you know, the dudes off the streets, you know, just ran around who he really—he attracted a lot of people who had very specific skills and who were ready to put them or utilize their skills and put them into forming a new organization with him.

JF: (inaudible) They could get something out of—

PB: Those were mainly people who were at that meeting, those kinds of people, I remember there was a doctor there and a lawyer, you know, so those kinds of people who came out, you know, for this—for these meetings. Once we got, I think the first big crisis that the OAAU faced was in July of 1964, right

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[23] African American professor, historian, and pioneer in the creation of Pan-African and African Studies, (1915-1998).

[24] African American writer and activist (1916-1987), leading figure in the Black Arts Movement.

[25] Ossie Davis (1917-2005), African American film, television, and Broadway actor, director, poet, playwright, author, and Civil Rights activist.

[26] National Broadcasting Company.

after we had publicly announced when we had the Harlem Uprising,[27] when this young fourteen-year-old teenager was shot, uh, by this policeman over in—on East Side of New York. And claiming that the kid had a knife, and to this day they have not found the knife, but, uh, the Uprising started in Harlem. You know, they were rampaging and we were because our office is right on 125th Street and 7th Avenue[28] which is one of the main, uh, thorough fares of Harlem. One thing I must go back to before I move on, in 1963, I had heard Brother Malcolm speak at a rally for the little girls who were killed in Birmingham—they had a rally in Harlem, and they had various—I remember Jackie Robinson,[29] I remember was the moderator of the program, and Malcolm X was one of the speakers. He spoke first, and then other people came on and spoke, and when all the people were finished, the crowd started saying, "We want Malcom X" —they wanted to hear him speak again, and the people running the program said it was all over. They started rampaging, running through the streets and running on top of cars, just generally raising a lot of ruckus because Brother Malcolm was not allowed to speak again, but then Brother Malcolm, I remember, he stood on top of his car and he said, "That's enough, Brothers and Sisters. Let's—don't do this. Everybody let's go home." And within five minutes, the crowd was gone. I mean that was when I first began to see the kind of power that he had, the kind of appeal he had to the younger people who listened to him, and I remember they stopped immediately and dispersed. And that was in 1963, that was, at this time I was still not involved with him, but I remember this incident, you know, as an incident which showed me the appeal and the way he affected and could move people. Uh, I remember when that thing, the situation started, well, we didn't know exactly what to do. We were, um, some of our younger guys were really ready to go up and start raising hell in the streets. But we got a call from Brother Malcolm who was in Cairo at the time at the OAU meeting—the OAU was in Cairo that year, it was in Cairo—

JF: Cairo, right. Mm-hm.

PB: —Brother Malcolm was at that meeting, and we got a call from him in which he told us to again to show you—showing his astuteness, he said, um, "Do whatever you can to keep our people out of, you know, the action in the streets, because many times I don't believe in being involved in nothing you weren't in on in the beginning. Because many times things such as this are deliberately provoked with the idea of smoking certain

[27] The Harlem riot of 1964 occurred between July 16 and 22, 1964, after the killing of James Powell.

[28] IRT 2nd Avenue Line, demolished on June 11, 1940.

[29] (1919-1972), first African American to play in Major League as a professional baseball player for the Brooklyn Dodgers.

people out." And now that we start to hear all this talk of provocateur that happened later, (JF agrees) we begin to see very early how he recognized the possibilities of this. He said very early to try to keep an eye on our young—

JF: Things are so distorted anyway in that kind of mob situation.

PB: —we had to really struggle to keep our young out, keep the guys that were involved with us from getting out in the streets and raising hell—it was a real struggle, but he called us from Cairo and told us to do that. And it was also at this time that I got a glimpse at the brilliance of this man and how this man was able to effectively, uh, analyze and intellectually combat the system because he had studied the system. Uh, as editor of the *OAAU Blacklash*, I had written an article for the *Blacklash* for our first one about the murder, the killing of this young boy,[30] uh, and, uh, I had called Gilligan, the policeman who had shot the boy, a murderer—and when Brother Malcolm had called from Cairo, I read this to him over the telephone, and he said "Oh no, Brother Peter, don't use the term murderer, because murderer is a legal term—a man is only a murderer after he has been convicted."

JF: That's right, that's interesting that he knew that distinction.

PB: He said you can call him a killer, because when you kill someone, you're a killer no matter how you do it or why you did it—

JF: Don't judge them before they—

PB: —because he said, "You know, he is going to be acquitted, and when he is acquitted, he can sue you, you know, if you're liable," so, sure enough, uh, I went through about five, six hundred copies of our newsletter, myself and another guy who was in there with me, and we scratched out the word—I still have copies of it—we scratched out, didn't have time or money to run off another one.

JF: I would love to have a couple of copies.

PB: We scratched out all—we went through each, one by one, and scratched out murderer and wrote in killer—to go along with what he said, and, sure enough, after Gilligan was acquitted, he sued both SCLC,[31] Dr. King's organization, and CORE[32] for libel for putting out material in which they called him a murderer.

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PB: You know, again, so, again, this showed you—a man to me, these two incidents, first him telling us to be on the alert for provocateurs to not, you

[30] James Powell.

[31] Southern Christian Leadership Conference, African American Civil Rights organization, formed by Martin Luther King in 1957.

[32] Congress of Racial Equality, formed in 1942, played a pivotal role in Civil Rights Movement.

know, sometimes these things are started to smoke some people out, and I began to think he was right that because of the love for our organization out there in the streets, raising hell, and, you know, I'm sure they knew who some, most of us were, and they would have shot us down, and they would have had a good excuse for doing so. And so, at that time, you know, the hostility against him was total, practically, among the police and from the authorities in the city. And I remember the humorous part of it is that I do remember the papers at the time, I think it was the German American with the (inaudible) closed down, was saying that Brother Malcolm was not in Cairo, uh, as it was stated, but that he was in Queens[33] somewhere in a basement of a house—directing the entire uprising that was going on. And I remember reading that, you know, and really getting a kick out of it, that they were saying something like this. But, uh, those things, combined with the way he had stopped the crowd, showed me the power and the, uh, you know attractiveness of Brother Malcolm and as a leader, 'cause he never got in trouble for what he said because he knew just the language, just that you must—he never said that Black people go out and get guns and start shooting people—his position was always that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives or property of Black people—they must be prepared to protect themselves. This was all interpreted as him in the papers advocating violence, you know, but to me, that is not advocating violence because he was not, uh, a hothead—'cause he always acted from carefully considered and well-thought-out positions. And that's why those of us who worked with him, this is one reason why we were attracted to him and worked with him because, you know, we understood this. So, um, he, uh, when he came back after the, uh, OAU conference, uh, let's see in July—after the conference he traveled around in Africa, so it was really, I think, about September before he came back. He was gone for a long period of time, and we were, you know, like struggling to keep the office open, and, you know, we were talking to people, people were coming by. He came back in September of 1964, you know, we began to have the month-based, every Sunday we had rallies at the Audubon Ballroom,[34] that was like our regular meeting place, and this went on, in the meantime, we had meetings to try to get the organization out of struggle—and many people, most of the people who were following Brother Malcolm because of him, it is not so much they were attached to his ideology—it was him, and this like, again, showed when he was not around because it was

[33] New York City borough.

[34] Located in Washington Heights section of Manhattan, constructed in 1912, served as a venue to many historical events particularly in the Black community. Site of the assassination of Malcolm X on February 21, 1965, and closed shortly thereafter. Reopened as a Malcolm X and Dr. Betty Shabazz Memorial and Educational Center on May 19, 2005.

very difficult to get people to do things like the little things that need to be done to keep an organization going. So, this, you know, small group of true believers in both the Mosque Incorporated and the OAAU, you know, we were really working to keep things going while he was away because he really took another long trip—to Africa. Because, you see, Brother Malcom had to make a choice when he first, uh, set up the OAAU, he could either set up the organization first or he could—he was such a strong believer that our ultimate protection as, you know, Black people and a big minority in this country, uh, result depended on both outside relationships, specifically with Africa. He—

JF: (inaudible)

PB: —used to tell us we needed the kind of relationship with Africa that if there was ever really any real effort to move us here, then the African countries—the entire African continent would do various actions that would assist us. It was this kind of—I mean, he was very serious about this, and this is why he decided that in those first few months after his suspension he spent a lot of time traveling in Africa, trying to solidify and set up the beginnings of these relationships, and Brother Malcolm—

JF: It really hadn't been done that much.

PB: —it had never been done on that type of programmed level, of course, there were other Black—you know, Marcus Garvey,[35] Blyden,[36] there were other leaders, nationalists, who believed in the Pan-Africanist concept, but Brother Malcolm was really the major one of this—

JF: He didn't want to move the Black people in America to Africa, he wanted to have an alliance.

PB: Well, his position was that we should have, he said like in order to return to Africa—he didn't necessarily mean that you had to physically return but he meant you had to psychologically return in the sense that you identified that Africa's problems as your problems and your problems as how to help them and their problems as far as how they could help us. He wanted that kind of relationship, a psycholog—I mean, you know, a relationship that currently exists between the Jews of the United States and Israel.

JF: There you go, right.

PB: That doesn't mean that all the Jews here will run to Israel, but it means that they have a type of psychological connection and identification with each other that one group looks upon a movement on the group as an attack on everybody, so everybody moves to, you know, stop it. And he wanted us to develop the same kind of relationship with the African continent, and that's why he spent those first few—a lot of the first few months, uh, of his

[35] Jamaican-born Black nationalist (1887-1940), leader of the Pan-Africanism movement.

[36] Edward Wilmot Blyden, Liberian educator, writer, diplomat, and politician, often regarded as a father of Pan-Africanism (1832-1912).

time traveling in Africa. He was welcomed in high African circles. I mean, when he went to Africa, he was invited to dinner by diplomats and he, uh, met Nkrumah,[37] he was a guest of Kenyatta[38] in Kenya, he was allowed to speak on Kenyan radio. Excuse me, despite the protests from the American ambassador in Kenya, I remember him telling us the ambassador really tried to block, and once he could not block him from being a speaker, he did try to get the Black Americans who were in Kenya to not go and listen to what Brother Malcolm had to say, you know. So, the man, you know, the man had an international stature, the likes of which very few Black people, especially of his time, you know, enjoyed—so that's why he spent, he decided that he would let us do the struggling to keep the organization functioning on this level, and then he would begin to build these international contacts which he felt were really important to us for later.

JF: But really it wasn't possibly plausible for one man—

PB: —to do both. You could not do both, uh, and (pause)—the unfortunate thing is that the day that he was assassinated I was in the hall that day. I had, uh, um, spoken to him that previous Saturday, uh, which was the Saturday after his home was firebombed. Uh, he came over to the office at the OAAU that Saturday afternoon, and I had put out a bulletin around the bombing of his home, and he said to me, "Brother Peter," uh, there was something that I had written in there I don't know exactly what it was now but when he read it, he said, "Brother Peter, there is something in here—you shouldn't say this like this." Because, you see, again, using his knowledge of libel laws and how—the use of words, he said, "You say it like this, you know, they can get us jammed up for something we said. We don't have time to be spending money fighting court battles over things that, you know, that were said," so hey, says, uh, "I wish you would not send this out like this." So, I said, "Okay I understand," so I did not, you know, I did not have time to change it—we were gonna give it out at the rallies the next day, and since I did not have time to change it, we just did not give them out. And to this day, I do not have a single copy of that, of that, uh, bulletin—I don't know what happened to it, I think we might have gotten mixed up after the confusion after he was assassinated, gotten it mixed up. But I wish I had a copy of it just so I could—because I remember jotting down when he told me it had to be changed. But the next day, which was February the 21st, 1965, uh, when he came in, I was up at the Audubon early as usual because, you know, we were getting people ready, getting things set up for the rally. When he came in and asked me if I would go

[37] Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972), Ghanaian politician and revolutionary, 1st President of Ghana, 3rd Chairperson of OAU.

[38] Jomo Kenyatta (1897-1978). Kenyan anti-colonial activist and politician, 1st President and Prime Minister of Kenya.

backstage and speak with him for a minute, you know, when he came in. So, I went and said, "I'll be back in a minute," and went back there, and I spoke with him and, again, this showed me the absolute courtesy and value of Brother Malcolm as a human being, you know, and not just as a leader. Because his worry, despite everything that had happened to him—he had been banned from France, his home had been firebombed, you know, I mean, just a whole lot of things had come down on him in a short period of time; he was concerned that I had misunderstood, uh, what he was saying to me that day before, and that I may have been upset or hurt, and that he was condemning something I had put a lot of work into. I said, "No, I understand why you did that," and this is why when I read things people used to say about him, I said it was a bunch of crap, you know about the type of person he was. Because he was very courteous, very, very thoughtful, and a very, very considerate person. And I remember, you know, I had spoken with him, and I also had with me that day a copy of a paper.

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PB: A clipping from the *New York Times* about the Deacons for Defense and Justice[39] who had been formed out in Louisiana, this is the first time I had seen something about them in the papers, so I took that clip back backstage with me, and I showed it to him, and he read it and said "Uh-huh, see. Now that's what I've been saying all along, that if the government and the authorities are now protected, then you gotta protect yourselves." And I stayed back there, you know, we spoke about several other things, that last conversation that I had with him, we spoke about it. And then he said, "Anybody recognize Milton Galamison?" Milton Galamison was a minister here in New York who had been very prominent in the New York School Boycott Movement, and he was supposed to come to our rally that day to help to make an appeal for, uh, you know, things, for Brother Malcolm's family since, when their home was firebombed, it burned a lot of the kids' clothing, their clothing, their possessions that had been wiped out. Reverend Galamison was gonna speak to the rally and encourage people to give, uh, to replace the things for the family, so he said, "Does anyone here recognize Galamison?" I said, "I do," and he said, "Will you please back and wait? And when he comes in, bring him backstage." So, that's when I left and that's why I was not back there, I was out there, it's like when you go the Audubon Ballroom, there's a little alcove where you sit at the top of the steps and then you walk into the main ballroom. I was sitting in there, waiting on Reverend Galamison to come in there, when I heard the shots.

[39] Armed African American self-defense group, formed in 1964 by Earnest "Chilly Willy" Thomas and Frederick Douglas Kirkpatrick, served to protect CORE from Ku Klux Klan attacks.

Uh, I jumped up and ran, and looked in, and I got knocked down because the people were running out and screaming and everything. I ran and—finally got down to the stage, and I jumped up to the stage, and I looked, he was laying on the stage and I looked at his chest and someone had opened his shirt up—I could see holes in his chest where he had been hit by the shotgun pellets. He was like, you know, gasping, not a sound; he was not making any sound, but he was trying to gasp for breath. And he was turning ash, a greyish color because he was kind of like a brown, light brown skin. And, uh, I remember, uh, thinking, you know, there is no doctor. So, I jumped down off the stage, and this was a long ballroom, a huge ballroom I was heading down, thinking about running across the street toward the Presbyterian Hospital, you know, to get a doctor. 'Cause I know I was not thinking properly and calmly at the time, I was in a very stage of agitation. And then right before I did that, I saw a group of Brothers come pushing a—one of those stretchers on rollers. They had gone over there taken it and brought it back to put his body on it, and then they rolled him to the streets. They—almost directly across the street from the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, which is why to this day I can't get very warmed up about the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center because no doctor came over.

JF: You said that there were policemen, special agents in the audience—

PB: I'm certain there were, because they came to all our rallies, all our rallies always had policemen in the audience. But I had even seen when I was sitting in the back where I was sitting, I could look into the little office—I had seen policemen there in uniforms. At least three policemen I remember seeing, when I was sitting there, in uniforms, talking to the owner or the manager or whoever was in charge of the place that day. They were back there, the door was open, so they were not trying to hide. But I remember seeing them there and, uh—

JF: What about the two, uh, suspects that supposedly were arrested from the crowd?

PB: You see, I didn't really see that because when the crowd was running out, I was running up to the stage, so I didn't really see—but I do know that I heard that they got caught, one of the, uh, two of the suspects got caught outside by the crowd, and the crowd was beating on them and stomping them. The police came up and snatched them away from the crowd and threw them into this car. And because the second person, you never heard of again—

JF: That's right.

PB: —you just heard of the one person, Hayer.[40] And I firmly believe that if Hayer had not been shot in the leg, which slowed him down so he could be caught—he might have gotten away, and I do not think there would have been a trial or it would have been something where somebody, like other assassinations at the time, they would have found somebody and said, "This person did it." And that would have been the end of it. I think after Hayer was caught and everyone knew that he was caught because he had been shot in the leg, they had to do something with him, so the trial had to be held. Uh, but I don't think there would have been a trial—I think they would have—I think he would have escaped—I think all of them would gotten away.

JF: But you two did corroborate that, at that point of the story, there were two people that supposedly were taken by the police.

PB: Well, uh, I know—I know people who were there who saw, who said this.

JF: Right, yeah, but the early newspapers—

PB: Yeah, that's what I said. Right, you know, I cannot say, you know, I was an eyewitness because when the people ran out of the hall and ran down to the back and caught them out front while I was running out towards the front, and by the time I came back out of the building, which was after they had picked his body up on the stretcher and rolled it to the streets, I came back out of the building with, you know—all of this had happened. You know and the cops had already taken them away, you know. I did not actually see this, but I knew people who were out there, who were people who had been coming to our rallies from the very beginning who said there were two people. I remember when I went in there, it looked like a battleground—there were people laid all over the floor, they were laying on tables, some people moaning who had been hit by stray bullets. You know, uh, and the place was in shambles because in that attempt to get out, people had knocked over chairs and tables and everything—the place had actually looked like a battleground, you know, when I, when I went in there. Um, I think personally that Brother Malcolm's assassination occurred the way it did for three very specific reasons because people who were trying to assassinate him could have easily done it when he was going home one night to Queens, they could have done it—there were just so many ways that it could have been done but it was done publicly for about six hundred people on a nice, bright, you know, afternoon, in the afternoon. And I think it was done like that for three major reasons. One, I think so that confusion could be caused by the fact the people actually pulling the trigger and shooting him were Black so that if he had been killed in some dark little street going home, you know, it could have been speculated it

[40] Talmadge Hayer, also known as Thomas Hagan, former member of the Nation of Islam, confessed to the assassination of Malcolm X in court.

was someone White who did it. This way, you could see that the people who did the, did the murder were Black right away, shows conflict and confusion to any reaction, you know. That was the first reason, so this could be specifically seen. I think the second reason was to intimidate you know all the people—to kind of show the people that we can shoot down one of your main niggas in middle of the afternoon in broad daylight, and there is nothing you can do about it. It was a way of intimidation, and then of course the third reason, I think, was to, uh, to do it in such a way so that the Muslims, you know, the Nation of Islam Muslims, and the OAAU people would immediately start shooting each other down in the streets, and then everybody who survived that would've been picked up, you know and that would have been the end of both, you know, groups in New York.

JF: But this did not pan out.

PB: This was the only one of three objectives which did not work, and this was because there were cooler heads in both groups who began to, you know, who had somebody that knew what was going on and were talking to people to cool things out, you know. I think after that shooting had occurred, the very next day, the night I heard was—the mosque[41] on 16th street was burned completely to the ground, and I think that was done, of course, trying to blame the fault on Malcolm X, which I think was a second attempt to cause this shootout. But again, fortunately, it did not work. But I think those were the three main reasons that Brother Malcolm X was assassinated—the way he was. I think he was assassinated because traditionally, in this country, a Black man who stays within the confines of the country and talks can just about say anything he wants. You can call the president an MFSOB[42] twenty-four hours a day, but when you start getting talking on an international level, then you become very dangerous. And I think there were elements in this country who really began to fear—because, see, one of Malcolm X's ultimate aims was to have the government, because, you know, the United States government was one of the few governments in the world that had not signed the U.N.[43] Declaration of Human Rights—and one of the things he was trying to do was trying to get one of the African countries to take the government before the World Court for violating the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. And, of course, everyone knows they would have not been able to enforce anything, but if they would have had them defend themselves before this body, it would have been a tremendous propaganda coup.

[41] Mosque No. 7. Malcolm X preached there when he was a member of the Nation of Islam; redesigned as the Malcolm Shabazz Mosque in 1976.

[42] Expletive phrase.

[43] United Nations.

*[00:40:00]*

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: I think that this was the reason, you know, that he was assassinated. The Nation of Islam—

JF: Right.

PB: —now, see, we don't really, we don't really—that, that I really am one of the people who really did not know, but I do know that he was working on it.

JF: Right.

PB: That was one of the reasons for his extensive travels in Africa. Because I'm sure he probably could have gotten one of the, you know, communist countries who would have done this, you know, had he—

JF: Gladly.

PB: —gladly, but that's not what he wanted. He wanted to get an African country to do it and, you know, and I think there were people who thought he might be able to pull this off, you know. I think it very closely tied with King's[44] assassination. King (pauses) became a factor in Vietnam, probably more of a factor than any other American civilian—Black or White. King's anti-Vietnam position was the one I think that really worried them the most because of his whole Nobel Peace Prize non-violent thing. King was assassinated after that. Before that, no one could get near King because of his non-violence approach—he was the—considered, you—the man who tried to keep the people following. You know, 'cause he was dealing strictly on the domestic level, and he was preaching non-violence—the FBI[45] and everybody protected him.

JF: Right.

PB: But after he came out and got involved in the whole Vietnam thing, he was assassinated.

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: Again, the international factor. They would not stand—the people who really fear, uh, whatever Black people try do in this country are very afraid of when Black people become involved because that brings up the, uh, you know, the Americans are vulnerable on the question of race, they are vulnerable internationally on the race question. And I think that this was behind Brother Malcolm's assassination. I do not believe that the Nation of Islam—I had personally always blamed the Nation of Islam for allowing themselves to be put in the position to cause the confusion as to whether or

[44] Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968), African American Christian minister and activist, most prominent spokesperson of Civil Rights Movement.

[45] Federal Bureau of Investigation.

not they did it. But I think Elijah Muhammad,[46] when Brother Malcolm got off that plane in Paris and was put right back on the plane and sent to back London, was not even allowed into Paris—you cannot tell me that Elijah Muhammad can tell Charles de Gaulle[47] do not let Malcolm X, you know, come to speak. Because he was supposed to speak at a rally that evening, that night in Paris. Elijah Muhammad cannot tell Charles de Gaulle, "Do not allow Malcolm X to speak in Paris."

JF: Right, in retrospect, that's rather ridiculous.

PB: That's ridiculous. So, you see, this was like three things happened right in a row, one week he was banned from France, the next week his home was firebombed, the next week he was assassinated. To me, it's almost like someone said, "Oh man, this cat, you know—this cat is becoming dangerous. We've allowed him to, you know, but something has got to be done about this," and like I say, Elijah Muhammad didn't have the power to have Malcolm put on a plane, not even allowed to speak to the American Embassy in Paris. They took him off one plane, put him in a car, drove him into the airport, then put him on a plane back to London. Now that is operating on an international level—

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: —which, uh, you know, I mean who can do that?

JF: Well, certainly not the leader of the Black Muslims.

PB: —of the Black Muslims, right, so this is why, you know—again, it brings me back to my feeling that it was his international activities that were behind his assassination that were disturbing—the most disturbing. Because, as long as he stood in between 125th Street, I could go up on 125th Street right now and call the president a SOB[48] twenty-four hours a day and they might watch me, you know, and everything, you know, might put a lookout on me, but they're not going to come out and assassinate and get rid of me. You see, plus, Brother Malcolm, he had vision. He had vision, and I remember him telling—we used to have little meetings, I'd talk to him like in groups whatever of only four or five people present, you know, where you can really listen to him rap. I remember listening to him in 1964, he predicted all the uprisings because I remember him making a statement in '64, the Democratic Convention happened over in Atlantic City, the Mississippi Freedom Democrats[49] were not allowed to speak at that

[46] Religious leader and writer (1897-1975) who led the Nation of Islam for forty-one years until his death, former mentor to Malcolm X.

[47] (1890-1970), president of France at the time.

[48] Expletive phrase.

[49] Also referred to as the Freedom Democratic Party (1964-1968), designed to encourage Black political participation and the fight against discrimination, for workers' rights, and against unemployment.

convention in Atlantic City,[50] and, um, I mean, after they gone through all this hell, Fannie Lou Hamer[51] and, um, SNCC,[52] that's what these three young guys were killed for. Then, they get to the Democratic Convention, they told them, you're going to have to share your seats with the regulars who have been trying to block them out all these years. So, I remember Malcolm X said, "When those young workers, when the young Black folks find out you've all been telling them, if you do this, if you get an education, if you be right and do good, then everything will happen, and they realize that you've been jiving them—they are going to make me feel like a moderate."

JF: Right.

PB: Those were his exact words in 1964 because I remember them. And, sure enough, the Harlem Uprising occurred that summer, uh, '65 Watts[53] happened, then the whole '67 Detroit,[54] you know '66 Newark,[55] '67 Detroit, I mean, all these things happened, and I think they happened as a direct result of hopes—people having really believed that things were going to be changing, and then they didn't come about. This is what he had said, he said that in 1964, you know, that when these young people find out you've been jiving them—they're gonna make me seem like a moderate because they're gonna react to it. That was one vision that he had. Another, he told us when the OAAU first started we used to have those meetings up at that motel, he told us at the very beginning, "Listen, those of you who are afraid or worried of getting dossiers or getting phone-tapped and everything, don't get involved with me because it's going to happen to you." So, all this stuff that we hear know about, uh, you know, how the FBI went into the Panthers[56] and provoked things, provoked fights between the Panthers and us and Ron Karenga's[57] group, and, you know, the taping of Dr. King, wiretapping and all that kind of stuff—he warned us about, so none of these revelations of the past year have surprised me. None of them. None of them,

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[50] Resort city on the Atlantic Coast of New Jersey, founded in 1854.

[51] African American Civil Rights activist (1917-1977), co-founder and vice-chairperson of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

[52] Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (1960-1976).

[53] The 1967 Detroit Riot, known as Watt's Rebellion or Watt's Uprising, August 11-16, 1965.

[54] Also known as the 12th Street Riot, one of the bloodiest and most destructive riots in U.S. History, a part of the "Long Hot Summer of 1967" riots. July 23-28, 1967.

[55] The 1967 Newark riots, also a part of the "Long Hot Summer of 1967" riots, July 12-17, 1967.

[56] The Black Panther Party, originally the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Militant political organization founded by Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton of Oakland, California, in 1966. It was created in response to police brutality in Oakland but soon shifted to a platform of Black power and community aid through various social programs.

[57] (1941-), African American professor of Africana Studies, activist, author, and creator of Kwanzaa.

because he warned us of them, he told us of them, that he knew this was going on—the provocateurs. He used to tell us, anytime you're in the middle of a meeting and some guy stands up in the middle of the meeting and says, "Hey, let's go down, why don't we go down and bomb so and so and so and so."

JF: Yes.

PB: He said, "Be very careful about them." So, what happened? Many times, the Panthers got trapped in this very kind of maneuver.

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: You see, that's why I said the man had vision. He had vision, he knew, he knew this system and how it operates better than anybody that I have ever known, and the stuff he used to tell me, I could still utilize it this very day (telephone rings) in my readings, in my life, and the very way I look at things, you know, the way I interpret things, my looking at what's happening on the African continent, he told us—he used to tell us, "You know, Brothers, I would never say it publicly, but the dominant ideology from too many of those African leaders is dollarism." He said, "It's not—it's dollarism—as you look around, you see this unity, all the things that are going on, it's not that type of unity that the OAU is proposing—it is not exemplified, it has not come about." That's why when I went to Africa, I was prepared. Like a lot of young people, like myself, who went to Africa with these fantastic, romantic illusions, came back and became very hostile towards Africa because of some of the things they ran into while they were over there. I went over there with a much more realistic attitude on my first trip to Africa because of Brother Malcolm, because those were the small meetings we used to have where he used to us, give us the real rundown to what was happening. So, if I went to Africa, and I thought Africa was a little more British than the Queen, they were more French than, you know, than Charles de Gaulle—I was not surprised, I did not let them turn me away from the Pan-Africanist concept because I still believed in it.

JF: Mm-hm

PB: You know, just like I don't let the Black people here who tell me, "What good is Africa gonna do for us?" who can't see that. I can't let them turn me away because I know better and so, just like that, it was all because of the groundwork that he laid. I still live by a lot of the things he laid down for me.

JF: By this point, you mentioned you still believe in this Pan-Africanist ideal and movement, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, you mentioned one that Malcolm X was doing was that he was trying to bring the case of the Black minorities before the U.N.

PB: Mm-hm.

JF: And this—

PB: That was one of his objectives.

JF: Right. What were some of the other objectives of this Organization of Afro-American Unity?

PB: Um, in our constitution, we talked about many of the things that later became big issues—community control of the schools was in our constitution, this was back in 1964. We were saying that we had to have community control of the schools.

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: Because, you know, because the schools are so important in shaping ideals, ideas, and what the children live by. This became a big issue about '68 or '69. But we had it in our constitution in 1964.

*[00:50:00]*

JF: Right, right.

PB: You know, uh, self-defense was in our constitution. We advocated that people simply, you know, had to be in the position to defend yourself. You should not allow yourself to be pushed around, you know, uh, of course, the Pan-Africanist thing. It was not just a case of romantic concept, you know, (telephone rings) he looked upon it (telephone rings) as our really only (telephone rings)—we are, you know, the minority here and the minority that we are, you know, we are outnumbered like two hundred million to twenty-five or thirty million or something—he said, "You have to have somebody on the outside of the United States who will, you know, look out after you." His position was that, for us, this would be the African continent. So his, um, pushing for the government relationship in Africa was not based on any kind of romanticist—it was based on what he considered purely practical, another practical survival technique, you know, that we should utilize, you know, as well as being something that was desirable from a psychological and an emotional point of view.

JF: Right.

PB: But something that was a very practical necessity or us to develop these kinds of ties, uh, as a protective as, you know, a protective situation.

JF: That was really another means of uniting, uh, this diverse people—

PB: —right, who were scattered around—

JF: —under the same color of the skin—

PB: Yes, right. Right.

JF: —because you did all have an African heritage.

PB: And that brings me back to another point. I remember when Brother Malcolm came back from Mecca,[58] they were saying, "Oh he has changed his mind"—

JF: Yeah, and—

[58] City in Saudi Arabia, birthplace of the Prophet Muhammad and Islam. Millions of Muslims arrive each year for their annual Hajj or pilgrimage which serves as a rite of passage. Malcolm X took his Hajj there in 1964.

PB: —because they wanted to show inconsistencies. But when Brother Malcolm said, when he came back from Mecca, he said, "I met White people in my travels who, you know, who were not—devils as I had believed." And that—he has been saying that White people were devils and everything. He said, "I have found that Whites who have accepted Islam," you know, to be what he considered free of this strong sense of racism that existed, you know, in Christian countries. He said, "Maybe if White people in America, those would accept, you know, things of Islam," some of them—I don't know exactly how those words were coming out, but he was saying those Whites who accepted the tenets of Islam, you know, were the ones who he felt could be, uh, could treat people fairly and get rid of that racism. So, they tried to make it seem like he came back and said that everything was cool now and everything was good to show inconsistencies and to cause confusion among his followers. But, you see, Malcolm understood words—he never said words carelessly. He was—I eventually think I got into writing as a career because of dealing with him and understanding, you know, and—and just enjoying how he understood the use of words and how he used to tell us that old saying, "Sticks and stones will break my bones, but words will never hurt me," is not true because words can hurt—'cause words can hurt.

JF: Yes.

PB: Words create images, and he was very, very sharp with word play. And you read what he was saying that he had changed because he had met with Whites he felt had rid themselves of racism and—but he said they were the ones who had accepted Islam—

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: —which means that in America, you are still eliminating ninety-nine nine ten percent of the people—

JF: Yes, and Blacks and Whites were—

PB: —but the whole big thing, you know, is that they were trying to make it sound like he was now, you know, —and the man had broadened his viewpoint, you know, it's not a matter of change, it's a matter of, you know, of—the reason he was so skillful was that he had the ability that when he got into a situation, he was not going to hold onto something that had been no longer, you know, to have been proven to, you know, no longer be correct. He did not go down with some erroneous concept, just because he saw something that broadened it and, you know, added some dimensions to it, he did so—which made him even more dangerous. (pauses) Because a man who just sticks to something, no matter how wrong it is—you know, I mean, you don't really have to worry about him too much.

JF: You can make him a—

PB: Right, you didn't have to worry about him too much, uh, because eventually, he's going to destroy himself.

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: You know but, uh, because of Malcolm X's—he was brilliant. He was a brilliant, brilliant man and, uh, I for one you now just cannot imagine—I doubt, I think, I'd be doing any of the things I've been doing for the last ten years had it not been for my relationship with him. I still utilize his things in my writing. I still believe in the things that I, you know, learned from him, despite all the setbacks and, you know, the retreat on many areas of people going back to those same old, you know, uh, tacky ways that they had been going back to, some of the Black people, you know. I still think that eventually that type of program he was espousing back in 1964, that program is gonna be necessary for us to survive. When I say "survive," I don't mean survival—I'm not talking about survival—I don't think—I really don't believe right now that nobody is gonna try to, you know, take us all and put us in concentration camps and wipe us out. But I'm talking about survival, you know, as a cultural survival where you can exist and still maintain some of things that make you unique, you know, as a people, you know, I'm talking about that kind of survival. Those types of things are still necessary—I still think community control of schools is an important thing that we need so, you know, people would be more involved in the schools of our communities. I still think the Pan-Africanism that was in our constitution is a correct ideology. I still believe in self-defense, you know, where you (telephone rings) don't go out aggressively and attack other people, but you do not allow people to come into your communities, you know, and raise hell and destroy. And that includes as you gotta deal with now, the whole question of Black-on-Black crime, which I think, um, uh, is a throwback to that old self-destructive thing that so many people have gotten into and hoped we had gotten out of, but so many people are going back into now. I still believe we had a, uh, statement in our constitution on the importance of cultural activity because his position was—and we, many of us agreed with him, he got it from someone else—was that people's culture is how people live, the things they do, the way they enjoy life, I mean, the music, the theater, and that if people are in tune on this level—they will automatically be in tune politically and economically, because they will be moving by—they will support their own out of a cultural necessity.

JF: Right.

PB: They wouldn't think of doing otherwise, so the culture, you know, had an importance along with economics and politics because, most of the time, you put politics and economics, then you drop culture down here somewhere. And in our constitution, we had culture right up there with politics and economics.

JF: That's incredible. It was going to be an important part—

PB: —part of the movement, the stress on the cultural, you know, was put into the constitution you know that we, uh, had.

JF: So, in other words, people like LeRoi Jones or Amiri Baraka,[59] and, um, Ron Karenga, actually were going beyond carrying on with Malcolm X's program in certain ways?

PB: In certain ways, oh yeah.

JF: Going beyond Black cultural revolution?

PB: Yeah, but, you see now, like so many things, you cannot take one thing and make it like the only thing you deal with. But what a lot of the Brothers, especially after Brother Malcolm, they just got involved in cultural activities and let everything else go.

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: And that is not—no good either. He was talking about the three things: politics, culture, economics. The three things came hand in hand, and you moved on all three levels in order to build a sense of self-identification and power as a people. All the things he was espousing were leading to Black Power.

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: You know, I mean, uh, that was the ultimate end of all the things we were doing, where we will be determining things which were affecting our lives most directly. Uh, he believed in, uh, now you got self-determination, he believed in economically collective, he believed—in our constitution, we talked about collective economic activity on the part of Black people (PB chokes and clears throat) because you know everybody's gonna become General Motors as far as Black people were over. And I, collectively, he used to tell us back in '64 that very few things that Black people cannot do on an economic level in this country, if we were to pool our moneys because we have enough money as a collective group, you know, to move. We might not have enough money as, you know, individuals—

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: —but if we pooled our resources and moved on a collective economic activity, we would still have to get—

*[01:00:00]*

PB: —our government things because we pay taxes and deserve to get everything from the government that everybody else is getting, but we would not be so dependent on government handouts and things.

JF: It starts making sense to move collectively.

PB: This was another stress that was in our constitution: collective economic activities. You know when people would curb to pool their resources and open daycare centers and buy remodeled buildings and run schools and set

[59] African American writer of poetry, drama, fiction, essays and music criticism (1934-2014).

up—I mean just, uh, livelihood and your survival as a group depended upon this. (PB clears throat again) And Brother Malcolm never, uh—his ultimate, his, his strongest thing was that he always believed in Black people.

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: You know, he really did. He used to say, even as much as he believed in Islam that he believed in Islam as a religion, but that if Islam ever became an obstacle to dealing with and supporting and aiming things of Black people—that he would give up Islam first.

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: He said this. His—and the thing about him again I've listed some of the things that have impressed me: his knowledge, his wisdom, his analytical abilities, his, uh, his reasoning. He uses his style of a Baptist preacher, his speaking style, the traditional Baptist preaching style, of course he used it in a different kind of way, he was talking more about secular than religious things, but the style the way he used to speak and the effect he had on people, you know—

JF: That style was very effective.

PB: —was very effective. (telephone rings) It's a style that is still, of course, used today of course in, uh, by most great Black orators. The use of repetition, the use of parables.

JF: Right.

PB: Uh, (telephone rings) "I have a dream, I have a dream, I have a dream."[60] Brother Malcolm spoke the same kind of way. He and King shared that, you know, uh—

JF: Well, King was a preacher too.

PB: The great Black orators of all time shared these kinds of things, um, and another important and, you see, another important thing to remember about Brother Malcolm and King was that he [Malcolm] had the support of many Black people in this country that could not publicly allow themselves to be associated with him.

JF: Mm-hm.

PB: There were people whose names we could not publicly say because of the type of things that they were doing, and they were, you know, would be put down upon, but they supported him.

JF: Yeah. It was interesting that Ossie Davis[61] came out at his funeral and gave the eulogy.

PB: There were people like Ossie Davis at the same level, different type of professions who—

JF: Now, that was a very daring thing to do as a Black actor.

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[60] Allusion to *I Have a Dream*, speech by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., August 28, 1963.

[61] Referred to as R. C. Davis earlier in this transcription.

PB: Mm-hm. (clears throat) There were other people who helped finance you know who provided monies to finance some of the things that we were doing. You know, these were people who were, uh—

JF: —who couldn't publicly say, right, but—

PB: —who couldn't publicly say, right but—

JF: —who helped out in any way—

PB: —who helped out in any way that they could, you know. Mm-hm. And some of them we didn't even know. We were all much younger, and anybody that was not down the line, we were ready to jump on, and he would tell us, "You know you gotta be very careful about some of these people who you're coming down on because I get some very strong support and if you knew their names, it would surprise you."

JF: Right.

PB: He would tell us that, "If you knew their names, it would surprise you." You know some Black people were helping them while one time they might be giving a negative interview about him, one in the papers, making a statement, you know, about that terrible Malcolm X and what he was doing. You know, well, uh—

JF: Well, with the distortion by the press, maybe that wasn't exactly what they had said in the first place anyways, but what the press got out of it. So, for what they turned out of it.

PB: But that was, uh, that was a very, very—well it wasn't quite a year—well it was a year because it was February '64, '65, that I was involved with him. And, uh, it was the most learning—I learned more in that year than I learned in all my previous years of schooling. And, uh, many of the things—

JF: Why do you think the organization fell apart? Or didn't fall apart? Are those the correct words?

PB: Well, well, uh, you see, I gave those three reasons. I said one was to intimidate, well, the second reason was to intimidate and to cause suspicion, to intimidate the people who believed and supported Brother Malcolm, and also to cause suspicion, that might even be a fourth one, among the people who worked with him—and everybody started looking over their shoulder at everybody, you know, like, uh-oh, this one is an FBI agent. It really affected—it was very effective in destroying the organization. I think I was one of few in the organization that most all of—who many—most of the people who were involved spoke to. So, I really got a glimpse as to how effective that thing was with—outside having everybody looking over their shoulder with everybody. That was one of the reasons the organization fell apart. You know, again, maybe that should be the fourth. And then, you know, uh, his sister came in from Boston, and he told her that she was to take over the organization, uh, if anything, you know, should happen to him. There were those of us who could not believe

this and did not believe this was so, we just kind of stopped. I think I went to one meeting after he was assassinated, I went to only one about two weeks after his burial. We had an OAAU meeting, and I went, and it was just some things that happened there that I realized that the organization as I knew it was no longer really going to be in existence. That and the fact that so many of the people became uptight and suspicious about each other helped to bring it down. It still exists in name and every now and then—on his birthday, on the anniversary of the assassination of—them doing little things but it's really not doing very much.

JF: It's really not the organization that—

PB: —it's not the same organization that it was—the unity that existed. During that year, that very, very exciting year, you know, that, uh—

JF: The only other main question I have is—concerns the trials of his assassins and the people who were convicted, and two of them were Muslims. It seemed if you read the records of the trial, really, they weren't in the ballroom at all.

PB: This is, uh, has always been a possib—it's very a strange trial. I think that even at the end of the trial, Hayer himself admitted flatly that he was there, and he said that the other two guys were not there, and that he moved, and he knew, but would not tell where the other people were. And I've never heard of anybody saying, you know, I know some names but I'm not gonna tell you if they really want to find out. They make you tell. You know.

JF: So, whatever happened to Hayer?

PB: He is still in prison, as far as I know.

JF: Well up to 1971, the last big thing I've seen written on it, he was still in prison.

PB: As far as I know, he's still in prison, but you know like—you never know, because a lot of the provocateurs, people who do things, they give them new identities. You know, they've been talking about all this kind of stuff, giving people new identities and sending them off somewhere after they've, you know, accomplished—done their jobs, you know. So, uh, I happen to feel Brother Malcolm's death was the result of a very definite conspiracy by higher people, on a much higher level than the Muslims.

JF: Right.

PB: You know, there's no way, like I do not believe that Oswald was the lone assassin of Kennedy, just as I do not believe that James Earl Ray was even the assassin of Martin Luther King, you know. I most certainly do not accept the story of Malcolm's X's assassination that has come out, you know, in the papers.

JF: Thank you very much, Mr. Bailey. That will conclude our interview.

*[01:09:04]*

END OF INTERVIEW

Matthew Kelly and Gabriel Taggard (editors)

# *Activism and Interactivism: An Interview with Journalist Mark Thompson (1952-2016)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.
Project: Grassroots Politics.
O.H. 4903.
Oral Interview with Mark Thompson, conducted by John Salcido,
November 2, 2011, Los Angeles, California.

*Introduction*

The oral history interview transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "Grassroots Politics." The interview with Mark Thompson was conducted by John Salcido on November 2, 2011, in Los Angeles, California. The interview lasted 1 hour, 2 minutes, and 39 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2020 by Matthew Kelly and Gabriel Taggard.

Mark Thompson was born on August 19, 1952, in Monterey, California. His interview discusses his upbringing in Carmel, California, and the difficulties he faced due to his parents' reluctant marriage. In high school, he had his first bout of activism when he refused to attend P.E. because the other boys were tormenting him in the locker room for being gay. This incident corroborated his experiences with Carmel's blue-collar community. The interview then turns to his exploits in San Francisco, starting with his first encounter with a gay clothing establishment and his times in a gay bar. He was soon introduced to *The Advocate*, an LGBT-focused newspaper that had its humble beginnings as a mimeographed pamphlet. After this, Thompson recalls his time working with the San Francisco State College paper, *The Voice*. His employment there served as a stepping stone for his continued activism. Another stage for his activism was the Gay Students Coalition. In this organization, he was not only able to surround himself with those like himself, but he was also able to continue his activism by means of protest. On San Francisco's gay-colonized Castro Street, he met Harvey Milk who was to become California's first openly gay elected official. Thompson discusses this colonization of Castro Street as a haven for the gay community after the 1969 Stonewall riots. After David B. Goodstein bought *The Advocate*, Thompson received an offer to write an article about him, giving him the opportunity to work for *The Advocate*. Mark continued his career there for twenty years. During this time, he did some journalistic work in Spain, where he reported on the growing LGBT Movement. When Goodstein moved *The Advocate* back to Los Angeles, which was bad news

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for many of its employees, Thompson welcomed the transition as he "felt the winds changing" in the context of the emerging AIDS epidemic. It was after this move, in 1984, that he met his future partner Malcolm Boyd (1923-2015) and around this time that he had found out that he had AIDS. Thompson continued his work, went on to author several books, and served as a clinical psychologist. He closes the interview with his predictions about the future of the homosexual community, as well as his feelings regarding the treatment of the gay community from his youth until the present (2011). Mark Thompson died on August 23, 2016, in Palm Springs, California.

Mark Thompson's story provides several insights that can be considered integral for our understanding of the gay experience between the 1960s and the 1990s. His record starts in the pre-Gay Rights era, transitions toward a time concurrent with the Stonewall riots, and concludes with the AIDS epidemic. He details the discrimination he experienced at a young age—discrimination that still happens today. With regard to his story during the AIDS epidemic, the way he elaborates on the concept of "dying in the street" demonstrates how life-changing and perilous AIDS really was during this period, while today (2021) there is a wide range of treatment options. Finally, the account of Thompson's activism or, as he calls it, "interactivism" can aid those who are coming out or in the process of coming out. This interview can even help those who have been out, but struggle with their self-doubt and the internalized homophobia which has been planted in them by the society they live in.

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*Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 4903)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Mark Thompson [MT]

INTERVIEWER: John Salcido [JS]

DATE: November 2, 2011
LOCATION: Los Angeles, California
PROJECT: Grassroots Politics
TRANSCRIBERS: Matthew Kelly and Gabriel Taggard

MT: [audio cuts in]—and the kind of things that we still have to put up with.
JS: Okay.
MT: Uh, my partner[1] who's a well-known Civil Rights activist—
JS: Mm-hm.
MT: —and an Episcopal priest—
JS: Yeah, I—
MT: —and author of thirty-two books, and he's a world-famous person—
JS: Yeah.
MT: —and we've been together for 27 years, and we consider ourselves to be married[2]—but of course we can't legally do that—
JS: Mm-hm.
MT: —but we've hired teams of lawyers, and we've had to spend thousands to do special, you know domestic partnership and wills and trusts and all that extra stuff, which has been annoying because straight people can go to a wedding chapel in Vegas and just, you know—
JS: Yeah.
MT: —do it—
JS: (laughs) Done.
MT: —in, you know, 3 minutes—
JS: —half an hour—
MT: And they—they get the whole package, and they don't even know that there's over a thousand legal differences between being domestic partners, which we registered, and being married, so it's not even in people's consciousness. So, anyway, we went through the domestic partnership ordeal a few years ago after it had been significantly upgraded to a point where it made sense—
JS: Yeah, yeah.
MT: —so we got the lawyers, and we filed the papers, and then we had to go to a county office to register, so I'm calling around and going, "Well, where, what office?" and the—"Well, what's the closest office?" and they said, "Well, there's one in Van Nuys."[3] And so we went to the county office in Van Nuys, and it was a place where you also register for firearms and domestic animals.

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[1] Malcolm Boyd (1923-2015).

[2] Mark Thompson and Malcolm Boyd were married in 2013, two years after this interview, once same-sex marriage had become legal in California.

[3] Neighborhood in the San Fernando Valley region of Los Angeles, California.

JS: Oh wow. (laughs)
MT: You know, it was this tacky little office—
JS: Yeah.
MT: —with fluorescent lights and—
JS: Oh.
MT: —linoleum floors and, you know, we're like, that made us feel real good—
JS: Yeah.
MT: —and she [the receptionist] said, "We'll give you a little certificate, but it'll take a while to print up," so it was late in the morning, so we said, "Is there any place we can go for breakfast?" and she said, "Oh, there's an IHOP, you know, down the corner." So we went to the IHOP and Van Nuys is y'know (inaudible) —so we walked in, and there's these big banners advertising the breakfast special—
JS: Okay.
MT: —so we sit down, and the waitress with the big beehive[4] comes in and says, "Hello boys, what'll it be?" and we said, "Well, we're starved, we just got hitched," and she rolled her eyes—
JS: Oh.
MT: —and Malcolm[5] said, "What's the special?" and she said, "It's the tutti-frutti, the combo breakfast."
JS: Oh, my god.
MT: And I said, "Well, we'll take two tutti-fruttis."
JS: (laughs)
MT: So, we got our fucking plaque, or whatever it is, and that was okay, then you know the marriage thing got through,[6] and there was this huge rush, and we had been married by our bishop in a highfalutin religious ceremony, as most people also don't realize marriage is both on a civil level and on a social level—
JS: Yeah.
MT: —so we did the social part and as much of the legal part—and so when this big rush—everyone was rushing, you know, and camping out in the rain in front of City Hall in San Francisco[7] to get married and all that, we said, "No, we'll just wait until the crowds thin,"—
JS: Yeah.
MT: —well, then it was too late because then they had, within a very short period of time, they had put a kibosh on it, and very relatively few people got married, and they're in kind of this limbo, you know, while all of this gets worked out in California.

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[4] Hair style.

[5] Malcolm Boyd, Thompson's partner at the time of the interview (and, since 2013, husband).

[6] Same-sex marriage licenses were issued in California from June 16 until November 5, 2008.

[7] City in Northern California.

JS: Mm-hm.

MT: Meanwhile, I'm a gay man that's been living with AIDS[8] for thirty years of my life.

JS: Mm-hm.

MT: I'm an AIDS survivor. I've lost most of my friends, most of my colleagues, my brother, three doctors, four former partners, I mean, I'm a real survivor, and I need health insurance, but it's hard to get.

JS: Mm-hm.

MT: I could get it, though, if I were legally married and could get it from Malcolm's church plan, but there was something that—he had retired, and it took them a long time to finally figure out how to get me kind of grandfathered into the plan.

JS: Yeah.

MT: So, three days ago, or whenever it was—What's today? Wednesday? So it was Monday morning or Friday morning, was it? The nice lady from the church, she was so excited, she said, "Mark, we finally figured out how to put you on Malcolm's health plan," which, of course, being an Episcopal church is a gold plated "you're covered for the rest of your life"—

JS: (laughs)

MT: —medical plan.

JS: Yeah, yeah. You want this plan. Yeah.

MT: It's, you know—and the church would pay for the premiums, it's ideal! And she said, "We'll need just two things," and she said, "You'll need Medicare part A and B"—

JS: Okay.

MT: And I said, "I have that"—"And you'll need a marriage certificate." And I said, "Well, we're domestic partners, but we're—we can't be legally married," and she said, "Oh, well, then we can't offer you the plan." And she said—she almost started to cry. And she said, "Oh my god, I'm so sorry, I thought that gay people," and I said, "No, no, no, it was all put on kibosh," she said, "Oh, I didn't know that." She's a nice, young Asian lady that works there, and she was just devastated, and I just, just infuriated because it was that day that that, I'm sorry, that bitch Kim Kardashian[9] got a quick-o divorce from her football husband—

JS: (laughs)

MT: —after seventy-two days, making a complete mockery—

JS: Yeah.

MT: —of marriage, and here I am, married for twenty-seven years and I can't get health insurance, now, you tell me if that is right.

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[8] Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome, also referred to as HIV (human immunodeficiency virus infection).

[9] Famous public personality, star of the reality show *Keeping up with the Kardashians.*

JS: That is absolutely not right. You know, what's funny, my Facebook status yesterday was, "So, Kim Kardashian divorced after seventy-two days of marriage, yep, and the gays are the ones destroying the sanctity of marriage right?"

MT: Right.

JS: Yeah.

MT: You know, and I just, I just lost it. I lost it. And I'm a pretty cool dude, but I lost it—

JS: Yeah, and I—completely understandably, too.

MT: —I was just enraged, and after all this time of trying to find a way to get me, you know decent medical coverage, and I can't because we can't get married.

JS: If I might, what about New York though? 'Cause I know they legalized it.

MT: They, yeah, but if you go and get married but the states still don't—if you get married in New York it stays in New York.

JS: Okay, yeah. I was wondering if that transferred over or not.

MT: No, it doesn't transfer. No, we gotta wait. Now presumably they'll sort this out because it's such an injustice like a—"Don't ask, don't tell" was.[10]

JS: Yeah, exactly.

MT: And what a nightmare that was. You know, what a pile of horse manure. I mean to think that there had been hundreds of thousands of gay and lesbian men over the course of centuries, documented, going back to the Revolutionary War,[11] who fought and died for their country—you know, I just don't know what the problem is.

JS: (laughs) I know, right?

MT: Anyway, enough ranting, yeah, please let's go on. I thought I'd warm up, though.

JS: Oh yeah, I know, that was actually really good. Okay, lemme just—okay, we are here with Malcolm—er, not Malcolm Boyd. Excuse me, Malcolm Boyd is your partner—we are here with Mark Thompson. He is narrating for us today. We are at his house, in his sunroom, in Los Angeles.[12] My name is John Salcido, and it is a very sunny day, a very windy day on November 2nd, 2011, and we are going to be discussing Mark's activism in the gay community in San Francisco as well as Los Angeles, and also his work with *The Advocate*,[13] a national gay, lesbian publication. Okay, maybe some biographical information, if you would, Mark? When and where were you born?

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[10] U.S. policy (1994-2011) prohibiting the military from asking about a military applicant's or soldier's sexuality.

[11] American Revolutionary War (1775-1783).

[12] City in Southern California.

[13] Magazine focused on LGBT interests, founded in 1967.

MT: I was born in 1952 in Monterey,[14] California. The same town, there in central California, on the coast, the same town that my father was born in, and that his grandfather was born in, I believe in 1904. So, I'm a very old, you know northern California family. My sister still lives there, and I was born in Monterey, but we lived in the Carmel[15] area.

JS: Okay, uh, what did your parents do for a living?

MT: My father started out very young as a journeyman plumber, but went back to school and became a very fine contractor and did elaborate heating and systems for, like, satellite tracking stations and that kind of thing, and opened his own business, and my mother was just a housewife, and she had four children, one of whom died of AIDS in 1996.

JS: Okay, um, what was it like, growing up in your family?

MT: Well, to be honest, it wasn't much fun. My parents, um, the story goes in the family, that they were both very handsome, attractive people with a lot of charisma, and you have to remember, after World War II—

*[00:10:00]*

MT: —there was this great social pressure for people to get married and have kids. So, I think they succumbed to that, and I guess, as the story goes, they were on their way to Reno,[16] Nevada, to get married and then all of the sudden my father began to have second thoughts. And (pauses)—but let's just say he was quickly dissuaded (laughs) of those thoughts, so he went through with the marriage—

JS: (laughs)

MT: —and then I, you know, happened and then my sister and then my brother, my sister Gail came along eighteen months later.

JS: You were the first born?

MT: I was the first born, and then my brother Kirk came along at another eighteen-month interval, so they were kind of stuck, you know? And by the time, probably when I was six or seven, it was very clear that it was not a happy marriage, and there was much, much argument, and there was domestic violence. I don't really want to go into the details—

JS: No problem

MT: It was not a happy house, and we just kept on saying, "Mom, dad, why don't you get divorced?" (laughs) and they said—you have to remember this is back in the 50s and 60s, "Well, we gotta stay together for you kids," and I think I was fourteen years old when the final child came along, quite unexpectedly, and I say that was like, "Where the hell did this baby come from?" and we always thought that, maybe, mom kind of wanted that to

[14] City in Central California.

[15] Beach city within Monterey.

[16] City in Nevada.

happen as an insurance policy, or something, who knows? But anyway, they finally did get divorced, I think I was twenty-three, I had already left home a couple weeks before I turned twenty-one, I was going—I went through Carmel High School where I was a very good student, and I was very active, I was editor of the high school paper two years in a row, I was in the drama club, I was in the swim team, I made experimental movies, I mean, it was a liberal arts and craftsy kind of place.

JS: Were they black-and-white liberal movies?

MT: Black-and-white movies and color.

JS: Oh, okay, good.

MT: We had a Super 8,[17] and, you know, who knows with a Super 8. I went to the local community college for two years where I also worked on the paper, and then got a job as a reporter for the local hometown newspaper called the *Carmel Pinecone*,[18] and that's when I began my professional—I was professional, at the time I was eighteen, I was interviewing famous people, and they were running—I was focused and energetic, and so I saved my money, and so when I was twenty-one, I moved to San Francisco, in 1973, to complete my degree in journalism because—at San Francisco State[19]—because they had a very excellent—I think still do—journalism program.

JS: Okay, when did you first realize that you were gay?

MT: Oh, quite young. I mean, who knows exactly? 'Cause you have to remember back then there weren't words for it, and the words there were for it were very damning. Like, it was a shameful thing, although I never thought it was shameful, but probably by the time I was four or five years old, I mean I'm sure by kindergarten. Honestly, I'm not making this up, it's so typical, my experience, but I knew I wasn't like the other boys, I loved playing with the girls, I wasn't into rough and tumble sports with the boys, I was always very creative. My aunt who was living in the town said—when we were still friendly, she said, "Mark I've never seen a baby like you, we could just sit you down with a pile of blocks and within five minutes you'd have a castle constructed or something."

JS: (laughs)

MT: So, you know, I was smart, but I was very quiet. I was shy, I was—read a lot of books, that was my escape.

JS: What kind of books, just like the classics and, and—

MT: Well, of course you start out with the child books. I read all of the Oz books,[20] I think there're thirty-two, and I love reading books about natural

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[17] Type of film camera made by Kodak.

[18] Carmel newspaper, founded in 1915.

[19] San Francisco State University, founded in 1899.

[20] *The Oz* series, written by L. Frank Baum (1856-1919).

science, and when I was a teenager I read tons of science fiction, I read Kurt Vonnegut[21] and Ray Bradbury[22] and Robert Heinlein[23] and just, you know, I read everything I could get my hands on. And I read serious books too, I read historical novels and something did—changed, something did change—my perception though, we had quite a well known, kind of famous independent bookstore, called the *Thunderbird Bookstore*, in Carmel, and people would come from miles around, and you could have a little lunch there, and they had just thousands of books, and one day, they didn't call it the gay section, but it was kind of—that's when gay-ish books were beginning to appear.

JS: Okay.

MT: And I bought two books, and took them home in a brown paper bag (laughs) and read them secretly, and I read them both in the same summer, they weren't published in the same year. And one was Christopher Isherwood's[24] *A Single Man*, which to me is still one of the greatest novels of the English language, and the other was John Rechy's[25] rather infamous book about the life of a hustler, *City of Nights*. And I read both in the summer, and that just gave me a lot of awareness about what it would mean to be a gay person. It was a lot of negatives and positives in both books. So, I must have read them when I was fifteen or sixteen or something like that.

JS: How and when did you eventually come out?

MT: Well, coming out is a gradual process, and then there's the inner coming out, and there's the first, you know—if you're a gay man, if you're a Kinsey 6[26] gay guy like I am, that recognition that you're different, somehow from the other boys comes at an early age but of course, you know, it's hard—then there were no words except for the, for (phone starts ringing) bad words, so you kind of kept it to yourself. But I was blessed in that my brother Kirk was also gay, and we were just a little less than three years apart, and I'm telling this story (phone stops ringing), I'm not ashamed about it, I've written about it, but one night when I was about, I don't know about fifteen, he must have been about twelve, he was very handsome, he was a tennis star, and, you know, we lived on the beach, so we were tanned with blond hair and, just gorgeous, and we lived in the mouth of Carmel Valley, which is very old and semi-rural, and one warm night he came naked through my bedroom window and rolled into my bed,

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[21] American author (1922-2007).

[22] American author (1920-2012).

[23] American author (1907-1988).

[24] British/American author (1904-1986).

[25] American author, born in 1931.

[26] Heterosexual-homosexual rating scale from 0 (completely heterosexual) to 6 (completely homosexual), devised ca. 1947/1948 by American scientist Alfred Kinsey (1894-1956).

and we held each other, and we became boyfriends for a short period of time. But we later said that seemed natural to us, and, you know, part of it was that our family was getting so disintegrated, that it was kind of like that Whitman[27] poem, you know, we—two boys together, one from the North, one from the South, clinging together, you know, I'm paraphrasing. And we would talk about and compare our experiences and they were very similar, you know. That we knew, we had different styles. I was more academic, and he was more athletic, but we just knew, and so, I guess it's when I joined the drama club in high school that I came out, I was probably—everybody knew, I was sixteen whenever that happened, and I wasn't flamboyant, but I did not date girls.

JS: No? (laughs)

MT: No. But I did go on one date once, what was her name? Evelyn Hughes, and she was in the drama club, too, and we went to see—there was a lot of local community theatre in Carmel, so we went to see a show and then, afterwards—I think I was driving her mother's car, and she said, "Let's go up to the high school campus," which is just right—you know, Carmel's not very big—and so we parked, and it was a full moon or something, and she started to make out with me, and I went, "Oh, okay."

JS: (laughs)

MT: And I think we got to second base or something, and I went, "Oh no—

*[00:20:00]*

MT: —this is just not for me," you know, "You're a nice girl, but I'm, no," and that was it, that was the sum total of my dating experience.

JS: To second base, that's it? Nice.

MT: Yeah, I was a gentleman, not to get into all the technical stuff, but she would have done it right there. 'Cause I was a handsome kid, you know? And polite and well mannered.

JS: So, you were a catch?

MT: Yeah, I mean, editor of the high school, well, I was on the staff of the paper, and, you know, and her mother really liked me, but I was a gay kid, you know, and this, like, is in the 1960s, this is probably about '67, '66, '67, somewhere like that, and I was probably one of the—I would count myself as one of the world's, among one of the world's first openly gay teenagers. And I just didn't make a thing about it, and it was at that time that I decided to stop going to P.E. class, which was mandatory, but they would taunt me and flick the towels at me in the shower, and I said, "No," and I went and told a couple of teachers, and I said it's not my problem. And I still graduated, so I'm sure somebody signed off on something. I said, on that hour I would just go to the library and read and study or, you know, do

[27] Walt Whitman, American poet (1819-1892).

whatever, but I will not let myself be subjected to that kind of really barbaric torture.

JS: And that—so, in that way, you were actually kind of an activist very, very early on, standing up for your rights.

MT: Yeah! I just said that I'm not gonna take this, you know? There's no reason why I should. I was on the swim team, and I was very good. I was on the backstroke, and the boys there respected me, but the kids on the swim team were all kind of iconoclastic, you know—Carmel's a very artsy, liberal place, but still, it has a real— then, not now so much— but it had a real blue-collar, working class element, you know, that wasn't as tolerant or educated as perhaps it should be. But I never picked fights, I never got into fights, I just went by my way and did my thing

JS: When did you meet your partner, Malcolm Boyd?

MT: Well, when I moved to Los Angeles. Now, let me fill in the gaps. Now—I'm not talking too much, am I?

JS: Yeah, sure, absolutely—no, this is good stuff.

MT: This is what you want? So, I graduated Carmel High, '70, and from Monterey Peninsula College,[28] which is a very fine junior college, I say that, fine, because the Monterey Peninsula is so beautiful. I don't know if you've ever been there—

JS: No.

MT: —but I'm sure you've heard that it's just one of the most beautiful places, with Big Sur[29] and, you know, lots of artists—it's one of the most beautiful places, certainly in California, if not in the United States. So, it attracted a high level of educators who wanted to live there just because it was a wonderful place to live, so I got a very good education—Liberal Arts. So, I was ready to go, and a couple weeks before—my birthday was August nineteenth, so school obviously, you know, starts in September, so, I found a little apartment off campus. I didn't have much money, but I didn't want to live in the dorms, 'cause of some of the same problems we've indicated. So, she and her red-headed boyfriend loaded the back of his pickup truck with whatever possessions I wanted to take and moved me to this little apartment, which was not far from the campus, and moved me in, and they said, "Well, okay, take care of yourself, bro'" and, you know, it was late in the afternoon. It's only about a two-hour trip from Monterey to San Francisco, and I knew exactly what I had to do, the very first thing, not even unpacking the boxes. I had another little book, and it was a guide book to all the gay bars in San Francisco, and I said, "I need to go out and get properly laid."

JS: (laughs)

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[28] Community College in Monterey, founded in 1947.

[29] Mountainous region along the ocean between San Simeon and the Carmel Highlands.

MT: I was just so sexually frustrated, and you can imagine, I was just like, ught. And so I found one of the most—they said it was "redwood panelled," and I'm like, "Well, that sounds cool. I come from a place that has redwood trees," well, little did I know that "The Stud Bar"[30] was one of the most notorious bars in San Francisco then, I mean, sailors would dance naked on the bar, and one of them picked me up, he was a merchant marine, and took me home and well, you know, fucked me good.

JS: (laughs)

MT: And so, I went, "Great, I'm no longer a virgin."

JS: First day out on your own. (laughs)

MT: Now, that took care of that, and now I can get ready for school and get into gay life. It was very important, right? 'Cause it's a rite of passage

JS: Oh, I agree.

MT: But in my case it was delayed, see that's part of being gay, or certainly back then, that you didn't have the normal rites of passages. I didn't get to go to my high school prom, because I didn't have a girlfriend. I didn't want to go, but that's a big, you know, initiation ritual into adulthood. I was very mature, and I wasn't sad about it, I just knew I was missing something. But, thank god, it's different now with all the gay straight alliances, and they're having the gay proms and, you know, they have come in such a short time I just couldn't—had not been able to quite imagine it, that it would happen this quickly, but anyway, so I leave his apartment the next morning you know, with a big smile on my face and I wanted to find a copy of *The Advocate*. It was then widely circulated in coin-operated news racks, and I had first seen *The Advocate* not long after it was first published here in Los Angeles. It was like this little mimeograph sheet that was published in the basement of ABC television, which is just a few blocks from this house on Prospect,[31] and it was where they would print the scripts for these soap operas, after the gay man who ran that—afterwards would clandestinely mimeograph this little newsletter which would circulate in all the bars in L.A. for a quarter, and then eventually it grew, but anyway, I was on a school field trip to see a French farce, we were often taken up there, you know, to see culture, and we went to the ACT[32] theatre, a very beautiful old theatre, and we saw the play, it was, I think, Molière's *The Thieves' Carnival*,[33] I think it was in 1967 or '68, anyway the play ended a little early, I mean before the busses came, so they said "Well, now you can go to Union Square,[34] and you know, be tourists for an hour or two." So, I separated

[30] Gay bar in San Francisco, founded in 1966.

[31] Street in Los Angeles.

[32] American Conservatory Theatre, San Francisco.

[33] *Le Bal des Voleurs*, 1938 play by French playwright Jean Anouilh (1910-1987), not Molière.

[34] Shopping center in San Francisco.

myself from the pack and made a beeline for Polk Street, which is not too many blocks away from Union Square. I hopped on a bus because I heard about it as being the "gay street" then, Castro Street was not a gay street then, at that time, it was Polk Street which runs along the edge of the Tenderloin,[35] and that's where all the gay clothing shops and barber shops and bars and restaurants were. So, I was there, and I was walking along, and, "Oh boy, this was interesting," and I come to a gay men's—well, it didn't say it was gay clothing but everyone's pretty obvious, everything was in pretty bright colors and paisley and, you know, clothes for a certain kind of—see-through underwear, how gay is that?

JS: (laughs)

MT: So, I went in, and the clerk didn't notice me or anything, and I just went in a little bit and (inaudible) shy, and I saw this stack of this little mimeograph things by the door, and I assumed they were free or something, so I took one and then realized, "I have to get to the busses," and hid it in my theatre program, and we went back home, didn't get home until really late that night, so I didn't get to read the thing until the next morning, but it was one of the very first issues of *The Advocate*, and in it was a lot of stories about gay men being beaten up, jailed, for trumped-up charges—

*[00:30:00]*

MT: —there were reviews of terrible, homophobic films, it was not a pretty picture. And, I said, "Something tells me that my fate is gonna intersect with this that I'm holding," 'cause I was—even then—a serious journalism student, so there I am, about five years later, and I find an issue of *The Advocate*, and by now it's tabloid sized and thick and really, you know, lots of ads—

JS: This was after Goodstein[36] got a hold of it, right?

MT: Well, no, it was before.

JS: Oh, it was before? Okay.

MT: This was in '73, and so I read the issue, and it was still being produced in L.A. but widely circulating by then around the country, and it was now about sixty pages—tabloid, in a few years it had gotten far beyond just a little thin mimeograph rag, but the stories were virtually all the same, nothing for the most part—a bomb was thrown in a bar in New Orleans, people were trapped, eighteen people were burned alive, and, you know, suicides and illegal entrapment, and, uh, the military issue even then was, you know, men being [thrown] horribly, you know, it was just one bad story after another. So, anyway, I took the paper once again home to my little apartment and started my first semester and immediately joined the

[35] Neighborhood in downtown San Francisco.

[36] David B. Goodstein (1932-1985), publisher of *The Advocate* and LGBT activist.

staff of the San Francisco State paper, which was called *The Phoenix*, and just was a feature writer. And one day I noticed an announcement for the first Gay Rights group forming on campus, so I asked my editor if I could cover the story, you know, for professional reasons, and she smiled at me in a kind of odd way and said, "Oh, come on, just go," so I went with my reporter's notebook and sat in the back, and it was kind of a gender-mixed, which was kind of unusual, you know, equal—a few more boys than girls, but all were young, and one of them saw me and said, "Oh, come on down," you know, "join the discussion," so I put my reporter's notebook to one side and joined the group, and we quickly became a force on campus.

JS: And that was the Students—

MT: The Gay Students Coalition, we called it that because even though we did the first meetings at State, soon other gay students from other nearby campuses like University of San Francisco, City College of San Francisco, we had kids from Lone Mountain College, which I think was a Catholic college, we even had students come from all the way, from San Jose State and Berkeley and Stanford.

JS: Wow.

MT: So, you know, and we did rap groups, and we even got big enough to do a big conference, we did social things, but we did things like, I remember there was a terrible film, most of the movies then were just terribly homophobic, there was one called *The Laughing Policeman*,[37] that was about a serial murderer who, I think he was gay or something, so we went down to the Clay Theatre and protested its opening, and we all held hands, we made picket lines and said, "You can't go, this is, you know, homophobic." Well, it was raining, and the manager came out and started screaming, and he said, "You know, I'll call the cops," and so we moved off the sidewalk and into the street and just then a big bus came around the corner and came screeching to a halt inches within our face, I mean, we could have been killed but we didn't move, and I thought, "This is the beginning of my activist life, and we don't move." So that was a good lesson, and then around that time we said, "Well, there's so many of us, and so many of us are talented and have so many good stories to tell, so let's start our own newspaper." So I went before the Student Council and asked for Student Council funds, and they weren't gonna give us a penny, and we said, "We'll protest and boycott you, because this is illegal, you give it to every other group," and so we won again at the fight and got a little bit of money, and we produced our own, very nice, tabloid-sized, we made three editions of it, called *The Voice*, we called it that because it was the voice of the new generation. And we published all kinds of pieces, and through—I think it

[37] Film directed by Stuart Rosenberg, released in 1973.

was the first or second issue is when I met Harvey Milk[38] who had just opened his camera store on Castro street, which was then, was just being colonized—

JS: (laughs) Colonized?

MT: —by gay people, because by the early 70's after the Stonewall riots,[39] kind of sent out these signals that it was okay, that being gay was good, it was, you know—but if you lived in Iowa or Texas, it wasn't, we jokingly called San Francisco a city of refugees, because people were just flooding in from everywhere, and the Castro was—had been traditionally an Irish Catholic working-class neighborhood, where many of the families had fled to the suburbs or where the kids now were grown, so there were a lot of empty apartments or flats that were very inexpensive, so then, naturally, the gays moved in, Harvey opened his shop, so I went to ask for him for both an article, because then he was beginning to run, he ran in four campaigns before he was elected, and about being gay and the political process, and I said, "By the way, could you also take out an ad?" (laughs), and he did both.

JS: (laughs)

MT: So, we became friends, and I knew him almost until the day he died. And he was really great, he was just funny, smart, and he was from New York, and so he had that ballsy New York— "Nobody's gonna stop us, we can do this," he was into coalition building, he would go down to the Teamsters[40] Union, the Teamsters Hall, 'cause then the port of San Francisco was losing a lot of its work to OPA,[41] which had been building up its port, you know, and he said, "Well then, let's build a political coalition, there's no reason why the gays and the Teamsters can't, you know, be friends." He was always doing that kind of thing, so that was very new. And, anyway, so I went and did my two years, and we did the third issue which was produced in the last semester that I was at State, this was the spring of '75, and I was gonna go on a little charter flight to Europe for a few weeks right after graduation, and, anyway, Goodstein bought *The Advocate* for a million dollars, which was unheard of—I think he paid about three hundred[42] up front in cash with the promise to pay off the rest over time. And he moved it, lock, stock, and barrel, from L.A. to this really kind of anonymous business mall in San Mateo,[43] you know these cement-bunker-like

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[38] (1930-1978), first openly gay elected politician in California, served on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

[39] Series of riots (from June 28, 1969, until July 3, 1969) by the gay community, following a police raid of the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village, Manhattan, New York.

[40] American labor union, established 1903.

[41] Perhaps a reference to the Oakland Port Authority.

[42] Presumably three hundred thousand.

[43] City in California, approximately 20 miles south of San Francisco.

buildings, on design he wanted to separate, take it from the streets and professionalize it, so I asked him to write this article about his experiences of being gay and political. And the article wasn't all that good, it wasn't as good as Harvey's, and it was way too long, so I had to take out my red pen, you know, and fit the copy of it. Well, we ran it, and I sent him a copy by mail with a thank-you note and, I don't know, a few weeks later the phone rings and he's—"This is David Goodstein, can you come down to San Mateo for a visit?" And I thought, "Shit, he's gonna, you know, chew me out for editing his precious copy, so I got in my little Volkswagen bug and drove down there, and all the offices were very chic, very designed and these very handsome young men with ties running around, I said, "Okay, alright," and I wait, and he calls me into the office which was all decorated in various hues and shades of paisley, it was ghastly—

*[00:40:00]*

MT: —and I'm from Carmel, I grew up with good taste, I'm not a snob, but paisley? Oy. And with this little yapping dog and this big, big mahogany desk, and he came in, and I-I instantly liked him. And he said, "Well, the article that you did was fine," he said, "Would you like to write for *The Advocate*, we are looking for out, open, young gay people who're just come out of college to write, to be the new generation." And I said, "Sure, what do you have in mind?" and he said, "Well, would you like to interview David Hockney[44] in Paris?" and I said, "Who's David Hockney?" and he looked at me like—well, David Hockney wasn't that famous back then, you know, he was just becoming famous, and I went, "Oh, David Hockney, of course, of course,"— of course I made a beeline for the library, and I went home and read up, but he said, "Well, he's a friend of mine," 'cause I explained that I was going to Europe, and he said, "Well you can interview him in Paris," and there was a gay group forming in Amsterdam, and could I do a piece on that, and he said, "But what I would really like you to do is to investigate these reports of the gay group in Spain," you see, 'cause all the groups were just forming, being smashed and imprisoned by Franco's[45] fascist government. You might have read this already but, anyway, it took quite a bit of doing, anonymous phone calls in the middle of the night and a quick train through Europe, and I finally got to Barcelona and found what was left of the group, and there was just a handful of them that had not been arrested or scared off, and they talked to me, all night, and again, an incredible education about the oppression of gay and lesbian people, so I went home and those were my first articles, they appeared in succession, each one was on the cover of *The Advocate*, and that's how I began my career

[44] Gay English Artist, born in 1937.

[45] Francisco Franco (1892-1975), Spanish dictator from 1939 until 1975.

there, and I worked my way up, I was a photographer so I took all my own pictures, I became the cultural editor, and eventually the senior editor, and I worked there for twenty years.

JS: How did the Spanish trip change your views on the Gay Movement in America?

MT: Well, I mean, you know, in America, we're pretty culturally isolated, you know, and we're White, we're privileged, these were working-class gay people who were living under a fascist dictatorship. We have some form of democracy, they had nothing. You know, they were completely—always looking over their shoulder, afraid all the time, you know, but they were pretty out—courageous, you know, they put up flyers and things, but, you know, it was a real—a lesson in cultural difference, and I no longer felt like an ugly American, but a somewhat educated one, you know, even in a short visit, the more my empathy went up. So, how did I meet Malcolm?

JS: Yes.

MT: So, after about ten years or so in the Bay Area, Goodstein was a very wealthy man, he had a lot of different interests, he was an art collector and bred race horses, and he had businesses down here, just decided to consolidate everything, so he announced one day in early 1984, and by then I was one of the, you know, chief people on the staff, you know, and he said, "Well, I'm moving the paper back to L.A., and you can come with it or stay." For most of the staff this was bad news, most of the staff didn't want to leave San Francisco, and I didn't either, but I knew there was something in the winds, changing—course Harvey Milk had been assassinated, in '78, and that was terrible, and it was not long after that I had begun to notice old friends of mine not being around anymore, or getting these weird flus, and in some cases, dying, and I went, "Oh, there's something really nasty out there." Well, of course, that was AIDS, so by 1984, you know—the AIDS virus had been identified in 1981, and by '84 the health crisis was full blown upon us, and people, John, were literally dying in the streets, and I say that because they would get sick and lose their job, lose their health insurance, their families would have nothing to do with them, they'd be thrown out of their apartments, their possessions would be thrown into dumpsters, and they would literally die on the streets, I'm not making this up. Because there were no social services then, everyone was in shock, and I said, "Well, maybe I should get out of here," you know, a change of pace. So, I said to Goodstein and Robert McQueen,[46] "Okay, I'll come down," and so I did, and immediately met Malcolm through a mutual friend, and I said, "Well, I mean, I'm alright, I'm not really into older guys, you know, it wasn't my thing," but it wasn't the age difference, I mean, Malcolm was such an incredible force, I mean he's such an interesting person, we found that we

[46] Editor of *The Advocate*.

thought alike and had the same interests and the same ambitions, and so we started dating, we had fun and so, that's how that happened, and a couple years after that we said, "Let's get a house together," and we ended up here and we've lived here ever since.

JS: Ever since?

MT: Wow.

JS: That's a pretty good story.

MT: Yeah! It's a happy story.

JS: Yeah, it was very—yeah—

MT: And Malcolm now, in June, turned 88 years old, and I turned 59 in August. I'm 59, now 59 years old. Don't ask me where my life has gone. I just finished publishing my eighth book, once I left *The Advocate* in '94, 'cause that was, you know, long enough and, also, I had full-blown AIDS. I was one of those people who contracted the virus, I now know from a boyfriend—probably which boyfriend, who died very early before anyone really knew, so I had been carrying the virus for many years before the test came out, and I got tested once it was like, '87 or something, and it turned out I had been positive for a long time, so I've done all kinds of alternative medicine and everything I could to stay alive, until, you know, the AIDS meds came out in the mid-90s, and I never missed a day taking them.

JS: They seem to be working for you, because you seem pretty healthy.

MT: Yeah, my T-cells are up, and my viral load is nonexistent, and I'm a survivor, and I'm going to live, it's been—I've been positive for over half my life, but I never stopped working, so, after I left *The Advocate*, I said, "Well, I want to go back to school, I'm in midlife now, and I've always been interested in how it was like for me growing up," so, I said, "wanna become a therapist and work with gay kids."

JS: Okay.

MT: So, I got a degree in clinical psychology from Antioch University[47] and began to work in various clinics and agencies, social agencies, that had gay kids or were for gay kids and did groups and worked with them and their issues, and then my final therapist gig was at the AIDS—Pasadena AIDS Center, where I worked for over three years, working with people with AIDS as a therapist, and then that just all got too much, and I retired from that a few years ago, got back and then said, "Well, I got to do more books," 'cause that's what I really do.

JS: Did you ever work at the L.A. County Community Gay Center?

MT: Yes.

JS: Okay, you worked there, too, so you met Don Kilhefner[48] who helped start that up right?

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[47] Founded in 1852, there are multiple campuses across the United States.

[48] Psychologist and LGBT activist, born in 1938.

MT: Yes.

JS: Okay, now, going back to your activism at San Francisco, the Student Coalition, did you do any—besides like, the movie theatre—do you have any other examples of your, like, activism there?

MT: Oh, at the State campus?

JS: Yes.

MT: Well, yeah, I mean we, we did a conference, we did social things, we did some staged readings—

*[00:50:00]*

MT: —sometimes we'd do our rap groups just sitting in the Commons, you know, with the signs, we always marched in the gay parades as a group, you know, we were always encouraging people to come out, we needed a faculty advisor, so we found someone on the faculty who was closeted and said, "You have to come out to be our advisor so we could be a legal group." You know, we just hit the problem from as many points of view, you know. But, you know, were we throwing rocks through windows? No. We weren't that kind of activist, I mean, that's kind of counterproductive, we tried to do positive things that would enforce or reinforce the idea that being gay is okay.

JS: Okay, now would you consider yourself to be an activist, like in the community? Like personally, do you consider yourself to be an activist?

MT: Um, that's an interesting word, it's a big word, and I would say, what kind of activist? I just had this conversation with a friend. There are political activists who organize demonstrations and rallies and parades, and I've done a little bit of that, but that's not my nature. My nature is to write articles and publish books and lead discussion groups, and so I call myself a cultural activist.

JS: Okay.

MT: And, yes, like tonight, Malcolm and I are going out to yet another meeting, there's another group who want to put a gay museum eventually on the Mall in D.C.

JS: Okay.

MT: I think Tom is part of that.

JS: Oh, is Tom part of that?

MT: I think so. And so, we'll go and, you know, we get interviewed for lots of documentary films, and right now I'm reediting and trying to republish this biography of Harry Hay[49] that's been out of print for almost twenty years, and I've had to scan it because there were no computer files, and I have to get up at six o'clock in the morning 'cause the editor's in New York, and we're reading every word of the book out loud to one another, and we're

[49] (1912-2002), LGBT activist and co-founder of the Mattachine Society (established 1950).

not catching only scanning errors, 'cause that still isn't a perfect thing, but we're finding typos that appeared in the original edition. The book came out in 1990, Harry Hay died in 2002, so there's a twelve-year gap. The author, by the way, is still alive but he had a stroke, Stuart Timmons,[50] so he's unable to do this work, although, we have his full permission.

JS: Oh, so it's Stuart Timmon's book? Okay.

MT: Well, we have his full permission, and he loves that we're doing this. So, we're getting new foreword material, a new after—a new epilogue to update, we're doing a whole resource list at the back of everything about every book and movie and everything about Harry, and putting a new cover on it, you know, giving it a new design, well that's activism. I'm not being paid to do this—and it's hundreds of hours of work. So, I'm a cultural activist.

JS: Cultural activist, that's a good term. With what achievement are you most proud of in your cultural activism?

MT: Oh, I don't know, I guess just making my books, each book that I've done has been different, you know, I've done photo books, encyclopedic books, I've done—

JS: Think you might recognize this one.

MT: —memoirs, oh yes, this is the last thing I've done at *The Advocate*. They asked me to do this for them and they said, "Who else would know how to do this?" Isn't this a wonderful book?

JS: That is a fantastic book. It really is.

MT: And it took me almost two years to—'cause I had to sit there and read every page of every issue of *The Advocate*, and pull out, you know, and then we had to—

JS: And the synopsis, yeah—I've been skimming through it, and it's not necessarily a happy book but—

MT: No, it's not.

JS: But it is very, just informative, and I want to say uplifting in a way that we've moved on from that period—

MT: Yes.

JS: —in some ways

MT: Yes, you know, the book is about the first twenty-five years of *The Advocate*, which more or less coincides with the invention, with the start of the Gay Movement, you see, Harry Hay ended up to be a very good friend of mine, because I met him in 1979, when I interviewed him for *The Advocate*, and I liked him and his message, that being gay is different, not better, but it's a different kind of consciousness, a different gender, if you're into gender studies, and I believe that, it's just that, you would explain this in biological terms, you said, "Well, if we're not really here primarily to procreate, you

[50] (1957-2017), LGBT activist, journalist, and author.

know, children, then what are we here for, because nature doesn't keep on reproducing something if it doesn't have a use or a meaningful use for it, so what are gay people?"—and he said, "Well, we're mediators, we're often attracted to the healing arts, to religion, to forging opposites, to creating new understanding, and we create beauty, you know, we're naturally artists," these aren't cliches, they're kind of things that I've always felt, of course through my life and the life of so many other gay people. That's not to say that every gay man is a Michelangelo, but there's a certain sense of ability. And so, we became friends and, where was that taking me, and he was a real activist, and I learned a lot about what being an activist, really an activist—which is to not only throw a rock through a window that has the word fag spray-painted on it one time, but to be a witness for a cause, for your beliefs, to stand up for yourself and your community through an entire lifetime. To me that is not being a coward, but to be a witness, and that to me defines my form of being an activist.

JS: Yeah, absolutely. Okay I would say maybe one final question?

MT: Sure.

JS: How would you compare today's feelings towards homosexuality to when you were active in the 60's and—

MT: Oh well, I mean, it's such a sea change, I mean, on almost every level of society, and I mean we'll eventually get the marriage rights, we already have them in like six or seven states. My feelings are complicated, there's a big difference between being assimilated into a culture and being integrated into a culture. Integration means that we are being not given special privileges, but we're being allowed our full Civil Rights as citizens of our country like everyone else, that we are not discriminated against. But James Baldwin[51] always had an interesting—he said something that I'll never forget, the great Black writer James Baldwin who was also gay, said that those people who are assimilated into the mainstream culture, you know, any minority that was assimilated into the mainstream culture is always assimilated according to the values of their oppressors—

JS: Yeah.

MT: —so I want gay people to be integrated but not to be assimilated, in other words, I want us to maintain a sense of our own, like, purpose and sense of community life and kind of our own rites of passage and, you know? Because we do come at things kind of from a slightly different—we have a little bit of a different perspective, which is good, you know, it's healthy. I think it's a contributive factor to society as a whole, and I don't want to see gay people lose that for the sake of a few lousy dollars. So, to end this, my feeling as I look into the future that—I think the struggle certainly for gay

[51] (1924-1987), gay American author, playwright, essayist, and poet.

people will become one of class issue, I mean there'll be rich gays and there'll be poor gays, I mean—

*[01:00:00]*

MT: —we'll all be gay, we'll be out, open, but then there're gonna be issues of class difference in the community and I think that'll be a big thing to work out.

JS: In the future?

MT: Mm-hm. Does that make sense?

JS: No, yeah, that does actually—that's complete, as you say, integration then you just have—other problems will arise.

MT: And gay people are still prone to self-doubt and internalized homophobia. There's always that little bit of doubt, that little seed, even in myself, of homophobia that's been planted there. We're only about, I think, four to five percent of the population, right now, well, I mean some figures say we're ten to twelve percent, but there's a difference between sexually—or sexual behavior and going through a sexual phase or experimentation at a certain point of your life. That's different than having an identity or a consciousness, and when we say, wholly formed gay and lesbian person, I think we're only about five or six percent, I couldn't imagine more than seven—that's too high, maybe six, five, six percent of the population, so, were always gonna be a minority, and because of that, there's always going to be those inherent feelings of lesser than, maybe there is, you know? It's hard not to believe the negative PR about us.

JS: Yeah, (laughs) so even with full integration as you say, like Civil Rights and everything, you still think that there's still small internalized homophobia?

MT: Yes, and that's something I think we always need to work on and fight against and that will be a source of a new way of activism, which I call interactivism, you know, to always be looking inside and catching those demons and working with them.

JS: Okay, is there anything else you'd like to add to this interview, that you find pertinent?

MT: No, I think you asked some very good questions. I hope I haven't been too talkative—

JS: No, you've been fantastic.

MT: —but I'm very glad you're doing this.

*[01:02:39]*

END OF INTERVIEW

## *Reviews (Books)*

Blondé, Bruno, Marc Boone, and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, eds.
*City and Society in the Low Countries, 1100–1600.*

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 218. 316 pages. ISBN: 9781108645454.

Historians refer to the seventeenth-century Netherlands as the "Dutch Miracle," however, the five centuries before that, when the medieval Low Countries synthesized a unique urban network, were the truly marvelous period. The multi-layered system of artisanal production and merchant distribution that transformed this region into a great power was a continuation of urban specialization starting in the twelfth century. *City and Society in the Low Countries, 1100-1600* describes this five-hundred-year period when people, goods, and ideas passed relatively freely through the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta—despite political fragmentation and periods of revolt. The editors, Bruno Blondé, Marc Boone, and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, have compiled and contributed to nine essays on the socio-economic and material culture that gave the medieval Low Countries distinct characteristics, such as a prominent middling class, civic-minded traditions, and decentralization absent any overpowering metropole.

The primary actors of *City and Society* are the burghers (or *poorters*) who lived behind the city walls and paid for the privileges that came with it. While citizens could be poor or elite, the middle class of artisans, shopkeepers, and guild members receive the bulk of the attention since they had the largest part in shaping the region's urban culture. These burghers were in constant negotiation for their municipal rights with seigneurial and ecclesiastic powers, from which they developed an urban identity which habitually challenged authority in the name of the "common good." (127) Sources state that townsfolk from the thirteenth century onwards countered the disciplined aldermen and municipal officials who overstepped their bounds, including several full-scale revolts. However critical the middling classes were to maintaining discipline and culture in Low Country towns, occupational and gender divisions made them far from a unified front.

The craft guilds of the Low Countries were in a constant tug of war with the merchants who distributed their fine goods. Since water transportation traditionally cost a quarter of moving goods over land, a dedicated class of merchants developed alongside the specialized artisans. While the manufacturers nominally operated independently, merchants often controlled the guilds through intermediaries: "Frequently the weavers did not even possess their own looms, and they were bound to the merchants through credit arrangements or lived in houses owned by them." (48) Merchants fueled the burgeoning industrialization of the textile market, however, shifts in taste to higher-quality goods brought control over quality back into the hands of the artisans by the fourteenth century. These mercantile elites were also the primary holders of municipal offices, however, guilds and artisans had ways of making their voices heard. Governance

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relied on a changing field of factional alignments between the corporate bodies, internal elites, external princes, and the underprivileged commoners. (111-114)

By their own admission, Blondé, Boone, and Van Bruaene consider the use of space as one of the key epistemological components of their arguments: "The experience of space in public rituals, for example, has proven to be strongly defining for the formation of identity (and identities) of townspeople." (13) The editors and their fourteen listed contributors have backgrounds in the urban cultural history of the Low Countries, which informs their modern view of urban history as a series of overlapping networks. Their perspective often finds itself at odds with that of a foundational historian of medieval Belgium, Henri Pirenne (1862-1935), who had a liberal view of free markets and the development of democracy in the region. The present volume's authors feel that Pirenne's theory of medieval guilds inhibiting market efficiency through protectionism and higher wages is lacking and argue instead that guilds produced higher-quality goods though strict self-regulation. (52) They frame Low Country cities as a space of competition and cooperation in the political, economic, and social arenas. (258) Guilds and confraternities functioned as a key component in this society by aggressively defending the rights of the middle class with public demonstrations.

*City and Society in the Low Countries* consists of nine essays, each corresponding to a component of social functions in the city such as economics, identity, and governance. Either Blondé, Boone, or Van Bruaene are contributing authors in most chapters and co-authored the introduction and the epilogue. The essays' thematic structure gives an expansive overview of the social experience of Low Country burghers. The authors' arguments tend to align, however, some essays drift away from the primary thesis. Different authors also downplay or highlight the level of wealth inequality, which is not a static quantity over the five hundred years discussed in this book. Some topics naturally lend themselves to specific centuries due to "frequency," such as urban revolts in the fourteenth century. However, throughout this volume, the editors and authors do a praiseworthy job in presenting a cohesive narrative about a resilient middle class.

Chapter 1 discusses the distinct urban nature of the Low Countries during this time period and introduces the book as a social history. After the wave of sporadic urbanization in the eleventh century, approximately one in three people in the Low Countries hailed from a town or city. (1-3) Chapter 2 explains how cities interacted with the rural hinterland they depended on. Since the first recorded grant of municipal privileges to Huy in 1066, there was a strong correlation between urbanization and overall population density; as cities expanded, farmers became increasingly linked to urban markets. (26) This network was tested by many changes, including the revolts of the fourteenth century, which brought greater political influence to the guilds, reorganizing labor so that "the masses of proletarianized workers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were supplanted by a smaller group of corporately owned 'small commodity producers'." (48) Chapter 3 frames the rise of that middling group in contest with the mercantile,

landowning, and noble powers. However, it also reflects how the middle class increasingly limited access to poor relief by only providing for those they deemed deserving: "The steadily burgeoning bourgeois mentality surfed on the success of merchants and entrepreneurs, but it also provided extra thresholds for those without possession." (92)

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with common expressions of identity in the urban environment. The ideal of "the common good" is reflected in much of the intra-urban struggle for authority and legitimacy; institutions in the twelfth century were responses to the demands of guilds, but these middling groups also took part in self-policing norms and transgressions. (95) While threats of violence or armed revolt were considered legitimate responses to the infringed rights of burghers, they were always preceded by formalized traditions such as public petitions. (116) Piety also contributed to the formation of urban identities, especially since the narrative concludes with the Protestant Reformation. Medieval guilds and confraternities provided avenues for burghers' religious expression, however, beguines and heresies lay claim to the origins of the anti-clerical movement. (161)

In Chapter 6, the narrative turns away from identity culture and charts the development of infrastructure and urban space. The building of canals was critical and possible not just due to the delta's geographical features but also due to the relatively weak position of the region's neighboring French and German rulers: "In the towns of the Low Countries, the production of urban space was influenced by the changing and uncertain power relations and politics in society." (190) Chapter 7 strays the furthest from the book's theoretical basis by discussing material culture in the private homes of burghers. Here, the authors follow shifts in taste for housing, furniture, and other products of the middling class, yet insist that there is a distinct continuity in burghers' consumption patterns from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. (216)

In Chapter 8, the authors dispute the notion of a clear distinction between practical and traditional education. Manual learning was done on the shop floor by trial and error, much the same way Dutch Enlightenment thinkers operated during the Scientific Revolution. (223) Due to the institution of low-level schooling and the culture of apprenticeship, the Low Countries generated a sufficiently educated labor population with access to a variety of low-level skills. Blondé, Boone, and Van Bruaene conclude the book by looking at the region's legacy as the Netherlands and Belgium. While these two nations have been protected from the intense economic polarization in other parts of Europe, there are still those left behind: "[T]he permanence of an ideology of the 'common good' notwithstanding, vested interest groups did not necessarily promote general welfare all of the time. In a way, affluence and 'civilization' came—and still come—at a considerable social cost." (257) The Low Countries were largely an urban society and therefore experienced the problems any densely populated society could expect, however, they developed unique ways of competition and cooperation to deal with them.

Ultimately Blondé, Boone, and Van Brauene succeed in their endeavor to provide a coherent narrative of urban themes in the medieval and early modern Low Countries. (7) Their bibliography reflects a thorough use of related secondary literature from English, Dutch, and French sources. As a collection of essays, their volume serves as an excellent entry point into the current research trends on the urban history of the Low Countries. It also serves as a good compliment to themes of urban history in general. For those who are familiar with modern theories of urban networks, *City and Society in the Low Countries* provides another example of the dynamic and resilient nature of European cities, their marketplaces, and the people who supported it.

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Domby, Adam H.
*The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory.*

Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020. 272 pages. ISBN: 9780813943763.

It is not very often that one encounters an academic publication that boldly and straightforwardly states that a community's nostalgic recollections of the past, of their closely observed histories, originates from dubious origins and frank lies. This investigative autopsy of peeling off layers to show what some may describe as the spread of deadly chicanery can be found in Adam H. Domby's recent publication, *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory.* The historiography of post-Civil War collective memories is not scarce in thoughtful works. It has been explored in Karen Cox's *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (2003) and Drew Faust's Pulitzer-nominated publication *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (2008), the former detailing the instrumental role of women's organizations in engineering confederate nationalism, the latter focusing on how the war's massive death toll laid the groundwork for a new understanding of regional identity on both sides of the conflict. What Adam H. Domby, an associate professor at the College of Charleston, brings to the scholarly fore is a careful deconstruction and critique of the "lost cause" narrative's tenets, while also examining the interdependent relationship between lies, White supremacy, and false memories which have built and influenced the narrative and public perception from the late nineteenth century to the present.

Domby's chapters analyze principles of the "lost cause" mythology. He clarifies in his introduction that this work is not just about refuting some doctrines but, rather, concerned with addressing contextually the narrative's "why" and "how" factors: Why were they created? How were they applied in Southern society? And why did they maintain a high level of collective authority compared to other historical memories that existed in the same period? For those unaware of what the "lost cause" narrative entails, Domby provides a thorough definition: it

is an interpretation of the post-Civil War South which views the armed conflict and its resulting high casualties as a result of the struggle over states' rights, not slavery, thus casting Confederate soldiers as heroic defenders of the South's sovereignty. Antagonization by the Union side is further emphasized in this narrative by promoting the claim that the Reconstruction era and talks of Emancipation in actuality spurred greater racial division than the "peculiar institution" of slavery itself, which—according to the same narrative—was a system that instilled racial harmony. Lastly, the "lost cause" assumes the presence of an almost unanimous support of the Confederacy by American Southerners. (4) Domby explores and convincingly disproves these points throughout his text.

Chapter 1 introduces the agents behind the formation of the "lost cause" movement and how they materialized these sentiments to promote White supremacy. Domby refers to four notable architects of the "lost cause" myths: neo-Confederate organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC); Confederate veterans; politicians like Julian Shakespeare Carr (1845-1924); and historians of the time. (13-45) Of particular interest in this chapter is the identity and philosophy of Julian Carr. Although some readers may object to basing too much argument on an individual figure, Domby contends that, "one cannot understand how North Carolina's Lost Cause Memory was crafted and functioned without addressing him [i.e., Carr]." (16) The sources utilized to demonstrate Carr's impact on the narrative perfectly complement Domby's argument about the dubious nature of the "lost cause" mentality. For instance, Domby notes various moments when Carr contradicted himself in public speeches about the factors that had led to the Civil War—regardless of whether he was presenting on newly erected Confederate monuments or campaigning in favor of the Democratic Party. Carr stated in some contexts that the war had centered on the struggle over states' sovereignty and self-government, but in other cases acknowledged slavery's significant role. (42-43) As Domby demonstrates, this suggests that the narrative was very flexible, depending on circumstances, and not as unified as Carr and other agents made it appear to a broad Southern audience.

Chapter 2 provides criticism of the narrative's image of Confederate soldiers, described in various accounts as the bravest heroes in American history—comparable to the Spartans at Thermopylae, and North Carolina's allegedly strong Confederate ties. (46-75) According to Domby, both assertions were highly exaggerated. The idea that there were waves of eager volunteerism, as described by various mythmakers, is refuted by the author's scrutinizing of the data presented by these same mythmakers and juxtaposing them with the data available to scholars. Domby concludes that North Carolina, in reality, had one of the highest desertion rates of all the states that seceded from the Union. (51) He uses various sources presented by the memory fabricators against them, noting that, while individuals like Carr and other high-profile figures acquired the public image of being experienced war veterans, military data show that they had held less impressive military positions and hardly witnessed combat. (66-69) Domby

notes that Julius Carr's title of "general" was merely a symbolic designation bestowed on him by a Confederate memorial group, while his official military ranking had been that of "private." (67)

Chapters 3 and 4 are distinct from past post-Civil War historiography in that they analyze the neglected topics of desertion and rampant post-war pension fraud. (76-131) Domby argues that many soldiers in the romanticized pantheon of Confederate heroes would originally have been considered enemies of the "lost cause" narrative. Many White soldiers who received pensions and were honored with words and ceremonies had originally been dissenters who, in some cases, had previously pled allegiance to the Union. Thus, Domby questions the "lost cause" narrative's "loyal" image of Confederate militias. Evidence of pension fraud can be gleaned from an analysis of suspicious pension applications and military records; Domby presents case studies of individuals who were involved in this type of deceit, ranging from a boasting deserter to a whole family of Southern anti-Confederates. (91-100) In the case of apparent deserters, the author stresses that the mythmakers purposely pacified and obscured these perceived enemies by diverting them from the public eye with the promise of pensions. By doing so, the "lost cause" narrative could thrive without glaring objections.

Whereas Chapter 3 focuses on Whites, Chapter 4 deals with former slaves who received Confederate pensions which were used as an instrument to protect White supremacy after the Civil War (104-131). Comparing legal documents concerning the pensions of the two groups, Domby notes that while White deserters were retrofitted as heroes, their counterparts were instead depicted as benevolent folk whose actions in supporting the war effort on the side of the Confederates symbolically upheld the racial hierarchy of the Antebellum South. Yet, Domby argues that former slaves had more agency than was apparent in Southern society in that they purposely played upon old stereotypes to exploit the pension system for economic and social mobility. (117) Domby provides the account of two brothers who exhibited this action, but while this is an interesting case to consider, more diverse examples are needed here to craft a convincing argument. (110-121) Domby also states that the "lost cause" narrative mentions the existence of loyal Black Confederate soldiers or, generally, Blacks who participated in combat, which Domby vehemently disputes as not factual. However, here, too, additional evidence would strengthen Domby's argument as, in comparison to other points raised in *The False Cause*, this is a more substantial claim. Some of the data utilized to back the argument, as Domby acknowledges himself, is debatable due to vague documentation or recorded misinterpretation. Most claims Domby makes are effectively persuasive in how they are presented and supported, but a claim as broad as this one requires further compelling testimony.

These objections to the presentation of Chapter 4's evidence notwithstanding, Domby's text is well constructed. Domby frequently employs the term "White supremacy" when describing figures, actions, or institutions, but he does not do so nonchalantly or without valid data, avoiding a potential misstep into historical

revisionism. Domby provides primary-source evidence that precisely echoes these sentiments of racial superiority in the form of monument inscriptions, newspaper coverage, and the writings of the individuals analyzed. Domby also alerts his audience that the "lost cause" narrative was not the only interpretation of the past that was prevalent in the South. He presents other historical memories accepted by Southerners that uncover more of the fabricated nature of Confederate memory. (37) To point out another strength, it is usually in their conclusions that scholars write about modern or relevant connections to the historical subject matter at hand to leave a final reflection for their audience. Domby, on the other hand, provides these at the end of each chapter. For example, the end of Chapter 2 addresses how the image of the "loyal" Confederate soldier was perpetuated in the early twentieth century and is still present in the rhetoric adopted by some politicians, historians, and organizations. (70-75) Not only is this a fresh approach, it also bolsters Domby's overarching argument that this memory continues to be eternalized in the present-day environment, especially when considering recent debates on the conservation of Confederate monuments.

I recommend Domby's publication to those interested in scholarship on the different manifestations of historical memory after the end of wars. Domby emphasizes that historians in this field should not continue the path of some past scholars who, although they might recognize fallacies in the "lost cause" narrative, indirectly continue to perpetuate it in their works. Domby here primarily refers to Civil War historians who maintain the impression that Confederate soldiers were loyal defenders, which, as Domby explains, is based on dramatization or even outright falsehoods. Domby's valuable advice gathered from the text's chapters is not limited to historians concentrated on collective war memories, but broadly addresses all established and new generations of historians. He stresses the significance of critically seeking and processing contextualization to effectively understand the past. According to the author, "Historians have an important role in providing needed context for debates about monuments and memory. We have the ability to call attention to how the past has been used and manipulated. As each community decides what it wishes to celebrate and remember, historians can help provide the context needed to make decisions." (168)

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Matyszak, Philip.
*Greece Against Rome: The Fall of the Hellenistic Kingdoms 250-31 BC.*

Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2020. 202 pages. ISBN: 9781473874800.

Philip Matyszak's *Greece Against Rome: The Fall of the Hellenistic Kingdoms 250–31 BC* is an excellent introduction to the Hellenistic period that explores the major

changes of the era by means of a traditional, yet engaging military and political history. The roughly two centuries from the First Punic War to Octavian's civil war are portrayed with a focus on the Hellenistic kingdoms of Macedon, Seleucia, and Egypt, and their relations with the rising Roman Republic. The book concisely covers the myriad of wars, civil wars, and revolts that the rulers of these three kingdoms had to struggle with, as well as the assassinations, palace intrigues, and diplomatic betrayals that plagued their reigns.

*Greece Against Rome* is closely related to Matyszak's other works. He has previously published *The Rise of the Hellenistic Kingdoms 336–250 BC* (2019), which is a counterpart to this book, and he has written books about the later Roman Republic in the form of military histories on Sertorius, the Social War, Mithridates the Great, and others. He has also published on ancient Athens and Sparta.

In the first three chapters of *Greece Against Rome*, Matyszak describes the Hellenistic world and Rome's place within it. He addresses the phenomenon known as Hellenism or Hellenization—a key theme throughout the entire work—and makes three important points: firstly, Hellenization was not necessarily tied to ethnicity, as evidenced by groups like Hellenized Romans and Hellenized Jews. Secondly, Hellenism was not forced upon subject populations in any kind of assimilationist policy, unlike the Westernization that accompanied European colonialism. Non-Greeks could learn Greek and become Hellenized to have better opportunities for advancement in the government, but the general populations of Seleucia and Egypt lived much like they had under Persian rule. Thirdly, Greeks had little desire to force their culture upon others. According to Matyszak, one Greek view was that if Greek political systems and Hellenistic religion were superior then it would be advantageous to not share them.

Matyszak then describes the three Hellenistic kingdoms that are the focus of his book, besides Rome. These are the "three rivals unalike," namely Macedon, Seleucia, and Egypt. While all three were monarchical and ruled by descendants of Alexander's self-proclaimed successors, they were different in their organization and demographics. Macedon was a relatively small kingdom of Macedonians ruled by a Macedonian, making it the most straightforward of the three. While it did rule over other Greeks to the south of its territory, Macedonians and Greeks still shared what was largely a common culture. In Seleucia, it was the opposite. Covering a vast swathe of western Asia, Seleucia's size and number of different cultures made it difficult to manage. The Seleucid ruler was constantly engaged in managing a variety of crises and usually met an untimely end from campaigning or from palace intrigue. Third was Egypt, where the Greek pharaohs struggled to have a dual identity as a Greek king and Egyptian pharaoh.

Matyszak offers a realistic analysis of the Roman Republic, writing that—although it can be considered a type of democracy—it was ruled by a military elite. He also identifies how Rome's political system made it a natural threat to its neighbors since Roman politicians wanted to advance their careers through winning military victories. Matyszak highlights the massive extent of corruption

in the Roman electoral system and the harsh treatment of those who were not citizens. Matyszak is critical of the Roman attitude toward science, noting that "[m]ost ancient texts and modern histories dealing with this period focus on the war in the western Mediterranean. They pass over the Hellenistic centers of learning which were industriously driving the human race forward, and instead concentrate on the Romans and Carthaginians who were—equally industriously—making humans less numerous." (25) These descriptions offer good counterpoints to the common notion that the Roman Republic promoted liberty and was forward-thinking compared to the Hellenistic kingdoms.

While *Greece Against Rome* offers great detail concerning the court politics of the Hellenistic kingdoms, the same is not true for its treatment of Rome. An example of this is when the Roman Social War is described: a small section ("Rome Distracted") mainly deals with how Rome temporarily became less relevant to Hellenistic affairs, except for events in Asia Minor involving Mithridates IV. Other events, such as Sulla's dictatorship and Caesar's rise to power, are addressed only briefly when considering what one would expect from a history of the Roman Republic. This is understandable, though, since *Greece Against Rome* is not focused on the Roman Republic but, rather, on the Hellenistic kingdoms and their view of the Roman Republic. Ultimately, this strengthens the book. The reader receives just enough context to know what the Roman Republic was mainly concerned with at any particular time, but not too much to distract from the book's main narrative which pertains to the fall of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Matyszak's prose is highly readable. He uses clear and concise language, and his personality comes through in his writing. He plainly expresses his thoughts, while occasionally inserting witty remarks, for example, "the Ptolemies presented themselves to the Egyptian people as Egyptian pharaohs. The actual pharaoh might have been a debauched, wine-swilling Macedonian, but that was not what his people were told." (11) While this could possibly be considered a tone that is not academic enough, it makes the work enjoyable to read and helps offset the subject matter's often dark nature.

Detailed descriptions of battles take up a large part of the book, and the battle of Raphia (217 BC) is indicative in this regard: its treatment extends over three pages, and while it does not describe the soldiers or tactics exhaustively, it relates enough for the reader to have a very good idea of the battle, covering the commanders, the types of troops, the terrain, and the general course of events. These battle-sections also provide a window into the wider world. One example of this is the attempted assassination of the pharaoh before the battle of Raphia by Theodotus, an Aetolian. According to Matyszak, "[d]ark deeds such as assassinations were typical of an Aetolian, Polybius remarks, but this particular attempt 'showed no lack of courage.' (Polybius 5.81)." (50). Matyszak's engaging writing helps the reader imagine the ancient battles and is as entertaining as any work of fiction. A particularly exciting example is when the African elephants (of a now extinct breed) of the Ptolemaic army are pitted against the imported Asian

elephants of the Seleucid army at Raphia. Matyszak vividly describes one set of elephants struggling against their handlers, while on another flank the elephants charged off of the battlefield, nearly trampling the pharaoh and his royal guard.

There are many choices for further reading about Greek and Roman warfare during the Hellenistic period. *Rome and the Third Macedonian War* by Paul Burton (2017) is a military and political history of the Roman Republic's conquest of Macedon. *The Age of Titans: The Rise and Fall of The Great Hellenistic Navies* by William M. Murray (2011) is another military history of the period that focuses on the massive ships of the period, their use in coastal sieges, and the end of this era of naval warfare after the battle of Actium (31 BC).

*Greece Against Rome* should be of interest to anyone looking for an overview of the Hellenistic period or for an engaging work of military history. While not going into depth on any one subject, Matyszak's book covers two centuries of history well very and offers the reader a broad understanding of the time period to which one can refer when reading other works. While it is certainly intended for a reader with an interest in military history, Matyszak also mentions enough politics, culture, and science to keep the general readership interested.

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Mikhail, Alan.
*God's Shadow:*
*Sultan Selim, His Ottoman Empire, and the Making of the Modern World.*

New York: Liveright/W. W. Norton, 2020. 496 pages. ISBN: 9781631492396.

> Islam is projected to supplant Christianity as the world's largest religion by the year 2077, so an understanding of Islam's complex role in world history becomes ever more imperative. We must move beyond a simplistic, ahistorical story of the rise of the West or a facile notion of a clash of civilizations. Without understanding the role of the Ottomans in history of the last five hundred years, we cannot hope to understand the past or the present […] The Ottoman Empire made the world we know today. (396)

The Ottoman Empire resides comfortably at the highest echelon of the powerful empires the world has seen. Vast and diverse in the realms of culture, religion, and economy, it is frequently highlighted in any general global history. In Alan Mikhail's new work, *God's Shadow: Sultan Selim, His Ottoman Empire, and the Making of the Modern World*, the Ottoman influence on the progression of Western civilization's rise is consolidated and even further asserted than normally found in any historical scholarship that is not blatantly Turcophile. Alan Mikhail is currently a professor of history and chair of the Department of History at Yale University. His previous works include *Under Osman's Tree: The Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Environmental History* (2017), *The Animal in Ottoman Egypt* (2014), *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History* (2011), and *Water on Sand: Environmental Histories of the Middle East and North Africa* (2013). This work is Mikhail's first venture into a general global history of the Ottoman Empire as

opposed to either environmental histories or those focused on Egypt. Published in 2020, it is one of the most recent examples of scholarship on the Ottoman Empire. *God's Shadow* is divided into seven parts and consists of twenty-five chapters which detail the life of Sultan Selim I (1470-1520), his influence on the world throughout his reign (1512-1520), and his legacy.

Mikhail begins his account with an introduction establishing the beginnings and historical significance of the Ottoman Empire. Mikhail's hooking narrative style immediately becomes apparent, as he opens with an etymology of the Texas city named Matamoros. Part 1, titled "Prince," covers Selim's birth and early years between 1470 and 1487. Born in a harem to a concubine mother, Selim was the fourth-born son of Bayezit II. Mikhail elucidates Selim's understanding of his environment from an early age, especially with regard to succession practices. Using his half-uncle Cem's turbulent and ultimately fatal experience in attempting to wrest succession of the empire from his half-brother, Selim's father, Selim was motivated to secure a place for himself as the future sultan at all costs.

Part II explores Selim's first experiences as a leader, as all candidates for becoming sultan had to prove their worth in positions of leadership by governing an eastern city within the empire. It is fitting then, that the title of Mikhail's second part is "Governor." Selim began his governance in the city of Trabzon, a hub of global commerce at the time and certainly an unwieldly introductory assignment for a seventeen-year-old. With his mother Gulbahar, Selim rose to the occasion and established a symbiotic relationship between his political, military, and economic powers, espousing the mantra, "no power without troops, no troops without money, no money without prosperity, no prosperity without good justice and administration." (70) Embarking on several successful consolidations of power within his city, as well as promulgating Ottomanization and expansion, Selim proved that he was capable of handling a major metropolis.

The consolidation of the Ottoman Empire occurred simultaneously to Selim's rise within his family. In addition to successful expansion efforts toward the West, trade between Europe and Asia began to funnel more strongly through the Ottoman Empire. As the fifteenth century was coming to a close, Mikhail asserts, the "Age of Exploration" was indeed a result of Ottoman consolidation and not an innate desire to fulfil Renaissance ideals.

Part III, "The Ottoman," begins with Christopher Columbus and Islam's influence on his life and expeditions. At the age of two, Columbus was far too young to understand the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmet II in 1453. As Columbus grew, however, fantasies of the Crusades and a deeply engrained hatred for Muslims manifested themselves; these, combined with the Ottoman Empire's stranglehold on eastern Europe, motivated Columbus to set his sights to sailing across the world to aid in his holy struggle against Islam. This is possibly the most profound assertion of the Ottoman Empire's influence on the world. In this sense, Mikhail dedicates the next chapter to asserting that Columbus's journey to the New World was indeed his own Crusade.

On the heels of the *Reconquista*, Columbus sets sail for what would arguably be the most influential event of the millennium: the "discovery" of the New World. There, Columbus and many other *conquistadores* began their devastation of the natives and what Mikhail describes as New-World Islam. Similar to the witch hunts, Columbus and the *conquistadores* relentlessly persecuted all they deemed close to Islam in a "Catholic Jihad." Mikhail ultimately compares Columbus and Selim, detailing that they both passionately fought at their respective frontiers.

Islam would eventually find its way to the New World via Hispaniola and the Mediterranean Moorish slave trade. The continuity of Spanish seals depicting slaughtered Muslims in the New World serves as one example of a larger truth, namely, that the *Reconquista*'s "division" of Islam and Christianity was an inversely reinforcing event with conflicts in the Caribbean stoking the intense hatred. Mikhail ends his third part with a survey of the Jewish presence in Ottoman Salonica.

Part IV, "Enemies Near and Far," begins with the "near" category by exploring the violent relationship between Selim and Shiism in Anatolia. The resiliency of the region's Safaviyya led to a powerful presence of Shiism in the Ottoman Empire, directly challenging Selim's Sunnism. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Shah Ismail's brother Ebrahim had led a few thousand soldiers to lay siege Selim's provinces. This intensified Selim's dedication to combating both foreign and domestic enemies. The Safavids posed an even more fundamental threat to Selim's empire by highlighting a starkly contrasted vision of Muslim power. Opting to abandon diplomatic relations, Selim adopted a forceful approach to dealing with his enemies, a characteristic that deviated from his father's more temperate foreign policy. With the Safavids claiming Tabriz in 1501 and powerful figures in the empire defecting to the Safavid cause, it was indeed beginning to look as if enemies were approaching from all directions.

During these campaigns, Selim was not yet sultan but, rather, in pursuit of the throne still occupied by his father, Bayezit II, and this pursuit would lead him through Crimea. Once a push toward Istanbul became feasible, Selim realized that there might be no path to the throne without regicide. Upon reaching Istanbul, Selim stormed his father's palace, and Bayezit became the first sultan to abdicate before his own death. On Saturday, April 24, 1512, Selim had at last achieved his deepest desire: the throne. After eliminating his half-brothers and other adversaries, Selim focused his efforts on defeating the Safavid Empire.

The massive wars Selim launched against his enemies are the topic of Part V, "Selim's World Wars." It begins by detailing Selim's battles, military encounters, and strategies against Shah Ismail and the Safavids. Along with a weakening of the Portuguese Empire, the confounding of the Safavids allowed Selim's Ottoman Empire to achieve new levels of power and influence. Once the Safavids were defeated at Chaldiran (1514), Selim shifted his focus to South Anatolia, where the Safavids and Mamluks were jointly campaigning against him. When Shah Ismail's reinforcements to the Mamluks became a mirage, Selim began his invasion of the

Mamluk Empire. Damascus, Jerusalem, and eventually Cairo fell to Selim, and taking the latter meant the conquest of the Mamluk Empire and, by extension, of Yemen on the southern seas. As his political, military, and economic power was consolidated, a simple staple of Ottoman culture came into Selim's grasp: coffee.

Part VI, "Final Frontiers," elucidates Selim's seemingly ravenous quest for further expansion and power. Although his military conquests primarily took place in the East, he waged wars into every direction, and soon North Africa was in his sights. Here, Mikhail's analysis briefly shifts back to the Spanish Crown: Queen Isabella, who had died in 1504, had hoped for a Spanish conquest of North Africa and yet another Crusade against Islam. Now Selim had his eyes set on North Africa as well. The conflict would crescendo in Morocco. As if decreed by God, King Ferdinand died during his campaign (1516) and the Mamluk grasp on the region was deteriorating. Selim was in a nearly guaranteed position to take North Africa and further consolidate his economic power in the Mediterranean.

While preparing for the invasion of Morocco, Selim began experiencing abnormal back pains. He discounted them as normal back stiffness, stemming from his countless hours of horseback riding and hunting. Yet, the pain intensified, an abscess formed, and Selim's health was deteriorating rapidly. On his way back to Istanbul, Selim took his last breath at Corlu while reciting *Ya-Sin*, a chapter in the *Quran* that describes death and the hereafter. Mikhail describes Selim's death as "God's shadow had died." (357). After detailing Suleiman's (Selim's son's) ascension to the sultanate and his handling of his father's death, Part VII, "Descendants," delves into Selim's legacy and his impact on our world: Martin Luther's perception of Islam in Europe, the Ottomans' unexpected level of influence in America, and reflections on what the future may hold for Islam comprise Mikhail's final part. He concludes his masterful epic by elucidating Sultan Selim's legacy in modern-day Turkey, thus further exemplifying Selim's grasp on the world that he may have achieved after all.

Returning to our introductory quote and the book's title, *God's Shadow*, we can deduce the following: Mikhail's work offers a respect to the Ottoman Empire's influence on the progression of Western civilization that should be acknowledged, but it occasionally crosses into the realm of excess, holding Sultan Selim's contributions to global history in too high a regard. Assertions made throughout the book are often backed by quality secondary literature, as well as straightforward analysis of government documents, art, and biographical information listed in an impressive body of endnotes. Mikhail's prose is excellent, and he has combined a comprehensive exhibition of global history with highly accessible analysis. Beautiful Ottoman artwork from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries support Mikhail's sweeping narrative. Other works that are similar to *God's Shadow* include Donald Quataert's *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (2005) and Caroline Finkel's *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire* (2007). *God's Shadow* represents a comprehensive, masterfully written new take on the Ottoman

influence on global history and is recommended for historians of all disciplines, as well as those simply looking to obtain a basic knowledge of the Ottoman Empire.

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Owens, Susan.
*The Ghost: A Cultural History.*

London: Tate Publishing, 2019; first published 2017. 288 pages. ISBN: 9781849766463.

Spooky castles, fog spread over dimly lit lanterns, and old creaky floorboards, these architectural phenomena infiltrate the deepest parts of our minds, causing even the very hair on our skin to rise. How did the idea of haunted old houses and creepy weather enter architectural history? Susan Owens, author of *The Ghost: A Cultural History*, attempts to answer this question. A former curator of paintings at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Owens specializes in the Humanities and British culture. She reveals why society deals with "particular ghosts" in each era, and how ghosts are a reflection of our own "fears and dreams." She convinces her readers that ghosts matter and answers questions like, "What can spiritual phenomena tell me about this time period?" To be sure, life after death is something man cannot prove and stands to perplex all human history. My review of *The Ghost: A Cultural History* uses an architectural lens and considers this work's usefulness as a contribution to modern-day perspectives on haunted castles, eerie candlelight, headless horsemen, and dense fog. Owens designs her book around spooky art and literature, purposing to reveal each era's relationship to ghosts and how they were understood. From the Danish conquerors of the eleventh century via the English Reformation to the World Wars, Owens offers a comprehensive cultural history of Great Britain by focusing on ghosts.

In many ways, Owens simply tells ghost stories, either from paintings or literature. She describes, in detail, their contribution to each period in British history, making sense of the slowly developing perspectives of the haunted. Her summary is straightforward: "I quickly discovered that ghosts are mirrors of the times. They reflect our preoccupations, moving with the tide of cultural trends and matching the mood of each age." Owen focuses on our relationship to ghosts, arguing that, much like ghosts are fluid and altering, culture also shifts. She attributes these shifts to religious veneration or simply itching curiosity. Owens carefully dissects each cultural shift and explains that the character of ghosts varies in each time period between informative, aggressive, humorous, or just downright scary. Informative ghosts tend to befriend or warn their haunted terrestrial, such as the ghosts approaching Scrooge in Charles Dickens's *Christmas Carol*. Medieval ghosts could inspire terror of the afterlife, helping convert sinners to Christianity. Other ghosts just wanted to mess with people.

Owens's style suits the book's overall purpose: *The Ghost* is written with a unique balance of narrative storytelling and archival descriptions. Each section has a very distinctive title and proceeds chronologically, but also includes the occasional comparison of period art to modern works or perspectives. When comparing the different works of art and literature, Owens highlights the most prominent details of each era. She first tells the stories and then explains their qualities and purpose. This mixture of narrative writing with an analytical twist makes the book seem more like a collection of ghost stories than a history. According to Owens, ghost stories reflect contemporary perspectives on all things moral, entertaining, and supernatural. There is not one human destined for something other than death, and this work deals with the humanness of cultures throughout history while utilizing this supernatural lens. By telling the story of each highlighted work, Owens convincingly captures the specific era's cultural perspective on ghosts. Owens takes excerpts from Dickens's *Christmas Carol* and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and, more than just comparing certain aspects, shares their stories in a very organic, yet haunting way.

*The Ghost* is not limited to what we might commonly expect; monsters and mutated humans also receive their due attention. Utilizing Old English philology to describe Grendel from the eleventh-century epic poem *Beowulf*, Owens convincingly argues that certain Old English characters are more ghost-like than monsters. With regard to Bram Stoker's commonly misunderstood 1897 novel *Dracula*, Owens claims that it (and others similar to it) primarily focus on the "penetration" or "intrusion" of the supernatural into the cozy, middle-class home.

One of the greatest aspects of this book is its use of artistic material. Owens understands that historical art, to a certain degree, speaks for itself, so she has placed a generous number of illustrations throughout her book. Some of these haunting images date back to the twelfth century, providing a treasure chest of material. Prior to reading *The Ghost*, I was not aware of the extent of visual sources pertaining to British ghost stories. In addition to art, Owens branches out to spectral literature. Some authors are merely introduced, but others, such as Henry James or Daniel Defoe, receive a more elaborate treatment due to their remarkable methodologies and intentions. Owens does not dwell as much on historiography as other history books, but this works well for her approach: her focus is on the primary sources, and she utilizes secondary works only to add clarity. That said, her bibliography encompasses a wide range of up-to-date secondary works.

Owens shakes her readers with each spectral appearance, making *The Ghost* both a page-turner and a promising scholarly source. The book's fault are its occasionally vague cases. Owens will introduce an interesting topic and then drop it, moving on to a different subject. For example, her ideas on ghost penetration in *Dracula* are merely touched upon, but this allows for future work on the subject.

Published in 2017, this is the most recent scholarly work on British ghost history to date, challenging previous cultural studies on the same subject. Andrew Smith's *The Ghost Story 1840-1920: A Cultural History*, published in 2010, addresses

similar themes. Smith's monograph is more concerned with political, economic, and gender-oriented perspectives, whereas Owens's work focuses more on the feelings and ideas that come from ghosts and, particularly, religious aspects. Unlike Smith, Owens chooses a broad timeline for her cultural history and hopes to transport her readers into ghost history to reveal how it expanded, shifted, and transformed over the centuries, creating what we now have as our modern-day perspective on ghosts. Smith's work, meanwhile, addresses a particular period—from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century—to show how ghost stories of that era were highlighting Britain's political and economic problems.

Owens stays on point rather well and only slightly veers off course when describing monsters and other supernatural beings, and she rarely looks beyond Britain. In analyzing her stories, Owens consistently emphasizes the humanness of ghosts: "In writing this book, I have kept this human element in mind. And while the chapters that follow introduce many ghosts (of the past as well as the present), they also take us into the worlds of successive artists and writers who have wondered about, described, depicted and invented them." Owens argues that ghosts are something we all share and refrains from sounding culturally biased toward British studies. The openness in her methodology makes one ponder the influence of Western ghost stories on the East and vice versa. *The Ghost* is a perfect book for those interested in the subject and in an approach that combines literature and art into a cultural history. It features brilliant artistic descriptions and convincing storytelling. *The Ghost* is a valuable contribution to British cultural studies, literature studies, art history, architectural history, and supernatural history, and it will help scholars attain more deeply developed cultural perspectives on religion, entertainment, and superstition.

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Pablo Cruz, Rosayra, and Julie Schwietert Collazo.
*The Book of Rosy: A Mother's Story of Separation at the Border.*

New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2020. 256 pages. ISBN: 9780062941923.

I.C.E. is an acronym that sends shivers down one's spine. It stands for "Immigration and Customs Enforcement" and is known as *la migra* in Spanish. I.C.E. is cold and lifeless, just like the facilities they run. However, it has not always been like this. Rosayra Pablo Cruz and Julie Schwietert Collazo's new publication, *The Book of Rosy: A Mother's Story of Separation at the Border,* examines how the U.S. administration's recent enforcement of the "Zero Tolerance Policy" has changed I.C.E., detention centers, and the American people.

Both authors are philanthropist and activists. Rosayra Pablo Cruz is a mother of four children and a widow. Born and raised in Guatemala, she decided to migrate to the United States, first with her youngest son, Fernando, then with her oldest son, Yordy, in order to escape violence and the threat of death in their home

country. Pablo Cruz became a victim of the "Zero Tolerance Policy" and was separated from her children for 81 days while she was held in an I.C.E. detention center together with other mothers. Her experience drove her to co-author *The Book of Rosy*, hoping to bring awareness to the issue. Julie Schwietert Collazo is an author and mother of three. A former social worker and the wife of a refugee, Schwietert Collazo formed the grassroots organization "Immigrant Families Together" to push back against oppressive immigration policies and help reunite families separated at the border. "Immigrant Families Together" has raised money to pay for the bonds of immigrant mothers like Pablo Cruz to reunite them with their children and provide them with the monetary and communal resources they need. *The Book of Rosy*, co-authored by Pablo Cruz and Schwietert Collazo, provides readers with a first-hand account of the horrors that pressure individuals to cross the border and the mistreatment they experience in detention centers.

The authors examine the effect and injustice of the "Zero Tolerance Policy with regard to migrant families. Pablo Cruz notes the shift in treatment by I.C.E. officers. When she first crossed the border in 2014 with her youngest son Fernando, she was detained. She states, "it's shocking to me how much things have changed in so little time. Four years ago, the officers were doing their jobs, but they also expressed concern about our well-being." (99) Due to the formal implementation of the "Zero Tolerance Policy" in 2018, Pablo Cruz's second encounter with I.C.E. was strikingly different. This time, when Pablo Cruz crossed the border with her two sons, she would suffer for three months. Her children were ripped from her, and her view of life changed forever. Schwietert Collazo comments, "the signatories and members of their organization […] were talking privately among themselves about the alarming parallels they saw between the ways in which the zero-tolerance policy was being carried out and the Holocaust." (176) The overall goal of this book is to spread an awareness of the conditions that parents and children experience when crossing the border between Mexico and the United States, more specifically the abuse and mistreatment they face once captured and separated by I.C.E.

The book is divided into three parts, the first and third are written by Rosayra Pablo Cruz (3-139, 191-217), and the second is written by Julie Schwietert Collazo (143-188). The first part consists of eleven chapters and examines what ultimately made Pablo Cruz decide to leave her home in Guatemala, her journey across the border (which she took twice), and her experience at the Eloy Detention Center in Arizona. It also addresses her connection with "Immigrant Families Together" and her reunion with her sons. The second part consists of two chapters and explores what led Julie Schwietert Collazo to form "Immigrant Families Together" and how she went about paying the bonds and allocating a home to migrant mothers. In the book's third part, Rosayra Pablo Cruz analyzes her life after being released and reunited with her sons, and she examines the trauma that both she and her boys experienced.

One chapter that I find especially powerful and moving is Chapter 12, "A Wild Idea," written by Julie Schwietert Collazo (143-179). Here, the author describes how the immorality of the "Zero Tolerance Policy" compelled her and other members of her community to take a stand: "The outrage and disgust around the Trump Administration's zero-tolerance policy and the practice of family separation clearly crossed party lines." (162) After forming "Immigrant Families Together," Schwietert Collazo received help from individuals throughout the United States who felt that they had taken on the sins of their country and that the only way to be cleansed was to help the immigrants' cause.

The book utilizes first-hand accounts by both authors as they both lived through these events. It is biographical and autobiographical as Rosayra Pablo Cruz and Julie Schwietert Collazo refer to their personal and shared experiences. In Chapter 2, "Doors," Pablo Cruz describes her emotional struggle after losing her husband. She suffered from alcoholism and from feelings of immense fear and anxiety. Once she regained her strength, she had a near-death experience as she was targeted by a hitman and shot twice in both wrists. The constant threat of death surrounding her ultimately pushed her to immigrate to the United States with her youngest son. One may wonder why she left her other children and only took her youngest child. After being shot, she was unsure of who was trying to kill her, and she felt that the best way to ensure the safety of her family was to leave as soon as she could. This meant leaving her three older children, who were at school, as soon as she was offered an opportunity to leave. Thus, Chapter 2 explains the factors that ultimately forced Pablo Cruz to leave her home. It also provides a glimpse into her life in Guatemala prior to migrating to the United States. In Chapter 13, "Rebuilding a Family," Julie Schwietert Collazo shares her perspective on the reunion of Pablo Cruz and her two sons at the Cayuga Center. She describes their settlement into the temporary home that "Immigrant Families Together" was able to provide through the generous assistance of a family who was out of town. Schwietert Collazo states, "This is the beloved community […] this group of people who just shows up, right where they are, with whatever they have saying 'How can I help? How can I be a force for making this better?'" (186) Both accounts provide unique and essential perspectives. The book focuses on Pablo Cruz's story; however, Schwietert Collazo's input demonstrates what led to the formation of "Immigrant Families Together," the saving grace for Pablo Cruz. Schwietert Collazo also gives a different outlook on the help that Pablo Cruz received from strangers around the United States, which she saw as a necessary action to counteract the horror that the "Zero Tolerance Policy" had inflicted on other immigrants (174-177), while Pablo Cruz remained humble throughout her experience and felt it was odd to receive assistance from strangers. (132-133).

In *The Book of Rosy*, both authors address religious aspects and often refer to the importance of God and prayer. Pablo Cruz relied on her faith throughout her journey, even during imprisonment and separation, constantly falling back on God and her hope and trust in him. For example, in Chapter 9, "Lockup" (111-

123), Pablo Cruz states that, after praying and asking God for an answer why he had placed her in the Eloy Detention Center away from her children, "He [God] does [answer]. He shows me that the world is the world […] so I have to work on my spiritual life." (115) Pablo Cruz maintains that, through her faith, each difficulty she has faced has made her stronger. Schwietert Collazo not only refers to her own Catholic upbringing but also makes references to the Jewish religion. In Chapter 13, "Rebuilding a Family" (181-188), she relates how people from all walks of life came together to help Rosayra Pablo Cruz and her sons. She states, "Hineini. Here I am. Here we are. That's really what this is all about, just showing up." (186) "Hineini" is a Hebrew word from the Jewish faith. Schwietert Collazo examines how just saying the word "Hineini" can heal and change the world. By adding this religious aspect, the book presents a glimpse into both authors' lives and provides a sense of inspiration.

Despite the fact that there are books available on the *Frontera* and immigration there are none that are truly comparable to *The Book of Rosy*. Arturo Hernandez-Sametier's book, *Shelter,* also delves into I.C.E. detention facilities, however, it is presented from the perspective of fourteen undocumented children. Although *Shelter* is eye-opening, it differs from *The Book of Rosy* as Pablo Cruz and Schwietert Collazo examine a mother's perspective on separation and internment. *The Book of Rosy* combines an immigrant mother's perspective with that of a U.S. citizen. While *the Book of Rosy* is unique in many ways, the examination of the "Zero Tolerance Policy" and its impact on families is not a new topic. Laurie Collier Hillstrom's book, *Family Separation*, addresses family separation and goes into depth on the impact it has on families at the border and in the United States.

Readers with a desire to learn about the "Zero Tolerance Policy" and family separation should read *The Book of Rosy*. It gives a voice to all the mothers placed into concentration camps and separated from their children. The enforcement of the "Zero Tolerance Policy" has led to the mistreatment of hundreds of immigrants. The cold touch of death is present in detention centers as immigrants are treated inhumanely. I.C.E has thrown on the grim reaper's dark robe, causing fear and suffering, and the historical consequences of this are severe.

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Seo, Sarah A.
*Policing the Open Road: How Cars Transformed American Freedom.*

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019. 339 pages. ISBN: 9780674980860.

Henry Ford's Model T debuted in 1908, and the assembly line which mass produced the first car economically enough to make the automobile affordable to most Americans was perfected in 1914. Yet the distinguishing features of law

enforcement vehicles did not exist until the standardized black and white paint was added in the 1930s and the siren, or Beacon Ray, in 1948. How then were average citizens expected to distinguish a law enforcement officer trying to pull them over from a highwayman intending to rob them? *Policing the Open Road: How Cars Transformed American Freedom* by Sarah A. Seo is a fascinating examination of the changes wrought by the automobile—not just on how Americans lived but how they perceived freedom and law enforcement. Seo follows the radical transformation of policing that developed in the twentieth century and still affects us today, using case law, committee reports, anecdotes, and police procedural books. Providing an individual freedom not caged by the timetables and fixed routes of public transportation, and covering a speed and distance never before seen, the new liberty that came with the automobile was enjoyed by all classes, genders, and races (to varying degrees). (36) Everyone literally became Everyman, now face to face with a police force that most would have never encountered had it not been for the invention of the automobile.

Each chapter of *Policing the Open Road* begins with an introductory story that emphasizes the real-world circumstances discussed in the respective chapter. Chapter 1 sets the scene of an American public and government unprepared for the mass production of cars, both structurally (lack of paved roads, road signs, traffic signals, etc.) and procedurally (lack of traffic laws). Seo begins her study with a bewildered government trying to regulate heretofore unseen circumstances of traffic, technology available to all classes, and citizens consistently violating traffic laws that were unfamiliar to most of them. She then evaluates the application of archaic enforcement methods from the nineteenth century onward, such as the honor system and self-regulation, which were quickly found to be inadequate. States and municipalities were soon creating so many new laws that not only could no one (including the law makers) remember them all, but no one could avoid breaking them, thus leading to a normally law-abiding citizenry that was, in fact, constantly breaking the law. (27)

Continuing into the next chapter, Seo takes into consideration a police force woefully unprepared in both number and training to cope with the changes caused by the automobile. Initially, police commissions called for a separate entity to enforce traffic laws (72) but then settled for a centralized one that had jurisdiction over city, county, and state lines. (77) Encouraged by the "father of modern police," Berkeley police chief August Vollmer (1876-1955), courtesy and professionalism became the by-words of a new kind of police, one that would be interacting not only with criminals, but also with respectable citizens. In addition to the new procedures, Seo addresses the introduction of law enforcement accoutrements such as uniforms, patrol cars distinguishable from the mass-produced cars of citizens, and two-way radios. (95)

One of the many themes running through the book is the application of the Fourth Amendment to traffic laws, a century-long process that remained divisive and erratic. The Fourth Amendment protects personal property from

unreasonable search and seizure, and until the invention of the automobile it had been limited exclusively to person and home. The heart of the problem evolved from classical legal thought on what was public versus what was private: cars were private property, but they were driven on public roads and possibly aiding in possessory crime (crime in which the "act" is possessing a prohibited object). (117) Additionally, the privilege of driving was state issued (driver's license, registration) and thus subject to state scrutiny. Seo does a thorough job of illustrating this journey with both state and federal court cases, outlining not just the circumstances and impact of these cases but also showing how the dissenting opinions in these cases illuminated the vacillating arguments between the security of public interest and the right to personal privacy. The 1925 Supreme Court case *Carroll v. United States* (267 U.S. 132) was the first case that transformed knowledge (or observance) of a crime to reasonable belief in a crime, allowing for an exception to the requirement of obtaining a warrant. (138) Further cases decided that proactive policing (search and seizure without a warrant because of reasonable belief a crime had, was being, or would be committed) was not an unreasonable constraint on personal liberty. (148)

The increase in the police's discretionary power to decide whether a warrantless search and arrest were in the public's best interests, together with the rising fears in America of authoritarianism after World War II and during the Cold War, led to a concern that discretionary power was arbitrary. (159) Chapters 4 and 5 discuss this concern as well as the Supreme Court's continued vacillation in setting precedent to allow or deny increased police discretionary power and determinations whether violations of the Fourth Amendment should require reparation. Yet, instead of creating better laws and regulations, federal and state governments, as well as civil groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), recommended personnel training and best-practice guidelines. (177)

The last chapter is the only one not to open with a historical anecdote and questions why American procedures ultimately have been inadequate when it comes to achieving vehicular justice. The author traces precedent-setting cases like *Brinegar v. State* (1953 OK CR 135) in 1953, which made it illegal to search a car's trunk if the vehicle had been stopped for a traffic violation, to the 1981 case *New York v. Belton* (453 U.S. 454), which made it reasonable for an officer to search the entire car, expanded to include the trunk in 1982 *United States v. Ross* (456 U.S. 798). (253) The war on drugs in the 1980s further encouraged pretextual policing, i.e., stopping a car for a traffic violation with the intention to search for drugs. This led to racial profiling (of those allegedly most likely to be drug offenders) and changed the fear of arbitrary justice into a fear of discriminatory justice.

The strategies for policing automobiles touched all areas of the law (criminal and civil) because the mobility granted by automobiles touched every area of society. Americans assumed that unlimited mobility meant unlimited freedom. However, to secure the public interest that very freedom had to be curtailed in such ways that "we are still grappling with the fallout." (267) In the first few

decades of the twentieth century, when the auto revolution changed policing to a form of governance and led to an updating of national law to sanction police discretion, American citizens willingly relinquished that freedom.

This is the first published book by Sarah A. Seo, a legal historian of twentieth-century U.S. criminal law and procedure with a Law degree from Columbia Law School and a Ph.D. in History from Princeton University. Currently a professor of Law at the University of Iowa, Seo has also been published in the *Yale Law Journal*, *Law and Social Inquiry*, and *Law and History Review*. Since the publication of *Policing the Open Road*, Seo has been advocating for the removal of civil traffic law enforcement from police duties. Her book is the first to combine a history of traffic codes, automobiles, policing, case law, profiling, and Constitutional amendment rights into one complete study. To be sure, there are various histories of traffic laws, police profiling, the police profession, and of course the automobile, but none that intertwine these related strata into a comprehensive understanding of how each affected the other, and in turn the American concept of personal freedom. Even online booksellers have no idea how to characterize the book, from categories like highway-traffic engineering and criminal law (Amazon) via transportation and history (Google Books) to politics and urbanism (Goodreads). *Policing the Open Road* is undefinable because Seo understands that each piece of the puzzle is not a domino, one leading to the other, but a strand of a web, one piece leading to numerous others and then back to itself.

Seo's work combines the history of the automobile with the evolution of due process, intricately entwining both to show neither progressed without the other. Laid over the framework of the history of police enforcement of traffic laws, *Policing the Open Road* is a detailed, engrossing work that will prompt the reader to question current traffic laws and regulations as well as their own ideas about personal privacy. Easily read without a background in Law or History, the author does an outstanding job of laying out her argument piece by piece, using real stories and case law to paint a living picture of the evolution of traffic laws and enforcement, as well as their consequences for individual freedom and privacy. This work is highly recommended for those interested in case law, the history of automobiles, and criminal justice.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Jessica Parker of Santa Maria, California, earned her two B.A. degrees in History and Religious Studies from San Jose State University (2017) and her M.A. in History from California State University, Fullerton (2020). She is currently working for CSUF's College of Humanities and Social Sciences as a data analyst for the Student Success Center.*

Wilson-Lee, Kelcey.
*Daughters of Chivalry: The Forgotten Children of Edward I.*

New York: Picard, 2019. 352 pages. ISBN: 9781509847891.

Eleanora, Joanna, Margaret, Mary, and Elizabeth were the daughters of King Edward I of England, who ruled from 1272 until 1307 and is known best for his

Crusading, his warfare against Scotland, and his contributions to common law. Compared to their famous father, these women are nearly unknown; however, they nonetheless had important roles to play during their father's reign. In *Daughters of Chivalry: The Forgotten Children of Edward I,* Kelcey Wilson-Lee explores the lives of these five princesses. Wilson-Lee is a historian of Britain, educated at Oxford, who has taught courses at Cambridge and the Victoria and Albert Museum. She has previously published articles with a focus on the history of art and architecture. This is her first book, and she is to be commended for her writing and expertise on the subject matter.

Stressing the point that medieval princesses were neither idle nor passive, Wilson-Lee explains the various duties to which these women had to attend. They were engaged in diplomacy, managed estates, and sometimes even commanded troops. *Daughters of Chivalry* also pays close attention to their daily lives. Wilson-Lee reveals how these princesses lived, what they did for entertainment, what they read, how they dressed, how they viewed the world, and what their desires and concerns were. These details help the narrative come alive and make these royal women seem very real and relatable. In some ways they are not so very different from the average person of today in their concerns over the wellbeing of their families, keeping their finances sound, and finding time for leisure.

*Daughters of Chivalry* is organized in a biographical fashion, following the lives of these five princesses from their births to either their deaths or to the reign of Edward II, when they lost much of their influence. Chapters also have overarching topics, such as betrothals, widows, or alliances. Most of the book revolves around marriages since this determined so much of these princesses' lives and was the center of their duties. As daughters, princesses were expected to serve their father and his kingdom by securing alliances through their personal marriages. As wives, they were expected to serve their husbands by providing heirs and by assisting in the management of their estates. As mothers, they were expected to help in the education of their children and ensure the latter were raised properly. Through all of this, it is made clear that these princesses held as much responsibility and faced at least as many challenges as the male members of their family. Also, refreshingly, Wilson-Lee avoids depicting these women as being mere pawns to their fathers or husbands and shows instead how they wielded significant control over their own lives. Wilson-Lee notes the inherent bidirectionality in marriage when she writes that "[d]ynastic marriage undoubtedly included an element of exchange […] but it did not necessarily disempower its female participants. In key ways, the ritual was not unlike the pledge of homage at the very heart of medieval society […] Like the vassal, the bride pledged herself to her lord because she expected to gain from the relationship." (91-92) A good example of this is Princess Joanna who wanted the important position of being the wife of a powerful lord so that she could support her father's rule. Thus, Gilbert de Clare, the seventh earl of Gloucester, became Joanna's first husband.

Since these princesses are somewhat obscure figures in the general history of the English Middle Ages, Wilson-Lee makes use of a variety of sources to find information on them. There are, of course, chronicles which usually provide some basic facts, but many of the more personal details are from letters. A type of source that Wilson-Lee puts to great use are household or wardrobe rolls. These are records of income and expenses. The wardrobe rolls provide many insights, such as the spending priorities of these princesses, what activities they engaged in, and the health of people in their household (indicated by the purchase of medicine or the hiring of physicians). The most detailed information pertains to major weddings, funerals, and the respective coronations of Edward I and Edward II. In these sections, the reader will find the most vivid depictions of events, and Wilson-Lee writes engagingly, giving the reader a sense of what it would have been like to be present at these events.

Inevitably, there are some major gaps in the historical record since material was either lost or certain data perhaps never recorded. One striking example of this involves Princess Eleanora. *Daughters of Chivalry* contains a great amount of detail about her, down to her wedding gifts to her siblings and the fact that, when she was a teenager, her parents were concerned about her sleeping too late to wake up for Mass. However, when Eleanora died at the age of twenty-nine, there is no record of how this happened. Wilson-Lee writes that "[t]he lack of detail pertaining to the princess's death is indicative of what little importance she was regarded as an individual by contemporary historians, who saw her predominately as a link between male-led dynasties." (193).

One of the major themes in the book concerns the responsibilities of chivalric womanhood. The princesses were expected to follow a certain code of behavior that was informed by ideas of chivalry. An example of this appears early in the book when one of the princesses, Eleanora, as a child, sees the supposed tomb of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere. Some monks had "discovered" the tomb to encourage pilgrimages to the site, and King Edward, along with his wife and daughter, made an event out of visiting the site. Such events were designed to show a connection between the current royal family and real or imagined chivalric heroes, such as Richard the Lionheart or King Arthur. It was therefore the duty of each member of the royal family to maintain the appearance of being connected to this legacy. For the princesses, this included joining in royal processions, and "once they were around seven or eight, the children were considered old enough to ride long hours in the saddle atop a palfrey horse […] and to understand their roles in projecting regality." (45)

*Daughters of Chivalry* offers a good impression of how the princesses were supposed to appear and behave in front of the king's subjects to increase the prestige of the royal family. However, one area that is lacking detail is an analysis of chivalry itself. In the examples of the royal processions and the alleged tomb of King Arthur, one gets the expression that chivalry was for show, essentially lacked substance, and was even fraudulent to a certain degree. However, in a later

chapter on rebellions in Wales there are more concrete examples of "chivalric womanhood," including how a lady was expected to be able to command a garrison and have a familiarity with weapons and combat. Whether chivalry was primarily for show or a real code of conduct remains elusive throughout the book.

Mortality is another theme throughout *Daughters of Chivalry*. The lives of these princesses were filled with illnesses and accidents that killed many people close to them, and Wilson-Lee uses these events as an opportunity to show medieval attitudes toward health and death. Edward's first five children died before reaching adulthood, and only two of them made it past infancy. This was not uncommon since, "[a]mong English ducal families between 1330 and 1479, some thirty-six percent of boys and twenty-nine percent of girls died before the age of five." (310) The increased danger for boys was well known, with an eleven-year-old Henry III quoted as saying, "I am a boy and thus easily fall ill." (16) Even for those who survived childhood, illnesses remained a constant threat at any age. Additionally, while males were statistically in greater danger during early childhood, females faced greater health problems in adulthood due to complications from pregnancy. Wilson-Lee explains how this risk was minimized since royalty were attended by many physicians and nurses when necessary, and pregnancy was avoided in younger years.

For further reading on medieval noblewomen in late medieval England, one relevant book is *For Her Good Estate: The Life of Elizabeth de Burgh* (1999) by Frances A. Underhill. Elizabeth de Burgh was a daughter of Joan of Acre, making her a granddaughter of Edward I. This is a similar work to *Daughters of Chivalry* in that it uses estate and household records to provide insight into the lives of noblewomen. Another work is *Medieval Gentlewoman: Life in a Gentry Household in the Later Middle Ages* (1999) by Ffiona Swabey, which also makes use of household rolls. This book examines the live of Alice de Bryene, a noblewoman and estate owner in fourteenth-century Suffolk.

*Daughters of Chivalry* should be of the most interest to anyone wanting to learn about how medieval royalty lived on a personal level. Wilson-Lee puts a high priority on making the subjects of the book feel like real, relatable people rather than distant historical figures. For some, information about what these princesses wore and what hobbies they had may seem trivial in a few places, but there will be many a reader who will enjoy this type of history and find it insightful. Additionally, the book should be of interest to anyone wanting to understand medieval politics from a more interpersonal angle. There is much in this book that would be glossed over in a typical political history, for instance the details of how a royal marriage between kingdoms would be arranged in detail, and how small details in a wedding celebration could be politically relevant. Overall, this book is likely to alter and deepen any reader's perception of medieval royalty and especially of royal women.

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## *Reviews (Exhibitions)*

*Double Victory: The African American Military Experience [online exhibition].*

Curated/designed by Krewasky A. Salter. Online exhibition/National Museum of African American History and Culture, Washington, D.C. November 2016-present.

When the history of African Americans is addressed, their tragic past of enslavement and being abused, and their continuing fight for freedom often take center stage. However, one thing that seems to be excluded or at least neglected is their involvement in the military. Pre-collegiate education forgoes the topic for a more general take on African American history (or merely brushes the surface of the subject, if at all), and it is not until higher education that students receive better opportunities to learn about this specific history. While it appears that there are few opportunities for those outside of the education system to obtain knowledge on the matter, the online exhibition *Double Victory: The African American Military Experience* at the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) tries to change that. This exhibition takes place virtually and dives deeply into the military history of people of color in America. Ranging from the War of 1812 all the way to the current War on Terror, the presentation tries to educate viewers about specific historical battles and prominent Black American figures who have served the country. Although the information that is offered may prove to be beneficial to uneducated individuals, the virtual exhibition format is somewhat detrimental and hinders the presentation.

Given the current events in this country and around the globe (especially the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic), technology is one convenient way to keep everyone together. With institutions integrating themselves into the virtual world, it is no surprise that public venues such as museums are also making the switch. However, as these exhibitions move online, they generate new problems that a normal public presentation would avoid. One of these issues is the fact that viewers miss the freedom to examine the historical artifacts and objects up close. It is hard to replicate the experience of seeing a piece of history face to face. Unfortunately, a virtual replication of the materials cannot compare to seeing the real-life pieces in front of you. It diminishes the potential emotional value and, depending on the artifact, the awe an in-person visit would produce. Some things cannot be fully appreciated through mere photography and must be viewed in person to convey their brilliance. Another potential shortcoming of online exhibitions is the order in which presentations are laid out. Given a website, viewers are encouraged to inspect the virtual display in a linear manner. This muddies parts of the presentation that would shine if they were toured in person. Both these complications affect the *Double Victory* exhibition.

The virtual tour includes twenty objects, ranging from clothes to coins. The last part of the showcase displays the historical pieces in a slideshow with only one single photo to view for each item. While it is possible to examine more photos of certain artifacts, some only offer one or two photos, and others give an in-depth

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look (for example for clothing and literature pieces), but those without magnifying features are hard to appreciate and limited in view. This is not an issue during an in-person visit when one is able to see objects from unlimited angles and can thereby obtain a more realistic impression of the artifact. Additionally, the exhibition struggles to offer a virtual layout that is interesting to the viewer. The linear style fails at giving an engaging experience and loses the personal feeling that a physical visit would offer. Although the organization is fine, it limits the freedom of the viewer to follow a singular path. The restricted journey feels robotic and monotonous. Compared to other exhibitions, such as the *African American History in Colorado* online exhibition (at the History of Colorado Center), the *Double Victory* exhibition falls short. The *African American History in Colorado* online exhibition offers a far more engaging interface, allowing it to accomplish what the *Double Victory* presentation does not. It offers more freedom to users by giving viewers a chance to look at the different sections on their own accord. Visitors can choose to look at the early history of African Americans in Colorado, explore the 1920s, dive into the history of Lincoln Hills, or view Civil Rights movements in the state. Unlike *Double Victory*, the tour does not feel restricted. This particular exhibition feels more realistic in its set-up, provides users with an experience that differs from visitor to visitor, and contains more concise information no matter where one starts. While the *African American History in Colorado* exhibition does fall victim to the same fates as the *Double Victory* exhibition (such as not being able to fully replicate what a physical visit would accomplish), its organization and interface provide a more interesting experience. It simply feels more like an in-person visit, and its character is more appealing when viewed next to its linear counterpart. However, despite being overshadowed by other shows, the *Double Victory* exhibition still carries out its main goal of educating visitors on African Americans and their military service. The museum's mission statement is upheld in this presentation, and the information provided is valuable.

The NMAAHC was set up in 2003 by an act of the 108th Congress, which created the museum as part of the Smithsonian Institution to ensure the preservation of African American history and culture. The museum's founding director, Lonnie G. Bunch III, oversaw the production of the project and brought it to the public. Bunch is a successful author and had achieved success in museum work before. Collaborating with the Smithsonian in the past, Bunch has considerable experience in preparing historical exhibitions for tourists. When it came to implementing this museum's original vision, Bunch had literally nothing when he started: no archival materials or collections. Through determination and effort, he built the museum into what it is today, with over 40,000 historical objects (and counting). Bunch's goals are outlined on the museum's website. The museum aims to give opportunities for those interested in African American history a chance to learn, show visitors what it means to be an American, supply an outlet to educate museum-goers on how their cultures are influenced on a global scale, and serve as a place to preserve history. Looking at the *Double Victory* exhibition,

it is clear that the curator, Krewasky Salter, and his presentation uphold these goals. *Double Victory* not only supplies a chance for those interested in Black American history to learn more about subjects that are less familiar (such as African American military service), it also stands as a place to keep the story alive. Salter's background as a United States Army Colonel ensures an interpretation of events and objects that is grounded in reality. He knows the ins and outs of war and the topic of race in the military, and his experience is evident throughout the exhibition. Regardless of the online limitations, the exhibition successfully meets the NMAAHC's expectations and tenets.

As viewers journey on their virtual tour, they are greeted with an opening statement which outlines the purpose of the exhibition, namely to detail the history of African American service men and women and how their service "benefitted both their personal lives and their community." This is followed by a propaganda poster featuring an army of Black Americans who are standing symbolically behind their country ("Negroes and the War," 1942). While the poster is included to visualize the patriotism of African Americans, it also has a deeper history that is not revealed right away. Viewers can choose to explore the poster's true motives on the website's commentary. There, viewers learn that the United States Office of War Information (OWI) created this poster and many other sources of propaganda to persuade African Americans to join the fight during World War II. Chandler Owen, a prominent author and Civil Rights activist, was commissioned by the OWI to oversee the efforts to convince members of the African American community to enlist.

Further down the page, visitors are greeted by a section that is titled *Journey Through the Exhibition*. Here, viewers are presented with a map that they can click to read about different events, significant military service members, and battles. Arrows to the right and (after the first click) to the left serve as navigational tools. Each click moves the map to a different area and details the significance of the respective place and the impact of the African American soldiers who fought there. The first event celebrates the Haitian Patriots who "fought with the French and Americans during the Siege of Savannah in 1779," and the last event refers to 9/11 and what the future may hold for the United States military. The timeline includes familiar events and battles such as the War of 1812 and World War II, but there is also history that is not as well known, such as the Brownsville Affair of 1906, when U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt discharged 167 African American soldiers "without honor" because a White resident of Brownsville, Texas, had been killed, and the town's inhabitants had blamed Black soldiers for the death. This section is the most captivating. It is the only piece that provides animation, and the layout used for the map is the most developed out of the entire virtual exhibition. The information supplied for each segment (there are nineteen segments total) adds to the quality as well.

Continuing on through the exhibition, visitors encounter the *Double Victory Storylines*. This section is divided into three points, namely the "Struggle for

Freedom," "A Segregated Military," and "Stirrings of Change to a Colorblind Military." Each gives a brief summary of what it entails but nothing more. Although these topics could have been expanded, the basic information is useful. As viewers go past this, they approach two short videos (featuring historical footage), one about African American Medal of Honor recipients buried at Arlington National Cemetery (duration 01:30), and the other on African American Women's Auxiliary Corps Volunteers in 1944 (duration 00:41). Similar to the *Storylines* section, this part does not give much additional information on the topics. The videos are remarkably short, and the summaries provided do not add much to the overall product. These two parts are perhaps the weakest part of the exhibition. Other parts are more visually interesting and include more in-depth information on their given subjects.

The last two sections are titled *Exhibition Luminaries* and *Exhibition Objects*. The former, *Exhibition Luminaries*, deals with prominent African American military figures, showing a single photo for each and offering a terse summary of their background and significance. Similarly, *Exhibition Objects* offers single pictures with short captions, or so it seems. However, once viewers click on the "view more" button under each "luminary," they are taken to a page that has a more in-depth view of purportedly related objects and detailed descriptions of said objects. However, while the "luminaries" and "objects" sections are interesting by themselves, the connections between the two sections (for example when one clicks the "view more" button underneath each "luminary") is not always apparent. The luminaries include the second African American West Point graduate, Black chaplains, decorated African American members of the Armed Forces, and prominent individuals who served in the U.S. military (such as Alex Haley and Colin Powell). The objects include uniforms, medals, historical photographs, and the like.

Overall, the *Double Victory* exhibition achieves its goal of educating visitors on African American military service. It offers solid information on military history, and it can prove to be beneficial for anyone willing to learn. The "virtual" setbacks are outweighed by the positives. Keeping historical memories alive is more meaningful than the visual quality of a presentation. If it "does the job" of preserving history, it is successful, and this is exactly what this exhibition achieves. With a resurgence in racial tensions in the United States, African American history is more important than ever. Given the lack of education on Black history in our schools, we need more opportunities for all to learn about the subject outside of traditional educational settings. The *Double Victory* exhibition is recommended to all, no matter their background or interests. Its material is valuable, and visitors will obtain a better understanding of Black culture and history.

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*The Mausoleum Museum of the First Emperor of Qin [online exhibition]*.

Established by the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Bureau. Online exhibition/Lintong County, Shaanxi Province, China. 2013-present.

Touting itself as housing the eighth wonder of the world, the Emperor Qin Shi Huang's Mausoleum Museum talks a big game. Within its walls it holds the over 8,000-strong terracotta army which protects the mausoleum of Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of a unified China (r. 221 BC-210 BC) and founder of the short-lived Qin Dynasty. Established by the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Bureau, the museum stands as a state-priority protected site and is recognized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as a world heritage site. The online exhibition equivalent reviewed here was created in 2013 to preserve the mausoleum digitally and allow those unable to travel to China to see the terracotta warriors up close. This digital exhibition has recently taken on a whole new level of relevance as the COVID pandemic has made it nearly impossible to travel outside one's own country and visit exhibitions in general.

The discovery of the Qin Shi Huang's statue army was purely accidental. On March 29, 1974, farmers digging a well found pieces of terracotta figures and thus sparked the curiosity of Chinese archaeologists. Then began the discovery of the vast necropolis surrounding Emperor Qin Shi Huang's tomb which itself has not been excavated. This tomb and its necropolis make up the mausoleum which is supposed to be modeled after the ancient Qin capital of Xianyang. The first excavations in May 1974 led to the discovery of what is known as Pit 1 which contains the bulk of the terracotta army. Pit 2 houses statues of cavalry, infantry units, and war chariots, and seems to represent a military guard. Pit 3 appears to be the command post as it houses statues of high-ranking officers and a war chariot. Other pits contain figures of entertainers, such as acrobats and strongmen, rare animals and laborers, as well as bronze cranes and ducks set in an underground park. Ancient Chinese records indicate that work on the mausoleum began in 246 BC when Emperor Qin was thirteen, and it was regarded as an artistic funerary monument to serve and protect the emperor during the afterlife.

When you access the online site, your first impression may be slightly intimidating as you are bombarded with Chinese characters. Thankfully, due to advanced technology, you may be able to translate the webpage, and I was able to do so, using a Google Chrome web browser, and read the introduction to the digital exhibition on the left sidebar of the website, which also includes links to the main entry page (since the left sidebar stays in place while you explore) and a link to the museum's official website. The museum claims to have five pavilions and a total of forty-four pieces in its online collection, which can be seen on a horizontal scroll bar at the bottom of the page, although the main exhibition should be started by clicking the round "Start" button on the first page. As you enter the exhibition, you are presented with a dialog box that, although in Chinese, indicates with a picture that the mouse may be used to look around; the bottom toolbar of blue buttons with arrows and plus/minus symbols can also be used for navigation. The

initial view is stunning: it provides you almost with a bird's eye view of the pit with the terracotta warrior statues. This digital rendition is in high quality, and you can use the plus button to zoom in on the statues and lose almost no quality—even when zooming in on the ones furthest in the back.

The default opening view features three blue hexagons with plus signs that are clickable. This is where you may encounter one of the biggest issues. While my Chrome web browser was able to translate the introductory sidebar and the sidebars of any of the pieces that can be selected from the bottom of the screen, it did not translate any of the text of the application that is used to explore the exhibition itself. Clicking on any of the blue hexagons brings up a dialog box with a picture or pictures that you can scroll through, along with a Chinese caption at the bottom. Sadly, I was not able to translate the captions and could only admire and guess what the exhibition was trying to convey in the captions. Despite this inconvenience, the pictures included in these blue hexagon dialog boxes appear to illustrate the process of excavation.

You may take a 360-degree look around while exploring. In the initial view, looking behind you provides you with a picture of some onlookers, which highlights just how much closer you are to viewing these statues compared to if you were on location to see them in person. From the initial position, if you look to the ground to your right or left, you detect blue circles with arrows. Clicking on either of these arrows takes you face to face with the statues. Clicking left provides you with two more arrows, one pointing forward and the other pointing left, so you may explore further. If you continue using the left arrows, you encounter another arrow to continue your journey to the left, or an arrow going further inside the pit toward the statues. If you continue left you eventually get to a site on the left-hand side with two blue hexagons with plus signs that indicate informative dialog boxes—or at least informative if you know Chinese. Thankfully, the physical sign at the actual site on the left hexagon reads in English "site of the well," which seems to indicate that this is where the farmers in 1974 had dug their well which had led to the discovery of the terracotta pieces. The right hexagon dialog box (as its pictures suggest) seems to concern itself with the brickwork. If you continue on further to the left of this site, you end up with a face-to-face view of the statues.

If you decide to go forward, after clicking the initial left arrow, it takes you to a space in between the statues and furnishes you with an even more immersive view of the figures. On the bottom right corner of the stone block in this area, there is another blue hexagon, again in Chinese, which (as its pictures suggest) seems to indicate something about the footwear of the figures. From the initial first position of the left arrow, if you go left once more and then forward, you find yourself in a corridor-like section of the pit with a horse statue right next to you. The arrow taking you further down this corridor provides you with two additional blue hexagons, one apparently concerning some sort of chariot, the other dealing with the real bronze weapons that were discovered in these pits. If you choose to go

right from the initial position of entering the exhibition, you find yourself face to face with the statues, along with an informative blue hexagon and a blue arrow button to continue to the right. Continuing right brings you once more to the end of this side, with another face-to-face view of even more statues. Seeing these statues so close (compared to the visitors on the upper level) is a reminder of how special this virtual visit really is.

You might think that this is the end of the interactive portion of the exhibition, but by now you may have noticed a blue square to the right and slightly above the center. Clicking this blue square provides you with two maps with blue circles that contain eye symbols. The map on the left displays the pit we have just been viewing, and each eye represents one of the various positions you can assume in the interactive map. This offers you the opportunity to travel quickly between the different sections, and an animated, moving blue circle indicates the position in which you find yourself. That said, in my opinion you get a better feeling of moving around this place if you use the arrows: it is certainly more interactive than simply jumping around. The other feature of the blue square on which you have clicked is that it reveals a second pit which is indicated on the right-side map. Clicking on any of the blue circles that contain eye symbols transports you to this other pit, and you can either click on the other blue circles on the map to explore or elect to move around by using the arrows on the ground. This section is not too big, and it features more terracotta soldiers as well as some more horse figures.

Once done exploring, I decided to take a look at the items that are featured on the horizontal scroll bar at the bottom of the page. Clicking on any of these images brings up the image on the main screen with a description on the left sidebar. If you have already translated the page, the sidebar, too, should be translated into English. The only problem is that, when it is translated, some of the descriptions end up being longer than the length of the sidebar and there appears to be no way to scroll through the entire description. Fortunately, there are two square buttons on this side bar, one that reads "the explanation" and another that reads "see entry." If you click "the explanation" button, it provides you with what seems to be an audio recording of the description (although, unless you know Chinese, it is rather useless). Clicking on the "see entry" button leads you to a new webpage that has all the details of the respective object in Chinese, and this page can be translated by the browser. Returning to the museum webpage allows you to use your mouse as a magnifying glass to inspect the various objects more closely.

This signals the end of the exhibition. However, if you want to view more pictures or more details of the museum, you may click the link to the official website that is on the left-hand sidebar on the main page. Overall, this is an online exhibition well worth visiting. The interactive map that facilitates face-to-face views of the statues is exquisite, as one would not be able to view the figures this close in person. The detailed photographs of the collection on the lower horizontal scroll bar, along with the ability to use a digital magnifying glass, are powerful and allow you to view these fascinating pieces in detail. There are some drawbacks

though, the greatest one being the inability to translate the interactive program, which excludes those who do not know the language from reading the informative captions. In addition, as far as I can tell, the online exhibition itself does not provide the historical background information that I have included at the beginning of this review. Nonetheless, this exhibition is worth a visit, especially since it is simply a click away and houses such a grand collection. I would recommend this online museum to anyone interested in history in general, as the discovery of this site is significant enough to warrant everyone to know about it. If you like this exhibition, you should also consider virtual tours of other historic locations such Petra, Jordan, which even includes audio footage relaying facts of the site. Other historic locations worthy of a virtual tour are the Palace of Versailles (near Paris, France) or the Colosseum in Rome, Italy.

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## *Reviews (Films / Documentaries / TV Shows)*

*All Is True [film].*
*Directed by Kenneth Branagh. 2018.*

Sony Pictures Classics. 101 minutes.

What word would you use to describe the death of your son? I would use the word "tragedy," and I think that, when William Shakespeare's son died, he would have employed the same term. While we know Shakespeare for the tragedies he penned, we often overlook the tragedies of his actual life. They are not broadcast the same way as his actual plays, but moments like these—the artist's struggles—are the focus of the 2018 film *All Is True*. Director Kenneth Branagh, also the star of the film (as William Shakespeare), depicts the later years of Shakespeare's life by setting the film in 1613, three years before Shakespeare's death. While still showing deference to the prolific playwright/poet, *All Is True* highlights the struggles and mistakes of Shakespeare's life, such as being an absent father, coping with the death of his son, and his failures as a husband. The film courageously depicts Shakespeare the man, not Shakespeare the Bard.

*All Is True* begins in 1613 with Shakespeare's return from London to Stratford-upon-Avon, where he immediately wanders into the fields of tall brush in front of his sumptuous estate. There, he is reading from aged pages of handwritten poetry, purportedly written by his son, when a young boy appears and talks to him but then abruptly vanishes. This enigmatic beginning is clarified when the viewer finds out that Shakespeare is seeing a specter of his son, Hamnet, who had died at age eleven. Shakespeare struggles to cope with his son's death, much to his family's dismay. Having already mourned Hamnet's death back in 1596 when he had actually died, the family feels little sympathy for the father's belated mourning. Shakespeare had not been present when Hamnet died, nor had he attended his funeral. Rather, as Shakespeare's wife Anne (Judi Dench) reminds him, at that time he was in London, writing *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

The Shakespeare family is fraught with tension that William struggles to assuage. His relationship with his youngest daughter Judith (Kathryn Wilder), Hamnet's twin, is especially volatile. Judith resents William's mourning of Hamnet with fervent consternation, and she berates her father for clinging so desperately to the poems that Hamnet wrote as a child. She accuses Shakespeare of only caring about his son and having a lesser opinion of his daughters simply because they are women. She even goes so far as to say that the wrong twin died and that Shakespeare would have been happier if it had been her and not Hamnet. This tension comes to a climax in a dimly lit scene when Shakespeare screams about his regret of being absent for Hamnet's death. He bellows about the boy's brilliance as a poet which provokes Judith to yell, "Oh, Hamnet wasn't brilliant! He was beautiful, but he wasn't brilliant!" 00:53:02). Then, Shakespeare's reality is shattered when, in a rage, Judith reveals that she, not Hamnet, had created the

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poems. Hamnet had only written them down because Judith had never been taught to read or write. She then burns most of the pages, leaving only a few scraps for Shakespeare to cling to.

The film plays with fiction and history in the triangle of Hamnet, Judith, and William Shakespeare. There is much speculation about how Hamnet died, a salient theory being that he was killed by the Plague. Branagh uses this theory as a means to another end. In the film, Shakespeare believes that the Plague took his son, yet, when he consults the death registry to see his son's name, he finds only been six deaths that month. Such a low number would have been inconsistent with the Plague which would have taken dozens, if not hundreds, of lives. Shakespeare confronts Anne and Judith about Hamnet's actual death and finds out that his son committed suicide. Eleven-year-old Judith had told her twin brother that she was going confess to their father that the poetry was hers, not Hamnet's. Unable to bear disappointing his father, Hamnet then went to the local pond and drowned himself with the poems floating ominously around him on the water.

His failures as a father aren't the only focus, however. On his first evening home, Shakespeare is walking to bed with his wife when she abruptly stops him at the bedroom door. Anne tells William that he has spent so much time away from his family that he is a guest in his own home, and guests, she says, sleep in the guest bedroom (00:04:11). The couple struggles to rekindle any sort of love, especially because Anne holds a deep resentment against Shakespeare for his sonnets, even though these had been published illegally without the author's consent. The sonnets, centering on a man who loves both the Handsome Youth (male) and the Dark Lady (female), caused a deal of controversy for the Shakespeares. Bisexuality was not socially acceptable during Shakespeare's time, and Anne's reputation was slandered when these poems were published. She voices her anger, asking Shakespeare, "All these years, Will, worried about your reputation, have you even once considered mine?" (00:37:42).

The sonnets are another example of history meeting fiction in *All Is True*. The debate about the addressee of Shakespeare's sonnets is rife with controversy. Dedicated to the ambiguous Mr. W. H., the sonnets carry with them the mystery of who these initials represent. Branagh choses to portray the sonnets as intended for the Earl of Southampton, Henry Wriothesley (Ian McKellen). Shakespeare and Wriothesley share an intimate dinner by candlelight where Shakespeare admits that the sonnets are, indeed, for Wriothesley. Shakespeare recites sonnet 29, a poem about an insecure man who finds security in the thought of his lover. Branagh leads the audience to believe that this sonnet was written for Wriothesley. The Earl thanks Shakespeare for his deference, but he makes it clear that Shakespeare cannot love him, ever. The tense scene ends with Wriothesley reciting the poem back to Shakespeare, obfuscating his previous denial of their love, and then proceeds to exit. The last we see of the Earl is him galloping away on his horse at full speed.

Shakespeare does his best to mend his relationships with his family. After much struggle to reacquaint himself with them, Shakespeare finally comes to terms with his family and "becomes a Shakespeare" rather than a guest. His relationship with Judith and the deceased Hamnet comes to a resolution when Shakespeare gives Judith a penknife so that she can begin to write the poetry she so long ago was only able to speak to her brother. Shakespeare had carried this specific penknife every day since Hamnet's death because it was intended as a gift for the boy who—Shakespeare thought—was a poet. Releasing this penknife, a symbol for Shakespeare's regret about his son, to Judith represents Shakespeare relinquishing his guilt while also setting a new foundation for his relationship with his daughter. The tension between Anne and Shakespeare is resolved in this same scene. Thirty-one years earlier, Anne, unable to read or write, had signed their marriage license with a simple X instead of her name; fast-forward to the film's setting in 1613, she surprises William by presenting the marriage certificate to him and signing her own name.

What separates *All Is True* from many other films about Shakespeare or his plays is that Branagh does not valorize or romanticize Shakespeare. He shows Shakespeare as human, as prone to error. This is much different than, for example, *Shakespeare in Love* (1998) by John Madden, which romanticizes Shakespeare and his love affair with the fictional character Viola (an allusion to Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*). Shakespeare is young and virile in *Shakespeare in Love*, a much different representation than the older Shakespeare figure in *All Is True. A Waste of Shame* (2005) by John Mckay takes a quite different approach to the sonnets by dramatizing the story of the Dark Lady and the Handsome Youth and their relationship to Shakespeare. While *All Is True* does include a serious scene about the sonnets, how the sonnets came to be is not romanticized here, nor does it make up the plot of the film. Also, *All Is True* does not depict one of Shakespeare's plays, something Branagh has previously done, for example, in his adaptation of *Hamlet* (1996). No, this film focuses on the aftermath of Shakespeare's time as the Bard in London and presents him as fully human, fully fallible, and yet, still the genius that produced some of the most revered texts in history.

I truly enjoyed this film and its complex development of Shakespeare and all his mistakes. History and films typically romanticize Shakespeare—not as "a" bard, but as "the" Bard, the epitome of playwrights and poets. Branagh choses to swim against the current of mainstream Shakespeare representations and depicts him as a human capable of error, while still highlighting his talent and genius. There is a fair amount of ambiguity between history and fiction, but that adds some irony to the title of *All Is True*. The film stands as a historical account of how gender roles affect family values, family relationships, and relationships with the outside world. The film gives a unique account of the connection between literacy and gender through Shakespeare's volatile relationship with his daughter. So, if you are looking for a romanticized bard who charms all with his wit and poetry, then this is not the film for you. However, if you are looking for a complex

characterization of a brilliant mind that astonished the world while facing real-life issues such as losing a son and being estranged from his family, then grab your popcorn and enjoy.

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*The Assassination of Gianni Versace: American Crime Story [TV series]. Season 2. Directed by Ryan Murphy, Nelson Cragg, Gwyneth Horder-Payton, Daniel Minahan, and Matt Bomer. 2018.*

Ryan Murphy Productions; Color Force; Scott & Larry Productions; Brad Falchuk Teley-Vision; FX Productions; etc. 9 episodes (41-66 minutes).

There are very few names in the world that most people will recognize, and not many of these are associated with extravagance and wealth. Gianni Versace (1946-1997), an Italian fashion designer, may be one such name, for even if you are not a fashionista you have most likely heard the name. The name Versace has infiltrated mainstream media so deeply that popular musical artists mention the brand in their lyrics to emphasize their lavish lifestyles. Yet, despite the great fame of his name, many may not be aware of the tragic end to Versace's life, as he was assassinated in 1997 by a serial killer, Andrew Cunanan, right outside his Miami Beach home. Perhaps sensing this lack of awareness, the television channel FX decided to include this case in its "American Crime Story" series.

*The Assassination of Gianni Versace: American Crime Story* is FX's attempt to bring the story of Versace's murder to light and to present the history and mindset of the killer, Andrew Cunanan. It is directed by several notable individuals: Ryan Murphy, a six-time Primetime Emmy Award winner, who is best known for creating and producing popular television series such as *Glee* (2009-2015) and *American Horror Story* (2011-present); Nelson Cragg who worked on the first installment of the "American Crime Story" series, *The People vs. O. J. Simpson* (2016), and *American Horror Story* (2011-present); Gwyneth Horder-Payton who has directed notable shows such as *Fringe* (2008-2013), *The Walking Dead* (2010-present), and many more; Daniel Minahan who directed several episodes of *Game of Thrones* (2011-2019) and *Grey's Anatomy* (2005-present); and Matt Bomer, an American actor with a recurring role in *Chuck* (2007-2012) and winner of a Golden Globe Award for his role in *The Normal Heart* (2014), who made his directorial debut with *The Assassination of Gianni Versace*. The show is based on Maureen Orth's book *Vulgar Favors: Andrew Cunanan, Gianni Versace, and the Largest Failed Manhunt in U.S. History* (1999), which claims to relate all the known details of Andrew Cunanan and his killing spree.

While much of the show is based on Orth's book, each episode ends with the statement, "This series is inspired by true events and investigative reports. Some events are combined or imagined for dramatic and interpretive purposes. Dialogue is imagined to be consistent with these events." The Versace family has

distanced itself from the show, claiming that it is merely a work of fiction, but Ryan Murphy has responded to these statements by stating that the show is based on Orth's book which is a work of non-fiction and that the show merely adds some docudrama elements. Since both Versace and Cunanan are dead, as are the other victims involved, there is no way to ascertain the whole truth. The show consists of nine episodes, each ranging from 41 to 66 minutes in length, and is rated "Mature" due to language, smoking/drugs, suicide, violence, and hints of sexual abuse. I would not recommend *The Assassination of Gianni Versace* to those with weak stomachs as Cunanan's murders are shown in graphic detail, usually accompanied by eerie music that seeks to unsettle the viewer. The series also has a running theme of showing the struggles of the LGBTQ+ community, showcasing both Versace and Cunanan as gay men during the HIV/AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s.

*Episode 1*, "The Man Who Would Be Vogue," begins with a juxtaposition of Versace's and Cunanan's mornings on the day of the murder: Versace enjoys a comfortable start in his beautiful home and has a hearty breakfast by the poolside, while Cunanan spends his morning walking into the ocean where he screams his lungs out and then throws up in a dirty public toilet where he reads homophobic slurs written on the walls of the stall. This juxtaposition eventually leads to a climax as Cunanan sees Versace at the front door of his home and thus takes the opportunity to assassinate him. The show then jumps back to the year 1990 when Cunanan and Versace supposedly met. This incident has been the subject of considerable debate as the Versace family vehemently denies that the two ever met, and there are only confirming stories by those who heard about the meeting from Cunanan. This first episode also uses the opportunity to highlight some of the police incompetence that characterized the manhunt for Andrew Cunanan. The theme of homophobia is introduced when the police questions Versace's long-time partner, Antonio D'Amico, and is seemingly uncomfortable with the manner of their relationship. Then we are introduced to Donatella Versace, Gianni's sister, who was known to be very close with her brother. The episode ends with Cunanan seemingly reveling in all the news reporting of his murder of Versace.

*Episode 2*, "Manhunt," suggests that Versace was struggling with HIV, yet the Versace family has denied that Gianni ever had the disease and claimed that, although he was sick, he was suffering from cancer. The viewer is transported back to May 1997, and we get glimpses of Cunanan's charming personality and his penchant for tall tales as he tells his neighbor Ronnie Holston that Versace had proposed to him but that Cunanan had rejected him. The remainder of the episode deals with Cunanan stalking Versace and trying to discover a way to get to him, while also evading the police, and ends with him at a club telling another patron, "You know, I'm the person least likely to be forgotten," (51:16) suggesting that Cunanan was suffering from an inferiority complex, a theory that has been considered as the real Cunanan's motive for killing Versace as he may have felt that Versace was the epitome of everything he wanted to be and felt he deserved.

*Episode 3*, "A Random Killing," goes back a couple of months in time to focus on Cunanan's third victim, Lee Miglin, a property developer in Chicago. Although never proven, Orth believes that Miglin was a closeted gay or bisexual man who had a relationship with Cunanan, which ended with his murder. We also witness the murder of Cunanan's fourth victim, William Reese, who is shown to be shot by Cunanan in order to steal his truck. *Episode 4*, "House by the Lake," jumps to April 1997 and focuses on Cunanan's first and second murder victims, Jeffrey Trail and David Madson. The reason for Trail's murder, according to this series, is that Cunanan believed that Madson was his one true love, and therefore he would do anything to be with him and considered Trail as a threat. It is interesting to note that, at the time of Trail's actual murder, the police believed that Madson was involved, but Madson's name was cleared, which is why he is portrayed here as an uncooperating victim of Cunanan who eventually gets killed himself.

*Episode 5*, "Don't Ask Don't Tell," portrays the injustices suffered by the LGBTQ+ community during the 1990s. The episode focuses on Jeff Trail when he was a Navy Lieutenant. "Don't Ask Don't Tell" was a policy established in 1993, which essentially allowed gay Americans to serve in the military, but they could neither be asked about their orientation nor talk about it. In the episode, Trail eventually ends up at a gay bar where he meets and befriends Cunanan. The episode cuts back right before Trail's murder, when Cunanan is staying at his apartment, and they have an argument with Trail claiming that he wishes he had never walked into the bar where he met Cunanan. Cunanan then leaves for Madson's apartment, and from there he calls Trail to tell him that he has his gun, which then leads to the events depicted in the previous episode.

*Episode 6*, "Descent," cuts back to 1996, the year before Cunanan's killing spree. Here we witness Cunanan's lavish lifestyle thanks to the wealth of an older man, Norman Blachford, who appears to have some sort of sexual arrangement with Cunanan. Throughout the episode, we are reminded of Cunanan's vanity and compulsive lying as he tries to juggle his friends and clients all in one place. We also see instances of Cunanan using cocaine. During this episode, Madson tells Cunanan that he is not "the one" for him, which causes Cunanan to break down and use methamphetamine. Once he hits rock bottom, Cunanan returns to his mother, Mary Ann. We now start to see some of Cunanan's dysfunctional family. Cunanan eventually leaves and the eerie music that is usually associated with his murders is played as he drives away, signifying his "descent."

*Episode 7*, "Ascent," covers Gianni Versace trying to push his sister Donatella to come into her own as Gianni is unhealthy at this point in the flashback and believes he will have to leave his entire fashion business to her. Meanwhile, Cunanan is shown working unhappily at his part-time job. He tries to join an escort agency but is rejected and exclaims that he will sell himself. This eventually leads to his pursuit of Norman Blachford, his client in the previous episode. When packing up to move in with Norman, Cunanan tells his mother that, despite his earlier promises that he would take her wherever he would go, she cannot come

with him. When she gets slightly hysterical, he pushes her away, which leads to her fracturing her shoulder blade.

In *Episode 8*, "Creator/Destroyer," we get another juxtaposition of Versace's and Cunanan's respective upbringing. Versace was raised with the notion that success only comes with hard work and practice, and that it is never easy, which is why it is special. Cunanan, on the other hand, was spoiled and his father's favorite to the point that he was given the master bedroom to remind him that he was special and that "when you feel special, success will follow." (7:43) Modesto Cunanan, the father, is shown to be a cruel husband, telling his wife she has a weak mind for being depressed and physically abusing her. Modesto is also shown to have a penchant for lying, and the show implies that Cunanan's father sexually abused him, although there seems to be no evidence that this occurred in reality. The episode ends with Modesto falling from grace and fleeing the U.S. to go to the Philippines. Cunanan chases after him, believing that his father has a plan even though his mother tells him otherwise. What he finds is that his father has been lying all along, which makes Cunanan feel that he is also a lie. The episode ends with Cunanan applying for a part-time job.

In *Episode 9*, "Alone," Cunanan is evading the police while reveling in all the news coverage he is getting for Versace's murder, but his attitude quickly changes when he realizes that he is boxed in and losing his chances to escape. Here we get the show's most explicit statement concerning the injustices suffered by homosexuals as Ronnie Holston rants that nobody had cared to seriously try to catch Cunanan when he was killing "nobody gays," that Cunanan was only taken seriously once he had killed a celebrity, and that gays were complacent by hiding in the shadows while Cunanan was vain, not hiding, and actually "trying to be seen." (17:16) That Cunanan's motive was to strike back against homosexual injustice seems like a stretch as he, throughout the series, personally does not seem to suffer any injustice and seems more fixated on his delusions of grandeur. Once Cunanan realizes that there is no escape he opts for suicide. As he pulls the trigger, he recalls his encounter with Versace, and we get the continuation of their conversation with Versace rejecting Cunanan, thus apparently breaking Cunanan and his dreams. The episode ends with a final juxtaposition as Versace's cremated remains have their own private space on his estate while Cunanan's remains are left interred in a public mausoleum, seemingly lost among the other dead.

Overall, the series is fast paced, and to discover that many of the details of the murders, as well as some details of Cunanan's background, are historically quite accurate is refreshing. The series does feature a fair amount of conjecture, though. There is no evidence that Lee Miglin had a relationship with Cunanan; Trail and Madson are implied to be in a relationship in the series, but there is no evidence of this; and it is by no means certain that Cunanan and Versace ever met prior to the latter's assassination. In addition, Cunanan's autopsy revealed that he did not have HIV, and the details of Versace's illness remain unknown. Nonetheless, the actual murder events and Cunanan's history seem to be accurate. It is also rather

forward-thinking of FX to include the struggles of the LGBTQ+ community in this installment of "American Crime Story."

If you like thrillers or have a morbid curiosity with regard to the psychology of serial killers or are just looking for a decent television show to watch, *The Assassination of Gianni Versace* may be for you. If you like this show, I would suggest you also watch the first series of "American Crime Story," namely *The People vs. O. J. Simpson* (2016), which is also based on a book, *The Run of His Life: The People v. O. J. Simpson* by Jeffrey Toobin (1996), as well as the next installment of the series titled *Impeachment*, based on another one of Toobin's books, *A Vast Conspiracy: The Real Story of the Sex Scandal That Nearly Brought Down a President* (1999). There are also a number of historical documentaries or docu-series that investigate serial killers, such as *Conversations with a Killer: The Ted Bundy Tapes* (2019) or *Evil Genius* (2018) which follows the story of bank robber Marjorie Diehl-Armstrong. Whether you choose *The Assassination of Gianni Versace* or any of these others, you are "in" for great television.

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*Belly of the Beast [documentary film].*
*Directed by Erika Cohn. 2020.*

Idle Wild Films Inc; Independent Television Service. 82 minutes.

Although the human-rights violation of forced sterilization explored in Erika Cohn's *Belly of the Beast* (2020) may appear as contemporary, the fight for reproductive justice in America has a long history. The sexual autonomy of women of color has been violated by the United States government from the very beginning, with those at the intersection of Black, Latinx, Indigenous, disabled, mentally ill, LGBTQI, and immigrant identities facing the greatest violence. In the middle of the nineteenth century, enslaved Black women were subject to involuntary experimentation, without any administration of anesthesia, by notable American physicians, including Dr. J. Marion Sims who remains renowned as the father of modern gynecology. After slavery's abolition, initiatives to control reproduction in the Black community were far from halted and perhaps more pronounced than ever before. All forms of birth control, including sterilization and asexualization procedures, were viewed as the most cost-efficient means of curbing welfare costs in America, leading to a decrease in the birth rate of poor Black and non-Black children of color. With the passage of legislation, such as the Snyder Act of 1921 and the Indian Health Care Improvement Act of 1976, Indigenous women and underage girls as young as eleven were forcibly sterilized under the care of the Indian Health Service, a division of the United States Department of Health and Human Services. In the United States territory of Puerto Rico, Latinx women were not only used as test subjects for contraceptives but

experienced the highest rate of sterilization in the world: nearly a third of their total childbearing population was sterilized.

American culture and state-sanctioned unethical human experimentation have played a significant role, and the general public has been conditioned to overlook the intentional genocide of marginalized populations through forced sterilization. The Eugenics movement emerged in England in the late nineteenth century, spearheaded by scientist Sir Francis Galton. However, the Eugenics movement in America did not gain traction until the first half of the twentieth century, during World War II, and simply preyed on the existing racially biased attitudes of the American people. The movement produced propaganda which reiterated the biological inferiority of different marginalized populations on the basis of alleged, predisposed "degenerate" or "unfit" traits. It primarily rallied around the goal of segregating and institutionalizing "feeble minded" populations during their prime reproductive years until the realization took hold that reproductive surgeries would be comparatively less costly and entirely eliminate the respective women's ability to reproduce. The Eugenics movement in America garnered support in more ways than one from government officials, medical professionals, intellectuals of various racial backgrounds, and mainstream White feminist movement figures, including Margaret Sanger, the co-founder of the birth control movement. Although Indiana adopted the nation's first sterilization law in 1907 and the 1924 Immigration Act encouraged sterilization as a solution to preserve the United States' racial makeup, it was the 1927 decision in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Buck v. Bell* (274 U.S. 200) that undoubtedly opened the door to legislation at a national level which enabled the mass compulsory sterilization of marginalized groups, especially those who were both female and incarcerated.

There are misconceptions that America replicated segregationist ideology and Eugenics procedures of Nazi Germany when, in fact, Germany actually followed California's example. California was running the largest sterilization regime in all of the states, legally performing over 20,000 tubal ligation and hysterectomy surgeries in hospitals, mental institutions, prisons, and other systems of confinement between 1909 and 1979. While California's sterilization law was repealed in 1979, the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) continued to forcibly perform tubal ligations and hysterectomies on incarcerated individuals without consent up until 2013.

"When they say the CDCR is the Belly of the Beast, it is literal." (01:15:03) *Belly of the Beast* is a 2020 documentary film which uncovers modern-day Eugenics and medical negligence in California women's state prison facilities. It centers on the story of Kelli Dillon and her historical case against the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. Dillon had undergone a hysterectomy unknowingly while incarcerated at the age of twenty-four. The film begins with footage of California's Central Valley with a voiceover by Kelli Dillon. She recalls her initial impression of the grasslands, decades earlier, when she entered the Central California Women's Facility after shooting and killing her husband in self-

defense. The screen shifts between blurred images of the Central California Women's Facility and Kelli Dillon's 2008 deposition video for her case against the CDCR. Dillon had initially visited the infirmary because of abdominal pain. Her time with the prison doctor quickly turned a mere initial examination into a series of biopsies, ending with her coercion into a surgical procedure. Dillon describes the process of filling out consent forms just minutes before the surgery, demonstrating that it is impossible for any incarcerated person to decipher and comprehend such paperwork and make an informed decision. After her surgery, Dillon experienced the classic symptoms of early menopause and made the decision to contact Cynthia Chandler of *Justice Now*, Inc., an organization which provides legal advocacy and resources for community organizing to formerly and currently incarcerated women. Upon Chandler's visit to the Central California Women's Facility, it became clear that a hysterectomy had been performed on Dillon by the prison surgeon, confirming suspicions of potential malpractice. Dillon then turned to direct community action inside the prison, relaying legal resources to other women who had similarly experienced reproductive injustice and connecting them to *Justice Now*.

Though Dillon did not win her case against the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, her fight for justice eventually resulted in the 2014 passage of SB-1153 in California and brought national media attention to the long-standing institutional phenomenon of forced sterilization abuses within systems of confinement. *Belly of the Beast* incorporates testimony from women who were formerly or are currently incarcerated, some with nearly identical stories to that of Kelli Dillon, from investigative journalists, and from former CDCR nurses. The film maintains impartiality through layers of objective evidence and the inclusion of counter perspectives, including those of the CDCR, the California Prison Health Care Services Federal Receiver, and more. It not only includes footage of several hearings but also individual interviews and written statements.

*Belly of the Beast* also explores Dillon's process of community reentry after her release from prison, as she is trying to come to terms with the fact that fifteen years of her life have been spent incarcerated, away from her now adult children and elderly mother. Dillon discusses the process of reclaiming her body, navigating self-worth, reconnecting with her sons, and serving as an advocate against domestic and community violence. Chandler also tells her story in the film and addresses the time, resources, and emotional intensity of longtime community organization involvement whilst balancing single motherhood. Even considering the success of SB-1153, Dillon and Chandler both acknowledge that the fight for reproductive justice is nowhere near over. The film ends with a preliminary 2019 hearing for AB-1764, a combined effort by Dillon, Chandler, and others who are demanding reparations for all of California's forced sterilization survivors, as the outro of Mary J. Blige's "See What You've Done" fades into the background. At the very end, the film discloses in white text on a black screen that, despite the fact that there is a federal ban against forced sterilization surgeries, systems of

confinement across the United States continue to sterilize incarcerated individuals without their consent for the purpose of birth control.

*Belly of the Beast* is more than an exposé of the United States' extensive history of forced sterilization and of human-rights violations in the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. It prompts reflection about the nation's punitive approach toward incarceration and perception of incarcerated individuals' humanity or, more transparently, lack thereof. It also provides powerful insight into topics like trauma, motherhood, domestic violence, and community organizing. Though the content may be unsettling or potentially triggering for younger audiences and those directly impacted by the criminal justice system, it is a must-see for all. The film could have delved further into America's history of Eugenics with regard to other marginalized populations through government sanctioned programs, however, it rightfully opts out of doing so to avoid decentralizing the experiences of incarcerated individuals.

Amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, the film made its debut internationally on the first night of the 2020 Human Rights Watch Film Festival New York Digital Edition and was released commercially months later in United States theaters on October 16, 2020. It was first broadcast on PBS's Independent Lens series on November 23, 2020. *Belly of the Beast* is directed by Erika Cohn, a director and producer best known for her Emmy-nominated documentary *In Football We Trust* (2018) and her Peabody-Award-winning documentary "*The Judge* (2017). *Belly of the Beast* was produced by Cohn's Idle Wild Films, Inc., with coproduction from the Independent Television Service.

If reproductive injustice, medicine, and law are topics of interest to you, the documentary film *No Más Bebés* and "The State of Eugenics" episode of the television series *Reel South* are other pieces of media especially recommended. *No Más Bebés* (2015) focuses on the lived experiences of Mexican immigrant women who were forcibly coerced into sterilization procedures at Los Angeles County's USC Medical Center during the 1960s and 1970s, whilst following their federal class action lawsuit of *Madrigal v. Quilligan* (decided 1978). "The State of Eugenics" (2016) addresses the stories of disabled men and women who are survivors of either sterilization or asexualization procedures in North Carolina's distinct Eugenics regime. North Carolina journalists and legislators provide additional testimonies as the documentary follows the push for accountability by providing reparations for survivors.

*Belly of the Beast* forces viewers to dwell upon how prejudice, perhaps even their own prejudice, is weaponized to justify human-rights violations against vulnerable populations, including those documented in the film.

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*Cable Girls/Las chicas del cable [TV series]. Seasons 1-5.*
*Directed by Carlos Sedes, David Pinillos, Antonio Hernández, Roger Gual, and Manuel Gómez Pereira. 2017-2020.*

Netflix; Bambú Producciones. 42 episodes (35-63 minutes each).

In the "roaring twenties," Madrid became a prominent center of technology, culture, and innovation. With millions of people flooding into urban areas, women sought employment and other opportunities unavailable to them in rural regions or past centuries. This newfound independence in Madrid is expressed through four young women who make their start as associates. To combat the toxic masculinity and oppression rampant in 1920s Europe, these young professional women develop an irreversible bond of sisterhood. This is where the characters find themselves in this Spanish Netflix original television series, *Las chicas del cable*.

Originally airing on April 27, 2017, the series concluded with its fifth and final season on July 3, 2020. The executive producers, Ramón Campos and Gema R. Neira, previously worked on other popular productions in Spain, like the series *Gran Hotel* (2011-2013) and the film *Fariña* or *Cocaine Coast* (2018), with Campos also being the founder and head of Bambú Producciones since 2007. *Las chicas del cable* is rated TV-14 in the United States for violence, gore, profanity, and drug use, which one would expect from any good period drama.

I would describe this series as a high-budget soap opera, set in a fictional world, but based on possible experiences of the time. The intended audience is clearly modern and progressive, especially with the emphasis on female empowerment. The women in this series are able to get out of nearly any situation they find themselves in. Each of the main four characters, the ones on the cover posters, have negative encounters with the Spanish patriarchy. The first, Lidia Aguilar, is a *femme fatale* black-haired ex-criminal who was falsely accused of murder at the beginning of the series; yet, rather than being sent to prison, the corrupt police chief requires her to steal the vault contents of the National Telephone Company. This leads her to go to the newly built company and join as a cable girl. While there, to gain more information, she befriends fellow female co-workers. To her surprise, she slowly learns about their lives and they eventually become real friends. Marga Suarez is a quirky shy girl with high morals who has a crush on the accountant, Pablo, who later cheats on his fiancée with her. Carlota Senillosa is the daughter of a decorated general who refuses her to have a job or enjoy the Madrid nightlife. However, she not only becomes a cable girl but develops a three-way relationship with her boyfriend Miguel and her boss Sara (later revealed as Óscar). Ángeles Vidal is a sweetheart with a daughter named Sofia and a husband named Mario, who is not only abusive but insists she stop working at the telephone company because he has been cheating on her with many of the employees there. The four women conquer the city, and express themselves freely as no woman had truly been able to do up until that point. They not only explore the vibrant town, live in communal apartments, and partake in club and

bar life, but also stand up for themselves against their bosses to gradually assert their rights as humans, as they become an integral player in communication throughout Spain. As *Season 1* closes, Lidia romances the son of the owner, Carlos Cifuentes, to gain access to the vault, which quickly turns into an actual romance. Yet, the owner's son-in-law, Francisco Gómez, was Lidia's lover back when she was known as Alba and they escaped to Madrid as teenagers, thus endangering her newfound identity. She succeeds, but at a cost to her cable-girl life.

The company and building itself is based on the Compañía Telefónica Nacional de España which was established in 1924, now simply known as Telefónica. It was the only telephone operator in Spain until 1997, and its building (as seen in the series) was Madrid's first skyscraper. To this day, it stands strong, now serving a different purpose as it houses a museum with cable-girl-era relics. Even before the days of the internet, this series proves how rapid gossip can travel through an urban area. They are able to plot, scheme, and talk freely about whoever they want in the shadows, because they are the means of communication and the only ones who would otherwise be listening in on calls. Throughout the series, we see the ladies making personal phone calls, or even listening in on private conversations for extortion, either helping the police or lining their own pockets. Without communication, at a time when people could easily be unfindable, the city is blind. Whoever controls the National Telephone Company controls the manner in which the people of Madrid can communicate and organize. This aspect of telephone-operator life is presented in *Season 2* when they monitor the police lines after killing Mario in self-defense. Avoiding the police is that season's story arc, but it is shadowed by a love triangle between Carlos, Francisco, and Lidia who gets pregnant with Carlos's baby while competing for designing the new telephone booth system. The Madrid bar across the street was not only a hub of meetings for everyday citizens but also a place for the cable girls to unite and plan a strike against the new owner's increased security restrictions. Their ease of gathering in the city leads to a weakening of the regulations. Lidia is nearly forced to have an abortion by Carmen Cifuentes, Carlos' mother, but Carlos saves her just in time.

A fire breaks out at the beginning of *Season 3*. During the wedding of Lidia and Carlos, his jealous mother Carmen steals their baby from the smoldering church. The church, which typically brings the families together and serves as the urban center and the place of worship and community, is quickly destroyed. The rest of the season bounces between relationship issues, staunch political activism, and Lidia trying to find her daughter Eva. It is during this season that the *Caballeros del Orden* arrive at Carlos's new radio station to halt the charged feminist broadcast of Carlota whose radio name is Athena. These knights who are "against anything that attacks tradition or the natural order of things"—in other words, the organization against woman's suffrage—are later violently attacked by Carlota's suffragette friends who are able to muster support through secret meetings at work, bars, or abandoned movie theaters. These suffragettes doom the company building by filling it with bombs and armed women during King Alfonso XIII's

visit. Our main characters are able to sneak the police in through the sewers but, unfortunately, the radicals are able to hit the bomb timers before being arrested.

When the building explodes during the *Season 3* finale, a shift takes place, making this series less about the life of 1920s cable girls than the drama it has already been. While the building is reconstructed by the next episode—thanks to the powers of movie magic, the common women's stories no longer center around the actual cable girls. Entering a new decade, the characters are new, too. The "girls" have moved up in the world, and the challenges they face no longer reflect those of ordinary women who have to deal with objectification from men while slowly carving a way for themselves in their working environment. The ladies, once cable girls, have become part of the bourgeois establishment—an establishment that no longer represents a cultural history overlooked by most. Rather, the series now explores the lives of LGBTQ people—which has some historical precedent, considering the rise in openly gay expression in the late 1920s and the first transgender surgery taking place in 1917—or the love affairs of people with power, money, and devilishly attractive looks. Those who find love triangles and overdone drama amusing will find this a truly worthy Netflix series to binge.

Carlota begins *Season 4* as a valiant activist who is running for mayor of Madrid in 1931, the year women win the right to vote in Spain. However, she becomes entangled in her opponent blackmailing her and is blamed for his subsequent murder. The entire season turns into a murder mystery, and the women become involved in the discovery of the true murderer. While intercepting police cars, sneaking into hospitals, and finding witnesses before they get "suicided" (i.e., murdered but made to look like suicide victims), Lidia tries to help Francisco out of a coma and to prevent Carmen from stealing her baby again. The 1930s detective and prison agencies are placed into the foreground; the last episode has our characters break Óscar (formerly Sara)—who had pleaded guilty so his lover could be free—out of prison by pretending to be a performing troupe and starting a riot. Unfortunately, Ángeles is killed during this break and her last words plead to protect her daughter Sofia. Lidia then takes Francisco, Ava, and Sofia to live in the safety of New York City. With the end of the fourth season comes a less looked-upon historical moment for urban Spain, the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

In *Season 5*, we witness an authentic recreation of Madrid and its personal afflictions during the Spanish Civil War. Bombs fly after Lidia's arrival. There are craters all over the streets. Madrid is crumbling or on fire. The elaborate art-deco buildings are reduced to blocks of stone. How the city continues to function while under siege is exemplarily presented in this television series. It is already nearly three years into the siege of Madrid—1939, with Francisco Franco's fascist forces gaining on the capital city, yet the citizens keep their morale high. Even in the face of soaring bombers, government lockdown, and troops in the streets, we witness our main characters on their quest to save Sofia, who has run away to fight for her homeland, while maintaining their businesses and going to bars to lighten their mood. Marga, while talking with Lidia about how they can survive this new

Madrid, argues that they do not have a choice: they can either go insane, or they can give names to the bombers overhead and sleep with their clothes on in case they have to run to a bomb shelter. One bomber, they call *El Churrero* (the Churro vendor) because "it always comes early in the morning." A wartime city always piques the interest of historians, especially this one, for the daily dynamics differ drastically from casual civilian living. The Republican forces establish illegal temporary military prisons and torture facilities to gain information on the encroaching Nationalist forces. From the perspective of *Las chicas del cable*, the Nationalists or fascist faction are a push-back against the excessive progressive movements of the late 1920s and early 1930s, which is expressed by the soldiers' interactions with the main characters. As Lidia finds a way to locate Sofia, she comes across Carlos, whom she had abandoned to live in freedom in New York, as a Colonel in the Republican Army. He begrudgingly agrees to help get her back from the front lines, after he is blackmailed for being a traitor. Madrid eventually falls to the Nationalists, and the series steers toward its final episodes which are not summarized here to provide a little bit of a cliffhanger.

Behind every backstab, every meeting, and every romance, the main character driving the plot is the city of Madrid. Without migration from the countryside, many of these women would have been destined to raise children on a farm or serve as maids in bourgeois households. The labor demands of the modern industrialized city brought change to the social fabric of Europe, which we can, thankfully, experience vicariously in *Las chicas del cable*.

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*Chernobyl [TV miniseries].*
*Directed by Johan Renck. 2019.*

HBO. 5 episodes (59-72 minutes each).

"Where I once would fear the cost of truth, now I only ask: What is the cost of lies?" HBO's miniseries *Chernobyl* dramatizes the events of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster. Created and written by Craig Mazin and released in 2019, it represents one of the few high-budget dramatizations of the disaster ever created. Mazin is mostly known for his work on comedy films of questionable quality such as *Scary Movie 3* (2003), *Scary Movie 4* (2006), and *The Hangover, Part II* and *Part III* (2011 and 2013). *Chernobyl* marks Mazin's first foray into historical drama and it is, simply put, a masterful entry point. The series is comprised of five episodes, titled "1:23:45," "Please Remain Calm," "Open Wide, O Earth," "The Happiness of All Mankind," and "Vichnaya Pamyat."

*Episode 1*, "1:23:45," begins with the same haunting tone that characterizes the entire series and portrays Valery Legasov's suicide. Legasov was the Soviet

inorganic chemist who acted as the chief of the commission that investigated the Chernobyl disaster. The whirring of a tape recorder precedes Legasov's tired, rasped voice musing about events and crimes yet to be seen by the audience. After recording his final account of the disaster's corrupt handling and delivering the tapes to what is assumed to be a drop-off point, Legasov hangs himself on April 26, 1988, exactly two years after the original nuclear accident. At this point, the audience realizes that the language in which this historical drama will be delivered is English, not Russian. We are then taken to one minute before the 1986 explosion of Reactor 4, to the inside of the home of Vasily Ignatenko, a Pripyat fireman. As Vasily's wife, Lyudmilla, walks past her high-rise window at exactly 1:23:45 a.m., the camera view holds on the sliver of night-time Pripyat that can be seen, and in the distance a facility ignites in a brilliant, massive explosion. The blast rocks the apartment and surrounding buildings, waking Vasily and prompting him to observe the complex from afar with his wife. A beautiful blue ray of ionization pierces the Russian night sky. Vasily and Lyudmilla are both completely unaware of what has just happened. The Chernobyl disaster has begun.

In the world of nuclear physics, the organic manifestation of severe radiation poisoning rears its head in the form of a metallic taste in one's mouth. Among the confusion and nervous dialogue between the operators of Chernobyl's Reactor 4, following the mysterious explosion in their complex, senior engineer Leonid Toptunov whispers to night shift supervisor Aleksandr Akimov, "Do you taste metal?" Deputy chief engineer Anatoly Dyatlov, a character named and condemned in Legasov's final recordings, leaves the control room moments later to gaze upon the lower roof of Reactor 4 to see the result of what he had only minutes earlier asserted as impossible: glowing, burning graphite. Dyatlov had earlier discounted the frantic testimony of a reactor operator that the mysterious explosion was that of Reactor 4's core. Dyatlov now sees the result of his alleged "impossibility" with his own eyes, namely the graphite used in the reactor's cooling rods burning on the roof. While Dyatlov contacts his superiors for guidance, the reprimanded reactor operators scramble in an ultimately futile effort to mitigate the invisible devastation taking place.

With operators being compromised at the molecular level by an amount of radiation twice that of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, seeing at least two operators severely burned by the radiation and asserting that the core has exploded, and witnessing the explosion's logical aftermath with his own eyes, Dyatlov orders the day-shift staff and the fire brigade to check into the complex and leaves for the administration building. The fire brigade, with Vasily among them, arrives to a massive fire and billowing smoke, resembling a scene directly from a war film. Vasily's comrade in the fire brigade picks up a strangely shaped black mineral which within moments begins to dissolve his hand. Despite this, Vasily presses on into the complex to complete his ordered duty. In the administration building, after a meeting between Dyatlov, plant manager Viktor Bryukhanov, chief engineer Nikolai Fomin and other high-ranking officials from

the Energy Committee, Anatoly Sitnikov is forcibly sent to the reactor roof, the figurative "eye of the storm," to confirm rejected testimony that he, too, had seen expelled graphite. Sitnikov, Dyatlov, Vasily, the Reactor 4 operators, and dozens more suffer from and exhibit symptoms of acute radiation disease by the end of the episode. Legasov, meanwhile, is summoned to a meeting in Moscow to aid in handling the disaster. The episode ends with life continuing as usual in Pripyat, all completely unaware of the invisible poison saturating the air they breathe.

*Episode 2*, "Please Remain Calm," ushers in the larger cycle of the disaster's mishandling. It begins seven hours after the original explosion with the recording of a poem by Soviet author Konstantin Simonov. During the recording, we are introduced to a mural of two men grasping and harnessing what seems to be the atom and nuclear energy itself. Once the recording is cut short, we are introduced to Ulana Khomyuk working at the Byelorussian Institute for Nuclear Energy in Minsk. After analyzing a sudden, bizarrely high radiation alert, Ulana's begins her own investigation into the mysterious events that are taking place.

After a brief, but haunting visit to Pripyat's hospital where the first Chernobyl victims are being treated—Vasily, Akimov, and Toptunov among them—we are transported to Moscow where Legasov now patiently waits to join the Soviet council meeting handling the disaster. During his wait, Legasov receives a field report from Pripyat that suddenly, with one single detail, escalates the gravity of the situation by a crushing degree: the discovery of a smooth black mineral. The meeting reflects the entire mishandling of the accident: misinformation, minimization, and unwarranted calmness. When Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party and leader of the Soviet Union at the time, swiftly adjourns the meeting after receiving minimized misinformation from the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Boris Scherbina, Legasov intervenes. Legasov asserts that the smooth, black mineral found on the ground is graphite, and graphite is found in only one place in the entire complex, namely, the reactor's core. Legasov and Scherbina are then tasked with ascertaining the threat level on site, as well as devising a plan to control the damage.

Earlier in the series, Brukhyanov, Fomin, and Dyatlov had reported that dosimeters were gauging radiation levels at Chernobyl at 3.6 Roentgen per hour, the radiation equivalent of about 400 X-rays. Fully in line with all the deceptive misinformation, the dosimeters they used maxed out at 3.6 Roentgen per hour. Once on site, Legasov and Scherbina learn that the true level of radiation at the Chernobyl complex is 15,000 Roentgen per hour, twice the level of radiation expelled by the nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 per hour. Once the level of severity is finally accounted for and understood, mitigating the disaster and its consequences begins and the show's pace accelerates.

The episode continues by portraying two measures of damage control: dousing the fission fire within the reactor with about 5000 tons of boron and sand, and the evacuation of Pripyat. During this time, Khomyuk learns of a complication with regard to Legasov's dousing plan that prompts her to immediately travel to

Chernobyl. A reservoir of about 7000 cubic meters of water lies beneath the reactor core and directly in the path of descending, freshly melted boron and sand. Khomyuk, after confronting Legasov and Scherbina with this information, explains to a council of Soviet officials and Gorbachev that the contact between the radioactive lava and water would instantly superheat the water and cause a thermo-nuclear blast of about two to four megatons. Such a blast would eject enough radioactive material into the air to render entire nearby countries uninhabitable and skyrocket cancer rates throughout the Eastern hemisphere. In light of this information, a dangerous mission to drain the water and expose three plant workers to lethal doses of radiation takes place, ending the episode.

The success of the draining operation introduces *Episode 3*, "Open Wide, O Earth." In one of the show's few moments of celebration, Legasov and Scherbina look upon the three volunteers surrounded by applauding comrades. Alcohol is dispersed, fists are thrown into the air, and smiles are traded only to be followed by the grim reality that Scherbina and Legasov are all but certain of: they are looking at dead men walking. The theme of success, safety, and happiness, followed by crushing reality, carries through the entirety of *Episode 3*. The efforts to douse the fire in Reactor 4 and drain the reservoir are ultimately successful, however, the temperature inside the core continues to rise, beginning the process of the meltdown. Whereas the contact between the reservoir water and the lava inside the core would have created a massive explosion, the contact between the lava and the groundwater beneath the entire complex would poison the water supply for nearly 50 million people. In addition to this new complication, Legasov lays out to Gorbachev the profound decontamination efforts which will require 750,000 men, two years of labor, and inevitable deaths due to exposure. Although frustrating enough in itself, the figurative logistical marathon required to mitigate the disaster's pervasive consequences pales in comparison to the physical consequences of the Chernobyl disaster portrayed in this episode.

Although Legasov, Scherbina, and Khomyuk are moving forward with controlling the situation, there is a clear underlying desire to understand the circumstances that had led to the original explosion. Confiding in Khomyuk, Legasov sends her to Moscow's Hospital 6 to which many of the reactor operators, as well as Vasily, have been transported. It is in this hospital, during Khomyuk's mission, that the full horror of Chernobyl can be witnessed: Toptunov, Akimov, and Vasily are seen in what can be described as a living hell. Their skin has begun to melt, and open sores riddle their bodies; they are decomposing alive.

After gathering testimony from Toptunov and Akimov and being arrested by the KGB for threatening to disseminate information about misconduct by the Hospital 6 staff, Khomyuk shares pivotal information about the night of the original explosion with Legasov. Khomyuk describes that a failsafe measure, normally reserved to completely neutralize the awesome energy of a nuclear reactor, inversely caused the explosion. Perplexed, Legasov and Khomyuk agree to pursue the possibility of what had previously considered to be impossible.

"Open Wide, O Earth" ends with Vasily's funeral. Set into a wooden casket and encased within a metal coffin, Vasily is lowered into a mass grave. Lyudmilla, who has just lost her husband and the father of her unborn child, looks on as cement further entombs her beloved.

The decontamination and further evacuation processes take up most of *Episode 4*, "The Happiness of All Mankind." Gears are shifted to the perspectives of decontamination laborers Bacho, Mikhail, and Pavel. The duties of these men in particular are simple: kill and destroy irradiated animals within the exclusion zone. In what proves to be one of the most difficult episodes to watch, the most innocent pay the ultimate price of the disaster. Back at the Chernobyl reactor, Legasov and Scherbina orchestrate a plan to remove the irradiated lead from the complex roof in order to safely entomb the entire building with protective shielding. Beginning with a failed attempt to use an unmanned police robot, the plan ultimately demands the risk and sacrifice of human lives we are, by now, accustomed to seeing in this show. Crews are sent onto the "hot" roof to pick up and toss the lead, which had practically melted a man's hand earlier in the series, into the open reactor for no more than 90 seconds. Decontamination efforts, as well as the efforts of enlisted miners to create a heat exchanger between the groundwater and melting core, make substantial progress over the course of months to the point that celebrations begin. While Chernobyl's immediate and short-term danger has been resolved, the audience is now left with the question that must be answered: How did Reactor 4 explode?

At the end of this penultimate episode, Scherbina, Khomyuk, and Legasov meet in a remote building in abandoned Pripyat in an effort to avoid the monitoring KGB operatives. During this meeting, an upcoming trial in Vienna and Legasov's contribution to the prosecution is discussed, as is the cause of Reactor 4's explosion. In the course of her research, Khomyuk has come across a heavily redacted paper published to ascertain risks in RBMK reactors (the reactor type of Chernobyl's reactors as well as sixteen other nuclear energy complexes). Once Khomyuk reveals this paper to Legasov, his expression projects a profound emotion of guilt and, far worse, familiarity.

An RBMK reactor uses boron-cooling rods to stabilize reactivity and control heat within its core. This seems straightforward, especially since boron was one of the main elements dropped into the core to douse the fission fire. However, Legasov reveals a fundamental flaw with regard to these cooling rods that had originally been suppressed by Russian government officials: the tips of the rods are made of graphite, the element used to increase reactivity. If a reactor core has enough cooling rods pulled all the way out and reinserted, this creates superheated steam and sudden reactivity: an explosion. The RBMK reactor failsafe, AZ-5, the same failsafe triggered by Akimov on the night of the accident, is designed to insert all cooling rods into a reactor at once. Khomyuk urges Legasov to reveal this fatal flaw in Vienna, the public trial that the world would witness, in order to force the Soviet Union's hand in retrofitting the remaining

flawed reactors. Scherbina ultimately convinces Legasov to seek a deal with the KBG that would repair the reactors in exchange for his silence on the fatal flaw to protect himself and his loved ones from the state.

*Episode 5*, "Vichnaya Pamyat," (Eternal Memory) finds Legasov at odds with his morality and his natural desire to survive, but begins twelve hours before the disaster in Pripyat. In this memory, the show's main characters are seen going about their daily lives with an undeniably discomforting sense of normalcy. Lyudmilla and Vasily are out with their neighbors, Sitnikov smokes a cigarette with his wife in a promenade, and Reactor 4 operators play with their children. Among the players, we see Dyatlov, Bryukhanov, and Fomin lay the foundation for the horror to come. We learn that, after three failed tests over three years, Dyatlov, Bryukhanov, and Fomin selfishly sought to improve their status in the Party by planning to run an unapproved, dangerous, low-power contingency test. Later that night, the events of April 26, 1986 begin. Legasov is shown purchasing a newspaper and cigarettes in Germany when he is summoned to speak with Charkov, the head of the KGB, about his compliance with their suppressive wishes. At the Vienna trial, Legasov had asserted that "operator error" had caused the disaster, but the Russian trial is where Legasov takes his stand, and we discover the truth of Chernobyl's circumstances.

After Khomyuk's and Scherbina's testimony in the Russian prosecution of Dyatlov, Bryukhanov, and Fomin, Legasov vividly details the process of nuclear power, as well as the process of its mishandling. Step by step, and in some cases second by second, Legasov delivers a concise and damning timeline of events on the night of the accident—with dramatized scenes accompanying his narrative. The low-power contingency test, executed under poor circumstances, dropped the nuclear core's power to a critically low level. Then, after attempts to reactivate the core had spiked the energy levels, Akimov initiated the AZ-5 failsafe function. In what is perhaps the most powerful moments in the show, Legasov asserts that the insertion of the cooling rods took Reactor 4 to over 33,000 megajoules. It was designed to operate at 3200 megajoules. After his testimony and condemnation of the Soviet mishandling of RBMK reactors, Legasov is confronted by Charkov, who then strips him of his position, confines him to solitary life, and erases his contribution to the disaster's mitigation from Soviet records. The series ends with Legasov being driven out of the courthouse, seeing Khomyuk and Schrebina for the last time. Legasov then asserts once more: "Where I once would fear the cost of truth, now I only ask: What is the cost of lies?"

*Chernobyl* offers a cautionary tale of natural and moral proportions. The disaster's human toll is concisely portrayed throughout the series, but what chills us to the core is the simple fact that mismanagement caused much of it all. Human interests—individuals seeking more power in their positions or an entire nation protecting its own image—are juxtaposed with the price of greed.

Like many Hollywood dramatizations, *Chernobyl* takes certain liberties, however, overall it seems to be on the more "conservative" side of it all. Imagining

dialogue between actors, assessing contributions, and understanding the true progression of a tragedy that has deliberately been obscured can be difficult. Ulana Khomyuk, the scientist aiding Valery Legasov in his investigation in this HBO series, is a fictional character, created to portray the real-life group of scientists who played pivotal roles in investigating and mitigating the accident. Although the atmosphere, character portrayals, and statistical information are consistent, there are several aspects of the show's portrayal that have been challenged by Russian historians and those who witnessed and participated in the events of the Chernobyl disaster. The overbearing "Russian stereotypes," including an unrealistic portrayal of KGB influence and Russian ruthlessness, have caused some negative reception as well.

Ultimately, Craig Mazin's *Chernobyl* is as haunting as its message is relevant to general morality. Bolstered by stellar acting, beautiful set pieces, and solid pacing, the series offers fantastic historical drama. With regard to factual accuracy, many of the challenged aspects of the show do not detract from the overall impact of what it gets right. There are few works that can be compared to *Chernobyl*, and most of them are documentaries. Chad Garcia's *The Russian Woodpecker* (2015) and Pol Crutchen's *Voices from Chernobyl* (2016) offer a somewhat similar experience to *Chernobyl*, however, they do not match *Chernobyl*'s budget and popular appeal. I recommend *Chernobyl* for both general viewing and historical analysis. General audiences will be captivated by the hard-hitting dialogue, political drama, and heart-wrenching human experience, while academics can appreciate many of the historical details that *Chernobyl* executes well and, perhaps, immerse themselves in the drama of it all.

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*Dark Waters [film].*
*Directed by Todd Haynes. 2019.*

Participant Productions; Willi Hill; Killer Content. 126 minutes.

"Stop the world and let me off, I'm tired of going 'round and round." This line from the beloved folk country track "Stop the world (and let me off)" by Waylon Jennings echoes feelings of defeat and monotony. These feelings are prevalent in *Dark Waters*, a film directed by Todd Haynes, produced by and starring Mark Ruffalo. *Dark Waters* is classified as a legal thriller and details the story of Robert Bilott, a corporate defense lawyer working for the firm of Taft Stettinius & Hollister. Bilott is approached by some farmers who claim to know his grandmother and ask him to assist them in their lawsuit against DuPont, a chemical corporation that is allegedly poisoning their cattle and, by extension, the people of Parkersburg, West Virginia. The film is based on the 2016 *New York Times* article, "The Lawyer Who Became DuPont's Worst Nightmare" by Nathanial Rich.

Mark Ruffalo is no stranger to the realm of environmental justice and law. In 2008, he found that gas companies were eyeing his family's land in Callicoon, New York. He did his own investigation on the issue, and it was comprehensive enough for the *New York Times* to consider him "anti-fracking's first famous face." Ruffalo has also shown public support for the Standing Rock Indian Reservation and their opposition to the Dakota pipeline. In addition, he has narrated several audiobooks on the subject of clean environmental solutions, such as *Dear President Obama: The Clean Energy Revolution Is Now* (2016).

*Dark Waters* is comparable to *Erin Brockovich* (2000), directed by Steven Soderbergh and starring Julia Roberts. In that film, there is a similar scenario—an attorney discovering a cover-up involving contaminated water in the vicinity of the local communities, causing illness and death among the residents. In both films, the protagonists work in the legal profession and discover the nefarious deeds of big corporations, and the crimes in question are environmental in nature and based on true events.

*Dark Waters* starts in 1975 with a group of young adults driving their car to the local Parkersburg lake with beers in hand and "Stop the world (and let me off)" by Waylon Jennings playing on the radio. After they jump the fence and get into the water, they are told to leave the premises by what we can assume are DuPont employees who are using water to spray away some residue in the water. The film then makes a substantial jump in time to 1998 in Cincinnati, Ohio. This is where we are introduced to Robert Bilott, a new face at the board room table, who has spent the last eight years burying himself in superfund law, suggesting that Bilott is dedicated and one to traverse the mundane to get the job done. In an incident that is every new board member's nightmare, someone interrupts the meeting, asking for Bilott. Bilott meets Wilbur Tennant, a boisterous, thick-accented farmer from Parkersburg, who claims to know Bilott's grandmother. Tennant claims that he has gone to every lawyer in Parkersburg, and none of them wants to take his case because they are too "yellow" or, in other words, cowardly. Tennant then pushes some homemade evidence tapes onto Mr. Bilott to help him build a case. Bilott initially turns down the request and returns to his meeting. He then travels to Parkersburg to see his grandmother, and it is apparent that he is comfortable in this location. He realizes that Wilbur Tennant owns the farm that is next door to the farm where he spent a lot of time on as a child. With that memory restored, Bilott determines that this is a cause worth investigating.

Bilott arrives at the Tennant farm where Wilbur is appreciative of his arrival but understandably high-strung about the situation at hand. Bilott meets Mrs. Tennant in passing but encounters a reaction that one might give to a foreigner, a form of "othering" that is just one of the many examples of the disparity between white-collar and blue-collar characters in this film. Wilbur Tennant shows Bilott his physical evidence of DuPont's chemical contamination, namely, the bloated organs of his cattle. He also shows Bilott a cow's jaw with teeth as "black as night." Tennant then takes Bilott out to the local creek where his

cows drink and relax. Here we see that the stones in the creek are white from chemical bleaching. When Bilott asks Tennant how many cows he has lost, his skepticism dissipates abruptly, for Tennant takes him to a harrowing sight, a sixty-square-foot graveyard filled with the mounds of dead cows. Tennant admits that, when there was no more room to bury them, he just burned the corpses. Finally, Tennant ties a number to this sight: 190 cows. Bilott asks about any reports written about the plant itself. Tennant claims that the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) did come by, but he was never given the report. Bilott then returns home to his family, where we get to meet his wife (Anne Hathaway) and his baby boy.

The next scene takes place at a business function for attorneys. According to the expository dialogue, DuPont Industries is not just an American chemical giant but also one of the few companies not represented by the firm that Bilott works for, namely, Taft Stettinius & Hollister. Thus, for Bilott this is a high-stakes case. Bilott then receives an EPA report after requesting it from Phil Donnelly, the head of DuPont. He attempts to appease Tennant with the evaluation but is interrupted by a cow gone mad. The cow does several manic spins, and the viewer is visually transported into the cow's perspective which is covered with several kaleidoscope filters meant to represent chemical-induced madness. Immediately after Tennant has been forced to put down this cow in self-defense, the family dog in the background can be seen doing similar manic spins. This has dangerous implications for who all may be affected by the chemical contamination.

All this prompts Bilott to finally review the tapes that Tennant had given to him at the beginning of the film, and it is in these tapes that he finds video evidence of the effects that DuPont's chemical contamination has on cattle. A stealth cut occurs to indicate that Bilott is, in fact, showing these tapes to his boss to get his permission to initiate a lawsuit for discovery, obviously a dangerous move to pull on a potential client. The boss allows this but cautions Bilott to be "surgical." Bilott receives a log that shows all the things dumped at this chemical site, and after close evaluation, he finds the listing of "PFOA" which is not listed in any chemical manual available to him. He then concludes that PFOA is an uncontrolled substance, which is to say that it is not regulated by the EPA. When Bilott presses for the answers to these questions, he is called a "hick" by Phil Donnelly and sent an exorbitant number of files and data, enough to fill his office and make any regular person claustrophobic. While this is done to dissuade Billot from continuing his case, it only convinces him to pursue it further.

We then cut to Mrs. Bilott waking up abruptly to the sound of her husband tearing up the carpet and rummaging around the house. She wants to know what is going on, and it is revealed that DuPont has been knowingly poisoning not just the people of Parkersburg, but everyone who has ever used Teflon, which is the colloquial name for PFOA (perfluorooctanoic acid) or PFOA-C8. Some will remember that Teflon used to be advertised as the active ingredient in non-stick pans. It was initially used to waterproof tanks during World War II. To add to the corporate corruption, DuPont had been deliberately testing it on factory workers

who ended up with the "Teflon Flu." Studies further prove that animals as well as people got cancer from this and children would suffer from birth defects. The toxic runoff produced from the creation of Teflon was dumped in Wilbur Tennant's creek, killing his cows and, by extension, him and the people of Parkersburg.

Meanwhile, Wilbur Tennant is being harassed by the locals who claim that it is his fault that there is a lawsuit against the town's biggest employer. Bilott returns and proposes a settlement, but Tennant has no interest in the settlement and looks toward justice. Both Mr. and Mrs. Tennant have now tested positive for cancer. The man from the beginning of the film, boisterous and talking with a thick accent, is reduced to a silent, gasping man in a wheelchair. This character's arc convincingly represents the effect of careless corporations on the lives of the everyman. Bilott then sends the evidence collected to the EPA, which results in a fine for DuPont of around sixteen million dollars. This suit also prompts the DuPont corporation to send letters to the Parkersburg residents, assuring them that, while PFOA is present in the water, it is not enough to be harmful. This leaves Bilott flabbergasted, and he now works to sue DuPont to convince the world that DuPont has committed an injustice against the American people.

Bilott seeks to do this by proving that DuPont's internal documents note the lethal amount of PFOA and that DuPont in its operations currently exceeds that rate. The files indicate that any PFOA level over one part per billion is enough to cause issues in people. The court date of the class action lawsuit arrives, and DuPont makes a daring move. They bring in one of their scientists and claim that they have conducted new tests that conclude that the acceptable amount of PFOA is now 150 parts per billion. Bilott pushes for medical monitoring, which would mandate that DuPont would be responsible for the healthcare of all Parkersburg residents but only if there is irrefutable proof that DuPont's PFOA exposure had caused the problems in the first place. To incentivize the collection of data for this study, the firm pays each resident who takes the test 400 dollars. This results in the collection of nearly 70,000 blood samples.

Seven years go by. These years include a multitude of phone calls, the public harassment and threat of anybody involved in the lawsuit, and, sadly, the deaths of many factory workers who do not live to see the justice they had fought for to be won. Meanwhile, this case and the pay cuts that have resulted from it have gravely affected Robert Bilott. He has experienced financial, occupational, and marital strain. This affects him to the point of having a minor stroke due to stress. Bilott then receives a phone call from the board appointed to research the resident's blood samples to inform him that his research results have been reviewed and have proven conclusively that PFOAs do, in fact, cause cancer and similar effects that have been seen in the victims of DuPont's negligence. DuPont now reneges the agreement, essentially backing out of what they had signed. Bilott now fears the worst, namely, that justice will never be served, especially after the death of Wilbur Tennant, the man who had come to him for help. At this point, Bilott does the only thing that makes sense to him. He takes each case of those

harmed by DuPont's negligence, one at a time. Over time, he eventually settles each case and wins the class action lawsuit for 671 million dollars.

*Dark Waters* by Todd Haynes and Mark Ruffalo is a legal thriller which, at the surface, details the story of a corporate defense lawyer and his quest to fight for the everyman against the corporate negligence of the chemical company DuPont and their distribution and commercial use of Teflon. Underneath this story, however, are several gripping themes that prove to be even more relevant in today's political climate. These themes include the tensions and divides between blue-collar and white-collar employees, the geo-social prejudices that rear their ugly head when people from places like Cincinnati, Ohio, interact with people from Parkersburg, West Virginia. Another theme that is prevalent in this story is the American white-collar world and how women fit into it. The performances of Mark Ruffalo and Anne Hathaway absolutely steal the show, and this film is no slouch in the visual department either; the color grading and framing of each scene does well to create the atmosphere of the dreary and bleak reality that is white-collar America. I highly recommend this film to anyone who has any appreciation for stories with these aforementioned conflicts and is in the mood to learn about another reason to despair about the realities of white-collar America.

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*The King [film].*
*Directed by David Michôd. 2019.*

Netflix; Plan B Entertainment; Porchlight Films; Blue-Tongue Films; etc. 140 minutes.

It is the early fifteenth century. Glancing at the sunset, a poor Scottish soldier crawls with what is left of his might among the dead bodies of his fellow soldiers. Approached by a man in full plate armor, bearing the colors of yellow and red, he is mercilessly slaughtered while feeling the Scottish breeze for the last time. Who is this ominous warrior? It could be our protagonist, showing us his disdain, or a foe. As it turns out, it is Henry "Hotspur" Percy, the son of the earl of Northumberland and soon to be the antagonist of the English king, Henry IV. The 2019 film *The King* was directed by David Michôd, a University of Melbourne graduate best known for the Academy-Award-nominated crime drama *Animal Kingdom* (2010), for the dystopian drama *The Rover* (2014), and for the satirical *War Machine* (2017). It is a Netflix film, made in collaboration with the American production company *Plan B* and the Australian film collective *Blue-Tongue Films*, and rated "R" for lewd language and graphic violence (including a decapitation).

The film's second scene shows the same ominous warrior, Hotspur Percy, in disagreement with the king about Scottish prisoners and about Edmund Mortimer's unpaid ransom. King Henry IV is convinced, though, that his cousin Mortimer is a traitor. I have to admit that the dialogue is slow and confusing if you

do not know the details of English conflicts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Henry IV threatens young Hotspur who angrily takes to his nickname and storms out. The king laments that Hotspur is at least passionate, unlike his own son. The scene changes to show us that very son, a passed-out young Henry—Hal—the future King Henry V of England. Hal, our protagonist, apparently does not want to be king. He is awakened by his older friend, John Falstaff, who needs help mending a cut. After a quick cauterization, they walk between gloomy grey buildings to party at the Boar's Head Inn. After being awoken the next morning, Hal is sent to talk to his father. King Henry IV scolds young Hal and asserts that Hal's younger brother Thomas will put down the ongoing rebellion and eventually become king. There is a constant feud between Hal and his brother, Thomas of Lancaster, who is more eager for the throne than Hal. The latter continually states that he does not want the crown, but he nevertheless helps his brother in battle by achieving a personal victory in a brawl with Hotspur Percy. I must add how exquisite this battle scene turns out. They fight alone, with the army surrounding them, for the victor will decide the outcome of the 1403 Battle of Shrewsbury. Their swords clash against each other's steel plate armor, but to no avail. Thus, they end up brawling on the floor until Hal jabs a knife in between Hotspur's armor. Thomas, rather than being grateful, becomes jealous. Later in the film, we find out from the king's advisor William that Thomas has died while fighting the Welsh. With their father now deadly ill, Prince Henry—Hal—of Monmouth will soon become King Henry V of England.

Halfway through the film, we discover our second antagonist, namely the French Dauphin (i.e., the prince next in line to succeed to the throne of France) who sends Henry V the sarcastic gift of a ball, alluding to the latter's childishness and inadequacy to rule. A captured assassin raises suspicions at the English court about French involvement in the attempt on the king's life. Henry then discovers the treachery of his former friends, the rebellious nobles Cambridge and Lord Grey. Finding himself forced to have them decapitated, Henry seeks his last loyal friend and veteran, John Falstaff, and sets sail for Normandy, geared up for conquest but nonetheless reluctant. Arriving on the beaches near Harfleur Castle, the English launch a siege, with fireballs lighting up the dark night sky and causing the slow crumbling of the stone fortifications. After the castle's surrender, we witness for the first time the Dauphin who wishes conference with the English warrior king. Instead of negotiating peace or surrender, the Dauphin insults Henry's army and manhood. Henry leaves for the friendly port of Calais to return to England, but the French army beats them there and now stands in their way. The only way for the English to survive is to stand and fight near the little village of Agincourt, the site of the legendary 1415 battle that is soon to unfold.

*The King* is put together well, but the title is too generic and thus confusing. Its plot is based on several of Shakespeare's plays, namely *Henry IV: Part I*, *Henry IV: Part II*, and most importantly *Henry V*, yet while Shakespeare's King Henry V of England has depth, humor, and cunning, Timothée Chalamet's portrayal in *The*

*King* falls short. Chalamet is, of course, a good actor who feels comfortable as Henry, and I enjoyed watching him; however, apart from the beginning, when Henry is still partying and whoring around, we see little emotional range or character development. We do, however, see a good portrayal of a young stoic prince who bickers with his father and is hesitant about taking the crown or reclaim his birthright lands in France.

The film's cinematography offers a nice contrast between wide-angle shots that give the audience a grand view of the landscape and battlefields, and well-done close-ups whenever characters need to ponder their next move. During the siege of Harfleur Castle (1415), we see an epic trebuchet scene during which John Falstaff, played by Joel Edgerton, enlightens the curious archbishop that most of a siege is waiting and that one does not simply avoid a fortified position while conquering the land around it. Eventually, the first French castle surrenders. I doubt they would shoot fireballs at a castle, but it makes for a good piece of cinematographic art. *The King* is wonderfully crafted, but I take issue with the constant clash of greys. Apart from people in red robes, the film's only color hues are beiges, browns, and blacks. No one would want to look at entire cities or throngs of people in those colors today, nor would they have wanted to do so six hundred years ago. The filmmakers could have perhaps utilized simple colors for peasants and extras to draw attention to the king and his knights, but at least the nobles should be clad in bright greens and blues while walking through the decrepit stone buildings of medieval London.

Perhaps the story could have benefited from being a little more cartoonish or direct, considering its historically inaccurate and expanded narrative. The exposition makes me antsy and could have been shortened. The acting and script feel like a Shakespeare play, just with more modern English. It is calm enough when the story does not feel neck-breaking, but one can still feel lost in the plot.

The fight between Hal and Hotspur during the Battle of Shrewsbury (1403) early on in the film is well choreographed and even more enjoyable than the final battle. Plate armor fights often ended in brawls, particularly if the combatants knew few techniques. The only way to kill warriors in 1400s plate armor was to stab them where the individual plates were joined together or concuss them with war hammers and maces. The film's fight scenes are good, but I feel that the director does not give enough screen time to either of the antagonists. Take Robert Pattinson's Dauphin: we see him only for a few minutes, namely, once after Harfleur, another time before Agincourt, and finally toward the end during his defeat. When he speaks, his French accent feels forced, even though I still enjoyed his portrayal. There are a few times when one can detect his native British accent. Ironically, Timothée Chalamet seems more comfortable with French, however, this would not be too far out of the ballpark, considering that Henry V was the first English king in four hundred years to speak more English than French, but it makes the Dauphin appear clumsy. Pattinson in general plays an awkward French prince. One scene in particular exemplifies the cumbersome portrayal. He

challenges Henry to a duel but as the Dauphin gets off his horse, with his armor on, he slips and falls into the mud. Then Henry's men jump on him and stab him to death. This ineptitude of the Dauphin undoubtedly adds some dark humor to the scene, but it seems unnecessary and exaggerated. With the Battle of Agincourt decisively won, Henry marches on to Paris to receive his new bride and a promise that he will, one day, inherit the French throne (alas, he died seven years later).

The film's little touches add to its world and breathe life into it. The toy wind-up bird that can walk seemingly by itself and comes from the "edge of Christendom" or the camels brought to Henry's garden where he is walking with his sister are just two examples. It not only gives the audience a sense that the world is moving on in places off screen, it also reminds viewers that many amazing things come from outside Europe at this time.

The film is injected with clearly modern sensibilities, particularly the overtly feminist conversations pertaining to the arranged marriage between Henry V and Catherine of Valois. It appears someone period-inappropriate for her to demand the respect of her new husband, a ruthless conqueror. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the historical Catherine would have said something as quirky as "all monarchies are illegitimate," when Henry's new bride questions him on his true intentions regarding his invasion. Was the assassination plot actually real or was it functionalized as an excuse to conquer lands the English believed to be theirs? The film reveals the true mastermind to be Henry's advisor, Chief Justice William Gascoigne, who invented the assassination plot to personally gain lands in France. King Henry suddenly and decisively stabs William in the back of his head. It is an aggressive and bold move yet reveals Henry, once again, as a manipulated boy rather than a man who had plans to conquer France before he becomes king.

*The King* does not pretend to be historically accurate; rather, it is based off Shakespearean theater. It straddles the creative line between *300* (2007) and *Outlaw King* (2018). It almost would have been better if the filmmakers had delved fully into the realm of comic books or adopted a *Braveheart* (1995) type of narrative, for the characters in *The King* are as bland as their armor. After all the dialogue and slow progression, I had trouble remembering even a handful of the characters' names and desires. I had to watch it a second time before I was fully able to grasp the characters. At one point during the inaccurately depicted Battle of Agincourt (1415), the knights swarm into each other, and even before they are covered in mud it is impossible to keep track of them. Sir John Falstaff has to remove his helmet so we can recognize him and root for him. Would it have been so difficult to add a period-appropriate tunic, pourpoint, or a jupon over their steel armor, like they would have worn during the real battle, so one could gain a sense of who is dominating the field? If reenactment groups had been hired for these scenes it would have improved the battle's immersive effect immensely. On the other hand, at least they are actually wearing armor instead of kilts or leather speedos. But if a production company is going to drop a significant amount of money on appropriate attire, maybe they could simply spend a little more to give the

audience the full and especially the colorful experience of the medieval period. I also came to the film anticipating an accurate depiction of the importance of the English longbowmen, but there are only two or three volleys of arrows.

Despite these flaws, I had a good time watching King Henry V's tribulations, the epic choreography, and the breathtaking cinematography. Most viewers will find the buildup during the film's first half too slow, but the payoff is worth it. I recommend *The King* for the "mature" viewer. Just be sure to lift your historical visor beforehand.

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*The Last Czars [TV docudrama].*
*Directed by Adrian McDowall and Gareth Tunley. 2019.*

Nutopia; Netflix. 6 episodes (42-50 minutes each).

When watching a great film or TV series, the story and the characters linger for days and weeks afterwards. Viewers find themselves creating links between the world they see and the world they have watched. Unfortunately for Netflix's *The Last Czars*, a six-episode docudrama about the reign and fall of Czar Nicholas II of Russia, the narrative lacks interest, the characters are lackluster, and viewers walk away with little to remember.

*Episode 1* ("Chosen One") begins in July 1918 with an unnamed narrator commenting on the insubstantiality of the past, walking in the woods in what we later learn is outside Ekaterinburg where the Romanovs have recently been executed. The story then shifts abruptly to a framing device that appears at the beginning and end of each subsequent episode, a young woman in a hospital in Berlin in 1925, claiming to be Anastasia, the youngest daughter of Nicholas II, allegedly the sole survivor of her family's execution. The previously unnamed narrator moves this framing device along by speaking directly to the audience and through live action sequences. The audience learns he was an actual historical person, introduced as Pierre Gilliard, the royal children's former French tutor, who meets with this "Anastasia" to test her claim. After a few minutes, the story switches once again, this time to Russia in 1894 and the death of Czar Alexander III, which left his twenty-six-year-old son Nicholas II, soon to be wed to a German princess, Alexandra, as the heir of the 300-year-old autocratic dynasty. The tone of the series is set by Nicholas's coronation ball, when outside in Khodynka field nearly 1,400 people are killed in a mass stampede while the new czar and czarina are dancing. Throughout the series, the couple's disconnection with reality and their people is illuminated time and again.

The scripted drama is interrupted periodically by college professors, considered experts in Romanov history, such as Dr. Pablo de Orellano of King's

College London, who provide information about the politics and social unrest in Russia at the time. This constant switch between historical pseudo-mystery (the identity of the body of Anastasia was proven in 1991), period dramatization, and documentary style commentary could have been a clever device to retain the viewers' interest, but most will find the interruptions distracting at best. At worst, they are instances in which the commentators describe an event and the dramatization then immediately picks up to show that event, as though viewers needed both an explanation and a visualization to comprehend.

The following three episodes continue with the Anastasia framework at the beginning and end of each episode and include a frankly astonishing number of historical events, such as the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, the destruction of Russia's Baltic Fleet by a non-European power, Bloody Sunday in January 1905 (soldiers firing on peaceful protestors), the 1905 Revolution which was ruthlessly suppressed by Nicholas and resulted in 15,000 casualties, and the same year's October Manifesto. All these events corrode the Russian public's faith and confidence in their czar and lead to a semi-democratically elected legislative body, called the *Duma*. Throughout these events, Nicholas is portrayed as impressionable and suffering, and he seems to heed the advice of whoever he speaks with last, regardless of the counsel of his actual appointed advisors. When his erratic decisions inevitably end in disaster, Nicholas is melodramatically portrayed as smoking a cigarette, his blue eyes staring beseechingly off screen. Actor Robert Jack does a wonderful job portraying a ruler who feels betrayed by his people's hostility, but the sheer amount of sad staring eventually just draws out the episodes rather than endearing the character to the audience.

In the personal lives of these royals who continue to ignore the reality of social injustice and the abject poverty of the populace, Czarina Alexandra (after four daughters) finally gives birth to a much-prayed-for son, Alexei, who has the genetic disease of hemophilia which can cause sufferers to bleed extensively from simple cuts and bruises because the blood is unable to clot. The worry over their son's survival foreshadows the royal couple's dependence on the Siberian mystic Grigori Rasputin who shows up at the palace near the end of *Episode 2* ("The Boy") and who, at the beginning of *Episode 3* ("Anarchy"), is seen calming both Alexei and his mother. Rasputin is, for all intents and purposes, a villain in this story, though the series does a commendable job in emphasizing the terrible decisions made by the Romanovs themselves, holding them accountable for their eventual downfall. Yet, what the series fails to achieve with this character is dimensionality: this Rasputin is a drunk and a womanizer but lacks the charm and charisma the historical figure must have had to gain such power and influence in Russian high society. Viewers will find his presence creepy and ludicrous but rarely villainous.

By *Episode 4* ("War") Russia has become embroiled in World War I on the Eastern Front. Ignoring sound advice once again, Nicholas II joins his generals at the front, leaving the czarina and Rasputin to run the government. The pair alternatingly appoint and fire inept administrators to the growing frustration of

the aristocracy, one of whom, Prince Felix Yusupov, makes plans to assassinate Rasputin. After poisoning the food and drink he plans to offer Rasputin, Yusupov and the mystic meet, and when the poison fails to do its job Yusupov shoots Rasputin twice. The loss of Rasputin as an advisor and healer affects the czarina far more personally, and she ignores protesters gathering at the very gates of the palace in order to pray at Rasputin's grave. By *Episode 5* ("Revolution"), when Lenin and the Bolsheviks arrive, the autocracy has all but collapsed. Troops sent to guard the royal family from riots in Petrograd eventually mutiny, and in an effort to save his family, Nicholas II renounces his throne in 1917, ending the last true autocracy in Europe. The new head of the provisional government, Alexander Kerinsky, smuggles the Romanovs out of the capital to the Ural Mountains.

*Episode 6* shows the Romanovs arriving at "The House of Special Purpose" (also the horrifically disturbing title of this episode) in Ekaterinburg. Most of the episode is a slow tease to the execution of the family, which is a two-minute event immediately followed by the timeline moving forward to 1925 when it is proven that the young woman in Berlin is not Anastasia but a certain Anna Anderson, a missing Polish factory worker. As a complete break in storytelling, the series then shifts into a true (though brief) documentary about the discovery of the bodies of the royal family in 1979, their exhumation in 1991, and DNA testing which finally proves the claims of "Anastasia" (Anderson) as lies.

One saving grace of the series is the coverage of Nicholas II's reign: no similar work for film or television handles the same extensive timeline (coronation to death), nor the comprehensive impact of the czar's decisions on his family, his reign, and his empire. The earliest film (*Coronation of Nicholas II*, 1896, directed by Camille Cerf) only covered the coronation and then only from the viewpoint of the attendant guests. Subsequent films covered Nicholas's abdication (*The Fall of the Romanovs*, 1917, directed by Herbert Brenon) and the czarina's close relationship with Rasputin (*Rasputin and the Empress*, 1932, directed by Richard Boleslowski), but not the breadth of events found in *The Last Czars*. In fact, most films about the Romanovs are about the possible survival of the youngest Romanov daughter, Anastasia, beginning in 1928 with *Clothes Make the Woman* (directed by Tom Terriss) about Anna Anderson posing as Anastasia, to the 1956 film with Ingrid Bergman and Yul Brenner that was remade into the animated film *Anastasia* in 1997. Various documentaries used photos, paintings, or media images and prints to tell the story, and they too fell short in both timeline and impact.

That said, the series still suffers from three main problems: lack of cohesion, lack of consistency, and lack of empathic depth. The first is already evident during the first fifteen minutes of *Episode 1* with its three shifts in timeline (1918, 1925, 1894) and three shifts in framework—Gilliard as narrator and the investigation of Anna Anderson's claim; the scripted period drama of Alexander III's death and Nicholas II's marriage and coronation; and the shift to documentary with commentators. Had all three frameworks been used to describe the same sequence of events—i.e., Gilliard narrating, with scripted acting for visual effect, and

commentators for historical perspective—not only would the story have had better flow and cohesion, but viewers would obtain a more solid historical background for the drama to come. As it is, those not familiar with Russian history or even modern European history, spend the first episode decidedly lost and the next five without a firm grasp of the timeline or of the historical significance of what they are watching.

The series falls short in terms of consistency in storytelling. The anachronistic inconsistencies include Gilliard and many of Nicholas's advisors speaking with truly terrible Russian accents, while the royal family speaks with a strong British accent and uses slang. The inconsistencies in storytelling are the real setbacks, especially in a historical docudrama. As for the Anastasia framework, Gilliard attempts to identify her on the basis of a bayonet wound received during the execution of her family, but in the dramatization all of the royals are killed with handguns, and none of the soldiers are even holding a gun with a bayonet. Historical footage showing soldiers firing into crowds is used to emphasize the calamity of Bloody Sunday in 1905 (*Episode 2*), but it is obviously the same footage used during the scenes of the 1917 Revolution (*Episode 5*).

The final tragedy of the series is the lack of empathy that it stirs in its viewers for any of the characters portrayed. Nicholas II is inept and easily bullied into decisions by his wife. The czarina begins as a woman in love and devoted to her husband but becomes a drug addict dependent on a madman. The children barely make an appearance, regardless of the overarching framework of Anastasia's alleged survival. Rasputin is suitably creepy but without the charm, charisma, or even religious mystique he must have possessed to gain such power. Revolutionaries like Lenin and Stalin are mentioned only briefly, while the Romanovs' executioner, Yakov Yurovsky, appears in half of the episodes, but his motivations are never explored beyond "angry at the rich and entitled aristocracy." By the end of the series, the audience identifies with none of these characters and can offer them no empathy. And that truly is a tragedy: all the history the Romanov dynasty represents, their connections to European royalty, the sheer number of historical events that happened between 1894 and 1918, and the execution of five children and their parents should be a visual experience that viewers think about for days afterwards.

The series is not recommended for younger viewers, as there is some serious violence and gratuitous nudity. As a series, *The Last Czars* will annoy Russian historians with its plodding dramatizations and leave non-historians with an incomplete picture of just how tragic the fall of the czar really was.

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*Rise of Empires: Ottoman [TV docudrama].*
*Directed by Emre Şahin. 2020.*

Karga Seven Pictures; STX Television; Netflix. 6 episodes (45 minutes each).

Few events have impacted history as much as the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and the subsequent disintegration of the withering Roman Empire. This event not only rang the death knell for the Romans; it allowed the Ottomans to enter the West and emphasized the waning power of the Crusades. Among the many historical documentaries with unexciting imagery and monotone narration, Emre Sahin's 2020 *Rise of Empires: Ottoman* is a much-needed change of pace for those who wish to learn more about the rise of the Ottoman Empire under Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Sultan Mehmet II or Mehmet the Conqueror). Based on actual events and shot in various parts of Turkey, the first season of the series follows the early life of Mehmet II as he becomes sultan for the second time at the age of nineteen and conquers Constantinople at the age of twenty-one. The series was released on January 24, 2020 and is available for viewing on Netflix.

*Episode 1* catapults the viewer into the midst of battle as Mehmet II carves a path through several faceless, presumably Roman, soldiers. It becomes apparent that this is a dream sequence as he faces his late father, Murad II, before the Roman emperor, Constantine XI, strikes the latter down. Mehmet is jolted awake, collects himself, and leaves his tent to enter the smoke and fire-filled scene that is the siege of Constantinople. In this episode, a panel of scholars shows the full geographic extent of the Ottoman Empire at its peak, explains the predominantly figurative significance that Constantinople played in securing territories west of Turkey, and briefly provides information on the reigning Roman Emperor Constantine XI during the siege. The rest of the episode follows the nineteen-year-old Mehmet as he receives news of his father's death, ascends the throne, puts his court in order, and sends a clear message to the Romans that he is preparing for war. He then recruits personnel, such as a Hungarian cannon maker capable of producing the largest cannon the world has seen to date, and further prepares for his campaign. During this time, the Romans recruit a company of Genoese mercenaries led by Giovanni Giustiniani, an expert in siege defense. Increased depth to the story comes in the form of Mehmet's elder advisor, Candarli Halil Pasha, who is meeting in secret with an advisor to Constantine XI, Lukas Notaras, to discuss ways how the city's conquest might be avoided for the sake of business interests. *Episode 1* ends with the arrival of the Ottoman army outside Constantinople on Easter 1453 to the astonishment and dismay of the Roman defenders. The display of a massive Islamic army arriving on the holiest day of the Christian faith provides the viewer with a sense that this is the beginning of something ominous.

After the fast-paced and attention-grabbing first episode, *Episode 2* provides the much-needed context for the ascension of Sultan Mehmet II. There are flashbacks to various talks with his father, and we see Murad II's own attempt to conquer Constantinople in 1443; Mehmet being taken from his mother of

unknown origin; his elevation to the sultanate at the age of thirteen; his ousting by his own father in the face of the Crusade of Varna; him being raised by his stepmother, Mara Brankovic; and his harsh treatment at the hands of Halil Pasha. The viewer is then brought back to the present siege as Giustiniani launches a counter attack. This daring move is both effective in dealing a morale blow to the Ottomans and presenting a challenge to Mehmet as a military leader. The young and unproven sultan feels compelled to launch a direct assault on a gap in the Theodosian Walls caused by his cannons. Emre Sahin does very well here and throughout the series in showing that the conquest of the city was anything but inevitable, as Giustiniani repels the attack with relative ease.

Following this repelling of the Ottomans, *Episode 3* displays one of Mehmet's alternative attempts to get into Constantinople, namely, via the sapping of its walls. The men recruited and charged with this task were Serbian miners. In explaining their origin, Sahin effectively alludes to the complex diplomatic situation between Serbia and the Ottomans and shows that the army was not strictly composed of Islamic forces. However, the attempt is thwarted by John Grant, a Scottish soldier, who has the unique skill of finding sapping tunnels by watching water ripple in a bucket. Grant finds the tunnel, has his men shovel until it is revealed, and proceeds to fire-bomb the attackers, thus collapsing their network of tunnels. Mehmet's military failures are further accented when a fleet of four Italian ships, three of which are military vessels escorting one with supplies, make it to the Golden Harbor despite Turkish efforts to the contrary. The clandestine activities between the opposing advisors continue as Notaras and Halil Pasha draw up terms of Roman surrender without forfeiture of the city.

But all is not lost as Mehmet shows his genius and divulges a plan to get his fleet into the Roman harbor. Showing the coercion of the Genoese governor of a colony opposite the Golden Harbor, the clearing trees to make a path, and the use of exorbitant amounts of animal fat, *Episode 4* provides a front-row seat to Mehmet II's feat of genius as he moves his fleet over land and into the Roman port. This act both surprises and reveals the betrayal of the Romans by the Genoese governor who is killed later in the series for his transgressions. At this time, Sahin provides yet another example that the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople was anything but inevitable, as the episode briefly shows the negotiations between the Serbian and Hungarian kings, revealing their intentions to attack Mehmet's weakening army. Further acts of subterfuge are shown as an agent of Notaras, a slave of Constantine XI named Ana, informs Mehmet of an imminent Roman attack on his fleet; this was in hopes that when Mehmet would take the city, he would be merciful to its inhabitants. In a subtle but appreciated instance, Mehmet speaks Greek to the agent and states, "Yes, the Devil himself speaks Greek." He also demonstrates knowledge of the Bible as he cites a verse, saying that "Rich and Poor have this in common, the Lord is the maker of them all." These two incidents display Mehmet's education and civility that stand in contrast to his portrayal by the Christians. With this intelligence, the Ottomans successfully set up cannons

along the ridge facing the harbor, rain projectiles down on the Roman fleet as the latter is attacking, and annihilate it.

*Episode 5* conveys a sense of desperation and clinging to faith on both sides. Due to war weariness, both sides are becoming increasingly violent toward each other. To end things, Mehmet rides up to the city's walls, calls out Giustiniani, and enters into negotiations with him to leave Constantinople for a position of power and property after the conquest of the city. The Genoese captain refuses and continues to resist the Ottoman onslaught. This is a point in the series that takes artistic license as there is no official account of an attempt to bribe Giustianni. Moreover, the ongoing love affair between Giustiniani and Constantine XI's daughter shown throughout the series is unnecessary for the sake of the plot. Constantine XI later receives word that an Italian armada has sailed to aid Constantinople. However, it is weeks away from the Greek mainland, casting doubts on whether it will arrive in time. News of this last development drives Mehmet to despair, as he berates his pashas for the shortcomings of the siege. Things seem grim, and it almost looks as if the siege is going to be lifted, rendering Mehmet a failed sultan who would likely be overthrown and killed. Amidst this anguish, his stepmother sends word to meet with him, and she informs him that astrological readings and the appearance of a lunar eclipse predict an Ottoman victory. Emboldened by these omens, the Ottoman army is once again assembled for a final assault on Constantinople.

After the multiple attempts to directly assault the Theodosian Walls, the efforts to undermine them with sappers, and the ingenious overland movement of an entire fleet, the notion that Constantinople will yet be conquered seems anything but inevitable. In fact, the idea of a direct final assault seems ridiculous to the viewer. Regardless, Mehmet II sees the lunar eclipse, an omen that spells death for the Romans, and is emboldened by his stepmother's astrological readings. Moreover, a spectacle of sheer terror for the Romans appears, as a blue fog emanates from the church of Hagia Sofia, suggesting that the Holy Spirit is leaving the city. To the modern viewer, this all seems dubious. But as the panel of scholars explains, these ideas and beliefs were very real to contemporaries. In a last-ditch effort, Mehmet sends his army in waves. He first sends the untrained volunteers to tire the defending forces. His professional army follows, shadowed by his special forces, the Janissaries. It comes down to his elite cohort, but the city is taken in a bloody night. Refusing to flee the city, Emperor Constantine XI plunges himself and his bodyguard into the fray, never to be seen again. Giustiniani is hit by an arrow and attempts to flee on a ship where he eventually dies from his wounds. On the morning of May 29, 1453, a victorious Mehmet II rides into Constantinople with his army, makes his way to Hagia Sofia, and ascends the throne. Halil Pasha and Notaras are executed for their clandestine actions, Mehmet renames Constantinople into Istanbul, makes it the capital of his empire, receives the title of Fatih (Conqueror), and ushers in a new era for the Ottoman Turks.

Throughout the series, the viewer is accompanied by the aforementioned panel of scholars and authors who reference primary sources pertaining to the siege of Constantinople and all the major figures who participated. In *Episode 1*, Michael Talbot, a senior lecturer at the University of Greenwich, recites a *hadith* (an Islamic prophecy) by the prophet Muhammad that foresees the conquest of the city. Other scholars featured in this series include Marios Philippedes of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Emrah Safa Gurkan of Istanbul 29 Mayis University; and Celal Sengor of the Istanbul Technical University. They are joined by authors like Roger Crowley of *1453* which covers the siege itself; Lars Brownsworth of *Lost to the West: The Forgotten Byzantine Empire That Rescued Western Civilization* which provides insights into key Roman figures; and Jason Goodwin of *Lords of the Horizon* which focuses on Ottoman conquests. In this respect, the series is not unlike the docudrama *The Last Czars* where historians consistently provide vital context and nuance to the rise of the Bolsheviks and fall of the Romanovs.

*Rise of Empires: Ottoman* provides a way for people to learn about the 1453 conquest of Constantinople in a way that is relatively objective. Although it often favors and focuses on Mehmet and the Ottomans—to the point that one feels like one should be rooting for the conquest of the city, it does well to show that history rarely has a "correct" or "good" side. Moreover, in every episode, the series successfully shows that the city's conquest was not an inevitable or easy endeavor. With impressive shots of a crumbling city under siege, a love affair between a mercenary and an emperor's daughter, political subterfuge, and thrilling battle scenes, the viewer will stay entertained and learn a lot from this mostly historical retelling of the dawn of the Ottoman Empire.

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*Vienna Blood [TV series]. Season 1.*
*Directed by Robert Dornhelm and Umut Dag. 2019.*

Endor Productions; MR Film. 3 episodes (90 minutes each).

What happens when the turn of the twentieth century brings deadly apparitions, anti-Semitic organizations obsessed with blood purity and ethnic cleansing, murderous military cults, and Satanic sacrifices to the city of Vienna, the capital of the then Austro-Hungarian Empire? The answer to this question can be found in the TV series *Vienna Blood*, in which two unlikely partners, a Jewish doctor in the newly emerging field of psychology and an embittered police detective, solve several disturbing, gruesome, and rather ingenious crimes.

Based on *The Liebermann Papers*, a book series written by Frank Tallis, the TV series initially aired in three episodes of 90 minutes each. Shot on location in Vienna, Austria, the series aims to represent historical accuracy in its settings through the use of historic buildings and sites as set pieces and through the use of era-appropriate attire for its main cast. The Vienna State Opera House, the

Riesenrad in the Prater, the Palais Pallavicini, and the Vienna University Archives are all utilized as locations.

*Episode 1* ("The Last Séance") sets the scene and gives viewers an appealing taste of what the series has to offer. It is 1906 in Vienna, and a young English-Jewish doctor named Max Liebermann (played by Matthew Beard) is studying psychology under Dr. Sigmund Freud. Having just moved to the city, Max and his family are doing their best to adjust to the new culture that is surrounding them. Mendel (Conleth Hill), Max's father and a friend of the city's police commissioner, is able to arrange it so that Max is allowed to assist with police cases in order to better understand the psychology of the criminal mind. Max quickly befriends Oskar Reinhardt (Jurgen Maurer), a police detective, who is baffled by a recent murder seemingly related to Spiritualism and the occult. A woman has been found dead in her apartment, shot in the heart, with a suicide note which states, "I have tasted the forbidden fruit" and "the devil has come to punish us." To add to the mystery, there is no murder weapon at the scene, and the entire apartment, windows and doors included, is found locked from the inside. An autopsy further complicates matters when it reveals that there is no bullet inside the body, nor any sort of exit wound.

Before any meaningful detective work is conducted, we are introduced to the other major characters in Max's life, his overbearing sister Leah (Charlene McKenna) and Max's longtime girlfriend Clara (Luise von Finckh), whom his family desperately wants him to marry. Through interactions at the family dinner table, it is revealed that even Max's own family views the new field of psychology as "disreputable." Max then takes Clara to a new art exhibit, in which a woman spirals into a maddening panic attack and begins screaming at nearby guests. Max has the woman taken to a mental hospital, and it is here that we, as the audience, witness the darker aspects of psychology's emergence as a field of study, namely, scenes of electro-shock therapy. Max's father Mendel is then seen at a large party hosted by Bruckmuller, a wealthy Vienna politician. At first, it appears as though all is merry, as Mendel is in the presence of those who make the economy of the city move, that is until Bruckmuller reveals the true tone of the city's elite, "As the mayor is fond of saying, we decide who is a Jew and who is not."

Meanwhile, the story of the woman found dead in her own apartment rapidly spreads throughout the papers, infuriating the police commissioner in the process. Max and Oskar begin creating a psychological profile of the killer. The victim was a medium who hosted séances, and it is revealed through props and tools in her séance table that she was a cunning con-artist. Max notices the quality of her clothes and is able to deduce which store they came from, but he also discovers that she was pregnant, and that her killer likely committed the heinous crime in order to prevent a scandal. Max has his own internal struggle when Amelia (Jessica De Gouw), the woman who had panicked at the art exhibit, reveals to him that the psychology he holds so dear is being used to justify torture and mutilations in the name of scientific progress.

Ultimately the woman's killer is discovered, and Oskar and Max are praised for their unlikely success. The rest of the season follows two more seemingly complicated and gruesome cases, those involving the murder of several prostitutes based on the scenes of an opera which traumatized a young child as he witnessed his mother being raped while he heard it being performed (Mozart's *Magic Flute*), and the death of young military cadet at a prestigious Austrian academy for soldiers. The investigation into the academy reveals a secret society of murderous teenagers, dating back decades and involving the children (and in some cases) adults of Vienna's most illustrious military families.

While these crimes are being discovered and solved, several subplots develop and find their own conclusions, such as Max finally asking for Clara's hand in marriage, and a potential love triangle involving Amelia. One of the more profound subplots is the growing anti-Semitism and rise of fascism in Austria during this period. Mendel's new business partner, Gustav von Triebenbach, urges him to only hire pure-blooded Austrians, rather than Czechs or Hungarians, and hands him a pamphlet about an organization dedicated to blood purity. Triebenbach insists that nationalism is the way of the future. The audience is left to discover how Mendel, a Jew, will handle this new development.

The level of depravity and darkness of these murder cases in *Vienna Blood* are both the show's greatest strength and weakness. For fans of murder mysteries, crime fiction, and psychological thrillers, the show will be a welcome addition to these genres. For those who are squeamish or only interested in the criminal investigations, the episodes may feel too dark or as though they are being dragged out. Luckily, any of these concerns are counterbalanced by the strengths of the show's protagonists. Both Max and Oskar play off one another, with their relationship growing at a realistic pace throughout the season; tensions and tempers flare, as do moments of peace and understanding between the two of them. The main cast feels cohesive, especially the Lieberman family and Clara.

The most impressive aspect of the show is the fact that the city of Vienna itself feels alive as a character all of its own. It delivers a sense of foreboding and dread when Max and Oskar find themselves in its seedier districts, and a sense of progress and unity in downtown area, shopping districts, and thriving markets. There is an air of mystery and uncertainty behind every corner that accurately reflects the history of Vienna during this period. There are sections of the city which have clearly existed for decades, if not centuries, which have become part of its citizens' identities. Newer buildings share the skyline with older ones—a blending of past and present.

Vienna found itself as the capital of a dying empire, one in which the dominant ethnic group, the Austrians, comprised a small minority of the empire's citizenry. Ethnic tensions were running high, with the outbreak World War I less than decade from the year in which the show begins. Technology and science were advancing faster than ever before, and the lines between what was ethical in terms of experimentation were still very much blurred. The supernatural still held sway

over many people's imagination with this period also being the height of the Spiritualist movement. The show expertly weaves these themes, along with growing anti-Semitism and ideas of racial and ethnic purity, into a thrilling series which has captured the imaginations of its viewers. A second season of twists and turns with our favorite psychologist and police detectives may not be too far away.

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## *Reviews (Games)*

*Deus Lo Vult: The Board Game of Rampage, Betrayal, and Agony [board game].*

Designer: Michael Badelin. Kiev, Ukraine: Hiatus Games, 2020.

Hiatus Games saw the difficulty of obtaining the interest of customers in a prosperous yet replete board game market and answered by practicing their blackletter script, taking out their bagpipes, donning chaperons, and going on a Crusade. The Kickstarter campaign asked the public to help fund the initial development and printing of *Deus Lo Vult*, a game for "two to four treacherous and greedy marauders and murderers" and inspired by medieval European manuscripts and drawing from "military games played by the medieval aristocracy all over the world" such as *shogi* and *xianqi*. The campaign featured demonstration videos with music from Vox Vulgaris's neo-medieval album *The Shape of Medieval Music to Come*, the illustrators' hand-painting mockups of the final pieces, and livestreams of the creators dressed in medieval re-enactors' costumes. The developers even explained that their chosen name, *Deus Lo Vult*, derives from the vulgar Latin that people in Western Christendom were more familiar with than the classical Latin *Deus vult* of the pope that has since been associated with the First Crusade. The creators promised an easily learned rule set with language-independent assets and an adjustable gameplay complexity. The passion of the artists and designers shone through their frequent written and video updates during the two years of setbacks and a pandemic that seemed to come straight from the game's "Divine Will" mechanic. The game finally reached customers at the height of the worldwide Coronavirus lockdowns. It succeeded with its aims to be approachable and artistically beautiful, but the product was delivered with deep flaws, likely due to pandemic-related woes.

The artwork and aesthetics drew me and many others to this game, standing out from the many medieval fantasy and historically inspired games through its pastiche of illuminated manuscripts. The creators filled the initial campaign and their website's purchasing platform with bold illustrations of vibrant reds and blues atop fields of aged parchment and the stark, thick typeface reminiscent of Gothic texts. The designers showed the respect and admiration for the medieval style, even though the final product would be created entirely through digital means. They promised the game would be delivered with gilded accents in homage to the illuminated manuscripts that served as inspiration. The stylistic choice of emulating long-ago mastered artforms genuinely shows in the delivered game. The board and pieces are not intended to be admired merely when the game is played but, rather, are designed to be displayed. The creators knew many would purchase the game just for the artwork, so the backside of the game board also serves as a 22-inch by 29-inch gold-foil-laminated art piece with the names of the first thousand Kickstarter backers and four resplendent battle scenes depicting every unit in the game.

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Outside of the display-worthy game board, the artists designed each unit token and game piece with incomparable attention to detail. The illustrators ornamented almost everything, even in places where they could have gotten away with simpler designs. The colored backgrounds of the tokens and square-pattered board all contain accents: quatrefoils for the Crusaders, hatching reminiscent of plowed fields for the Popular Crusade, and crescent moons for the Saracen forces—to name just a few of the many small details. Many tokens even contain nods to their historical origins within the artwork. The mounted knight of the Templar army shows two soldiers on horseback, referencing the Order's seal and the contemporary legend of the poverty of the first Templars, that there was only one steed for every two members. The weakened side of El Cid shows the dead knight held upright and tied to his horse with rope. Both sides of Philip IV of France's token are unique, his undamaged side showing Templars burning at the stake, in reference to his suppression of the Order, and his weakened side depicting the hunting accident from the weeks preceding his death. The Assassin tile also contains a subtle reference to the etymological background of the unit's name. The background does not show the crescent moon like other Saracen units, but rather marijuana leaves referencing the Arabic word *hashshashin*, a user of hashish. Looking for the small details or playful interpretation of historical accounts and legend makes for an extremely enjoyable medieval Easter egg hunt.

The artwork for *Deus Lo Vult* draws its inspiration from twelfth- through fifteenth-century manuscripts. The game heavily borrows from the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, a text specified by the creators, which is imitated wonderfully. However, the artists' style carries a touch of irreverent Terry Gilliam cartooning and Monty Python surreal humor. Thankfully this diffuses worries that the game glorifies the Crusades or condones the recent White nationalist co-option of "Deus vult." The game's art provides a platform for an aesthetically pleasing game that gives players the occasional chuckle at the somewhat sophomoric humor so lovingly illustrated on a gilded board. Each Crusader and Saracen warrior token has two sides: the front shows the unit intact and ready for battle, while the reverse shows its wounded state, often with cheeky depictions of how the unit has suffered their injuries. The wounded states on the Popular-Crusade tiles are especially humorous. Some units seem to have suffered their wounds not from enemies but, rather, from their own drunken looting. Unlike other armies with proper war elephants, the Popular Crusaders have constructed their own straw monster with a trumpet for a trunk and manned by foolhardy peasants. For those who have seen the angelic trumpeters from *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, you can guess where the instrument ends up on the unit's weakened side. During the Coronavirus lockdowns, Hiatus Games released a free print-and-play version of the game with all the soldiers wearing blue surgical masks, even over the knights' great helms. The company's social media pages have even gone "meme-dieval," illustrating popular memes as if they can be found in an ancient text. This

conglomeration of ancient inspiration and modern sensibilities creates a gorgeous pastiche of medieval manuscript art.

However, some issues remain with the artwork. Ironically, the beautiful and bright graphics can make the game difficult to play. The amount of small detail in every aspect of the board and tokens creates an environment where each individual element demands attention, creating a chaotic arena where it is difficult to comprehend the board's state at a glance. Though ambitious, the playability suffers due to just how much each piece is designed. Additionally, of the four armies that come in the box, all the Crusader units are color-changed clones of the other kingdoms. The artwork between knights, soldiers, and ruffians remains largely the same, except for some minor differences such as the color of and elements on the soldiers' livery. The optional armies of the Popular Crusade, the Knights Templar, and Outremer (the Crusader states) receive unique units and artwork, but they must be purchased separately. On all these units, the laminated metal foil colors of bronze, silver, and gold can be hard to differentiate under some lighting conditions. If the gilded areas had been used merely for accents, this would not be an issue. However, some areas decorated in foil differentiate the unit's in-game point cost. The gold and bronze colors both have a reddish hue, so they are especially hard to differentiate. To make matters worse, the special abilities of some units are hidden on the wounded side, meaning players often have to look on both sides of a token to use their armies most efficiently. Additionally, the Purgatory board space is genuinely disturbing. While not inherently negative—as the depictions of infernal torture remain appropriate for the theme, the illustrations may put the players in an uncomfortable spot if the tokens are going to be used as a learning tool or conversation starter on the Crusades. Appropriately, Purgatory may cause discomfort.

*Deus Lo Vult* gameplay can be learned in just a few minutes. Over three rounds, up to four players control the Crusading armies of France, England, Castile, and the Holy Roman Empire as they loot the coins from the four City Quarters located at the center of the board. For every turn, players have seven actions they can use with their Crusader armies around the board or utilize the non-player Saracen defenders. Players may choose as many actions between their Crusader units or the shared Saracens as they want, but they cannot return to their Crusader army during that turn, once an action with a Saracen unit is taken. Attacking a City Quarter yields one of its coins to the sacking unit, which the unit must then return to its army treasury. Soldiers may not kill or wound other Crusaders, but they are encouraged to rob one another.

Players may only move "armies" of two or more tokens who touch orthogonally. A lone token cannot be moved until it touches one or more allies. Armies move by "leap-frogging" one unit from one end of the connected tokens to the other, but players must be careful where they put a soldier. Each token cannot touch more than two allies. If it does, it is caught in a stampede and sent to Purgatory.

Units that are sent to Purgatory, both Saracen and Crusader, are unavailable to be fielded by the player until the realm fills. Each new unit slides the old ones along the track until there is no more space. The unit pushed off the track by a fresh soul arriving in Purgatory is replaced in its owner's reserves pile and can return to its owner's army camp. Players are limited in the size of their armies by a unit's point cost (for example, knights are three points, pavisers and archers are two points, and untrained soldiers are one point) until a previously agreed-upon limit is reached. Though the four basic Crusader armies are symmetric and contain the same units, allowing players to choose their army composition creates flexibility and interesting asymmetric playing styles: one player might use expensive elite troops to assault the city, another might try to overwhelm by using a large number of peasants, and another might forego movement to make use of the Saracens to harass opponents. Each token depicts its possible actions which depend on its orientation. Each orthogonal edge shows what it may do on that side. Players must pay close attention to unit placement, as units cannot change their orientation, and if a friendly unit is accidentally overcrowded by allies, it will be sent to Purgatory.

The base game is relatively simple and engaging, leaving the players to make tough tactical decisions. Players are given tools to use more complicated armies, a campaign to string games together in a metanarrative, or thematic Divine-Will cards to represent the waxing and waning of luck through the injection of random events. Outremer, Knights-Templar, and Popular-Crusade factions introduce thematic asymmetric armies with new abilities. For example, the units of the Popular Crusade are generally less trained and armored, however, their units are less expensive and more eager to loot the Holy Land. Therefore, they can carry two or more coins after ransacking a City Quarter, while most units can only carry one. Each of the add-ons contributes more complexity to the base game and creates gripping asymmetric battles. This especially holds true in four-player games when each player has a unique army composition with its own strengths and weaknesses. Though playable with other player counts, the game is best with four Crusaders. Two-player games are satisfactory, but the players rarely clash with each other, leaving the board feeling somewhat empty. Three players could be interesting, but I have yet to find a method of ensuring that two players do not simply ally against the third.

Despite the simplicity of the rules, the rulebook contains several glaring issues. While not the worst of the games I have played, *Deus Lo Vult*'s rulebook causes some frustrating moments. Foremost among these is the level of ambiguity in the wording for key parts of the gameplay. Set-up is especially confusing. While the orthogonal orientation of some tokens is easy to figure out, the placement of the Saracen and City Quarter tokens is not explained well. Most simply use a picture to demonstrate, but that leaves a lot to interpretation. Other sections, such as that for movement, are equally irritating. The game omits certain elements, such as that Saracens can move across the City Quarter tokens while Crusaders cannot, or an

explanation how Crusader tokens enter the board once play has begun. These important rules are left for a "Frequently Asked Questions" (FAQ) document on a third-party website. While not difficult to find, I would deem this document to be mandatory as it also corrects errors in the rulebook's explanatory pictures. Several egregious oversights have managed to find their way into the final printed version. While some of these errors could be due to translation or complications with working in the creators' and printers' respective languages, it remains uncertain how these large oversights could have made it to print. The FAQ document makes frequent mention of "house rules," which are rules not printed in the rulebook but which players agree to follow. It seems that the creators intended to produce a highly customizable game with groups able to pick between a multitude of optional rules. The full blank lined page labeled "Home Rules" is evidence of this. Unfortunately, this creates confusion. Instead, the game should have defined the base rules and then included a section outlining alternate or optional directions the designers wished to include.

The price of the game remains its most difficult aspect to justify, but there are some workarounds. Hiatus Games currently lists *Deus Lo Vult* for $99 on its website, and the bundle containing the game and all current add-ons (including Outremer, Popular-Crusade, and Templar armies, among others) costs $150. If the optional additions are purchased (for example, after first acquiring the base game to see if the extras are worth the cost), each costs $20 individually or $80 as a package deal. Even if one desires the game just for its artwork, the price tag is not exorbitant for the material, but it remains unaffordable for a majority of those who would be interested. Although *Deus Lo Vult* is rare for its art style and theme, there are less expensive and more polished historically-inspired medieval-themed board games produced by reputable publishers on an already glutted board game market (*A Feast for Odin*, *878 Vikings: Invasions of England*, and *Blood Rage* are just a few of these). Additionally, as the first customers were receiving their boxes, Hiatus Games announced that a second edition would arrive to Kickstarter in the following months. This suggests that the new game they had just delivered was already out-of-date and that customers had fronted the money for a prototype rather than a finished product. The creators later explained (in a forum on a third-party website) that this new edition would not be the grand gilded Crusade of the first, but a lighter and less expensive version with a more substantial rulebook. The recession and lockdowns caused by the Coronavirus placed the company in a tough situation when their reserves were depleted. They could not lower the price of the box, and many who had previously been interested in the product could no longer afford such a luxury during the apogee of a pandemic. However, for those who are interested, there are less expensive ways to play the game. The print-and-play version is available for free on the Hiatus Games website and will only require an investment of time and printing costs to set up. Additionally, *Deus Lo Vult* can be downloaded as a mod on *Tabletop Simulator* for PC. Not only is its $20

price tag more affordable, but Crusaders can play together in the safety of their own respective homes without fear of a twenty-first-century Plague.

As much as I love *Deus Lo Vult*, there is a fair number of negatives. If approached from the perspective that the product is to be played in competition against others as a game, it would be difficult to justify any hearty recommendation except to those deeply into board-gaming as a hobby. Thankfully, the print-and-play version is easily found on the publisher's website and costs only paper, ink, and time. If consideration of the game elements is removed, and it is approached as a collection of art, *Deus Lo Vult* succeeds to an exceptional degree. No amount of detail has been spared in the creation of an opulent gilded Crusade. Even the cardboard box containing the game is covered in characterful illustrations and its remaining negative space decorated in gold and silver-foil-accented intertwining vines. Its appearance makes it obvious that thousands of hours went into imagining, planning, illustrating, and publishing a loving yet irreverent tribute to a long lost artform. Even though I may not play the game frequently, its box will have a spot on my shelves for years to come.

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*A Plague Tale: Innocence [single-player action-adventure horror stealth video game].*

Developer: Asobo Studio. Platforms: PlayStation 4, Xbox One, Microsoft Windows/PC; Amazon Luna. Release date: May 14, 2019.

You are fifteen years old in the fourteenth century, hunting with your father in the woods of Aquitaine. Crouching down in your short red tunic, you sneak up on the unsuspecting animal and pull out your slingshot. The boar darts away, with your dog in hot pursuit, but a darkness covers the forest, forcing you to flee to your manor. Could it be the invading English, the Black Plague, or something worse? This is the scenario in which players find themselves in this seventeen-chapter game. Developed by the French Asobo Studio, known for turning Pixar movies like *Ratatouille* (2007) and *Wall-E* (2008) into games and for teaming up with Ubisoft Entertainment to create *The Crew* (2014), *The Crew 2* (2018), and *Monopoly Plus* (2014), *A Plague Tale: Innocence* portrays terror and juxtaposes the shadows of death with the light of fire. The game is rated "M" (mature) for this reason, but also for blood, violence, and strong language.

The player, Amicia de Rune, journeys back home with her father. Amicia is the primary protagonist of *A Plague Tale: Innocence*, a teenage noble who is living a relatively peaceful life in southwestern France. Her family inhabits a grand château, accurate for the later Middle Ages. Amicia's servants are friendly, her parents fair, but her mother, while working meticulously on her alchemy, keeps Amicia away from her sick little brother Hugo. The Inquisition arrives suddenly, killing without mercy. Lord Nicolas, encased in thick black and gold armor and

wearing spiked steel boots, draws his extra-large sword from his back, slays Amicia's father, Robert de Rune and captures her mother. Amicia quickly needs to unite with her brother before the same fate befalls them. She runs into Hugo's room and finds him, scared, cowering in a corner. Amicia takes his hand and lunges behind a desk. It is here that the player begins what will continue throughout the rest of the game: stealth and puzzle missions, accompanied by a little brother. It will be smart of the player to traverse the world by sneaking around enemies, because being caught will result in a quick death. You must be witty rather than strong to master the successive levels.

The characters have to face the ultimate challenge, namely the zombie rats of the Black Plague! This transforms the game from a simple medieval fantasy to a game of alternate history. After discovering a town that is infected, full of scared citizens and quarantined houses with a white "X" plastered on their doors, we flee, eventually making it into the town's Church, and this apparently starts the spread of "the Black Thing." This thing is actually a swarm of black rats, appearing from the caverns with piercing red eyes, engulfing all living beings, and chewing them down to their bones. Amicia clutches Hugo close to her, but she notices that the lit torch keeps the swarm away. In fact, the player can trap clusters of these rats between torches, which causes them to evaporate in puffs of green flames. This is where the real tribulations and puzzles begin. Amicia's alchemy skills give the player a wide array of options to overcome obstacles, such as launching *ignifer*, essentially fireballs, from her slingshot to light torches and pyres. Later in the game, as more alchemy options become unlocked, features like *odoris* can be used to attract swarms of rats to a specific location, or *exstinguis* to extinguish the torches of patrolling Inquisition guards, thus baiting the rats to eat the unsuspecting soldiers while distracting them long enough for you, Amicia, and Hugo to sneak past them unharmed.

Now, why would the Inquisition raid your family's estate and then continuously hunt you and your brother, when there are literally fields of dead English and French who have succumbed to battle and rats? As the player discovers in the course of the game, Hugo has been sick since birth, but not with the Plague: he is actually the *prima macula*. Once he focuses his powers and is given the right medicine, he becomes almost like a rat king, immune to the rats and able to give orders to them. By the game's last two missions, Hugo can even control the rats with a simple raising of his arm. This becomes useful, particularly because the rats before this tend to get out of control, forming into zombie rat tornadoes that are capable of knocking over torches and putting out fires. When we finally face the Grand Inquisitor, he assembles an army of white Plague rats that are obedient only to him because he has injected himself with the blood of Hugo and Plague victims. They have opposing powers to your rats, thus are resistant to fire, and the final showdown between two rat armies culminates in the death of the Grand Inquisitor and the banishment of these swarms—for now. It simply gets too ridiculous to take seriously as a fourteenth-century French event at this point, but

it is fun in a fantasy realm. While I first thought it was just silly, I do appreciate a good alternate history that links these demonic rats not just to the actual Black Plague but also to the Justinian Plague of the sixth century. The rats thus become an embodiment of the Plague and the physical interpretation of an (at least for medieval contemporaries) invisible disease (until it manifests itself on the human body, of course), transforming this element of history into a meaningful obstacle that must be overcome and yielding something more fantastic. Together with a combination of darkness and haunting music, it makes this game memorable.

What first enticed me to play this game was its appealing world, enriched atmosphere, and original setting. Yet the game rapidly transforms itself into a fantasy puzzle quest with the dramatic backdrop of the beginning of the Hundred Years' War and the Black Death. Players must navigate this dangerous world with the added burden of protecting their little brother. The game feels fresh and new since this time period and concept are rarely explored in games. Hugo can even climb through windows or go to hard-to-reach spots to gain the player access to rooms that would otherwise not be reachable. Yet, there is an always present danger when running from enemies. This is when you, the player, can almost feel the weight of this little five-year-old drag behind you, as you do not simply fear for your own life but also for the life of this last member of your family. This last link to normalcy is almost directly depicted through his fears and transformations.

Stealth puzzle games are not new. Besides the notorious *Assassin's Creed* (2007) franchise, *The Last of Us* (2013) or *Thief* (2014) would be the most similar titles with regard to movement and aesthetics. In *Thief*, it is even an achievement to make it through the entire game without killing anyone. This is unfortunately not possible in *A Plague's Tale: Innocence*, for there are three boss battles (fighting an enemy that is far stronger and more complicated than other enemies), and it is necessary to kill in order to survive. These key moments in the story are the only times you need to eliminate foes, because there is typically a way to sneak around enemies, which is much easier than trying to fight them, much like in the game *Horizon Zero Dawn* (2017). Actually, Amicia—to me—appears to have the same appearance as the protagonist from that game, Aloy. The game's overall aesthetic is drastically different, but the movement during fight scenes and the detail in their faces are simply uncanny, especially with the use of Unreal Engine 4 as a graphics engine. However, the graphics for this game overall are roughly five years behind their time, with a stunning atmosphere and detail in building and nature designs, while movement and character dialogue appear too clunky to be considered modern. It is hard to fault Asobo Studio, considering they are an independent development team working on a game with a unique plot and characters.

The composer for this videogame is Olivier Derivière, a Frenchman best known for his work on the *Obscure* (2004), *Alone in the Dark* (2008), and *Remember Me* (2013) soundtracks. The last of these notably won the 2013 International Film Music Critics Award for best original score in a video game or interactive media. Derivière's score for this game is the best musical composition for a horror game

that I have personally experienced. The violins chirp rapidly. When an enemy can almost spot you and your brother, the music actually makes the player panic, as if an Inquisition guard is creeping up behind you in your bedroom. I sometimes even found myself lifting my legs, as if the rats had poured into my own room. And, thankfully, the ambiance of the composition is neither modern nor over the top epic. It almost feels like a small group of musical bards following you, ready to create fear. This sets the bar of what a horror game soundtrack, especially for this time period, should sound like.

*A Plague Tale: Innocence* has a unique game mechanic that yields a variety of options to sneak around the world but at the same time can feel unearned. This linear story game holds your hand, reminiscent of how you must hold your little brother's hand. While some of the puzzles and even the final boss fight did stump me, generally all the ingredients required to create a certain alchemy potion are lying haphazardly on the floor or neatly in nearby crates. It quickly becomes obvious which slingshots Amicia needs to use and in what order she needs to continue. The way certain antagonist characters are facing you, blocked off streets, or the shape of hedges determine the routes you need to take. Despite this, I never felt bored. Each level brings new puzzles and challenges, and I was so captivated by the growing relationship between Amicia and Hugo that I simply could not stop playing. Hugo acts like a little boy during this mess, playing hide and seek in the orchard, trying to find his mommy, and even stopping to collect a rare flower in areas devoid of life to place it in Amicia's hair for good luck. The voice-acting and character development is phenomenal, which cannot be said for the fellow minor characters that join your party in the quest to defeat the Grand Inquisitor.

Obviously, I cannot nitpick this game to death with how accurate it might be or could have been. I will warn you that this game is not for a history fanatic or anyone anticipating a clever and realistic game on the theme of the Black Plague. However, at the end of the day, it is a brief, linear game with a well-developed narrative and a musical score that anyone should be able to enjoy. It is an ideal choice for people who want to experience a range of conflicting emotions with clever dialogues and puzzles, especially with their sibling.

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*Red Dead Redemption 2 [single-player/multi-player action-adventure video game].*

Developer: Rockstar Games. Platforms: Xbox One, PlayStation 4, Google Stadia, Microsoft Windows/PC. Release date: October 26, 2018.

As they discuss their plan to leave the gang that has offered them protection, friendship, and family at the most crucial points of their lives, outlaw Arthur Morgan tells Sadie Adler, "You know, you and me … we're more ghosts than

people." Rockstar Games' 2018 title *Red Dead Redemption 2* deals with the downfall of the criminal Van der Linde gang due to internal clashes and the onset of America's modernization in the late nineteenth century. Rockstar Games is perhaps best known for controversial titles such as *Grand Theft Auto*, *Manhunt*, and *Bully*, all of which deal in one form or another with the subjects of sex, drugs, and violence. What can be said of all games made by Rockstar—apart from their divisive reputation—is their mastery of recreating settings for players to roam freely. Considering the *Grand Theft Auto* franchise, Rockstar's works have allowed players to explore satirical portrayals of iconic American periods, be it 1980s neon-lit Miami, early 1990s gangsta-influenced Los Angeles, or post-9/11 New York. *Red Dead Redemption 2* continues this design philosophy, albeit in a more serious manner than its precursors. In this review, I argue that this work of fiction should be of interest to those engaged in the Humanities in that it provides an immersive experience with regard to both story and gameplay not just about the last days of the Old West but also about the environment and attitudes at its periphery.

The main story outfits the player as Arthur Morgan, the ambiguously moral rough muscle of the outlaw gang, as he and the fugitive members attempt to escape the pursuit by government officials after a botched ferry robbery. At the start of the game, set in 1899, players get a swift sense of the constant endangerment that this character and his posse face as they run from the Pinkerton Detective Agency in a snow-blazing wilderness; this department is based on the real-life nineteenth-century bureau of the same name, which specialized in private security and can be considered a predecessor of the FBI. Over the course of months, represented in the game by six chapters, Arthur is tasked by the leader of the gang, the charismatic and idealistic Dutch van der Linde, to escape their predicament by generating funds to flee to the remote South Pacific island of Tahiti. To create capital, Arthur has to participate in various types of "scores," such as train and bank robberies and helping other members of the posse in their side activities. Crude in their objectives, the Van der Linde gang becomes involved in affairs that include a feud among two prominent ex-slaveholding families, betrayals and deaths within the gang, surprise visits by the Pinkertons, contact with a threatened tribe, and the change of character and life for Arthur Morgan.

As one interacts with Dutch van der Linde—both in the story and in the game—through dialogue options, one gets a sense of his frame of mind as a Robin-Hood persona who wants to rob the "Great Uncle Sam" and as an individual who detests the loss of the American frontier and its quality of liberty to capitalist-bureaucracies and urbanized technologies. Benjamin Byron Davis, the voice actor for Dutch, gives a top performance that allows the player to become fully absorbed by the character and witness his gradual shift from a cherished leader to a paranoid man. The same can be said of Roger Clark who voices Arthur, in that players through both gameplay and story can become engulfed by the protagonist's desires, attitudes, and actions. Apart from these two, the gang includes equally fleshed-out characters such as the young and fractured Marston

family, the farm-wife-widow-turned-vengeful Sadie Adler, and Uncle, a comical lazy drunkard, along with a whole slew of uniquely developed individuals from the Van der Linde gang that complement the protagonist.

The game's final chapter embodies the game's name: Redemption. As the story progresses, Arthur develops severe sickness caused by being infected with tuberculosis from a victim he has assaulted over debt-collection, a terminal consequence of his outlaw life. Mirroring historically the real-life high fatality rate for many in the nineteenth century, Arthur recognizes his coming demise and attempts to vindicate himself. He sets out to do this by helping the public and those he has affected along with saving those he considers redeemable from the Van der Linde gang which, he realizes, has strayed from their original libertarian values and essentially been reduced to only a handful of immoral members.

The "domestication" of the West that is depicted and explored as one is being chased by agency officials also includes the end of the American-Indian Wars. As Arthur, you help complete jobs for a fictional Native American tribe, the Wapitis, based on the actual tribes of the Lakota and Nez Perce who fought in historic conflicts against the U.S. Army. In the game, the army has separated the Wapitis from their lands and moved them to a small, unincorporated area near mountains. As one completes missions for the Wapitis, the dialogue and cutscenes convey a sense of hopelessness with regard to reclaiming lands and the destruction of the tribe's body and soul, reflecting the real-life outcome of most clashes.

The story has the cinematic quality one can also find in the frontier and Western media that inspired the game. Various camera angles that appear in story missions offer a bird's eye view of the traversing posse and surrounding landscape, as well as close-ups of a character's face that convey realistic emotional expressions, a testament to Rockstar's quality game engine. One can see natural sadness in Arthur's eyes when he shares with a nun about his life or the anger on Dutch's face when he learns about a shocking betrayal from his lover.

A great moving story requires a great moving soundtrack, and here, too, the game does not disappoint. The music is predominantly crafted from sounds and styles appropriate for the era, and is played at major plot points and during free-roam gameplay, either in the form of slow and calming sounds when carelessly exploring the environment, or as an intense, upbeat guitar theme when gunning down rival bandits or law enforcement. Part of the game's value is its soundscape. For instance, walking across settlements like Saint Denis, the game's version of New Orleans, one can hear a multitude of languages used by various pedestrians, including Spanish, French, and Mandarin, echoing the late nineteenth century's heavy immigration to urban sites. While this game is a prequel to Rockstar's 2010 award-winning title, *Red Dead Redemption*, this game's story is easily accommodating to first-time players of the series in that they will not feel left out of the story's characters or narrative arc for not playing the first installment.

While the story may be intriguing to some, most people play video games for their interactivity. Gameplay-wise, players will get a sense of realism, a

characteristic of recent Rockstar games that showcases how the American setting may have looked like as one navigates the character across a sprawling environment filled with fascinating terrains on a physical level and through the game's hidden values. In open-world sandbox games such as these, when players are not taking part in the main storyline, they can freely travel across the game's immense map which is an assemblage of America's real-life Wild West and frontier locations, including *New Hanover*, based on the lush plains and thick forests of central U.S. states; *Ambarino*, referencing multiple mountain states; and *Lemoyne*, the game's recreation of Southern states with deep swamps and unsettling bayous. These environments look inspired by nineteenth-century American landscape paintings from the Hudson River School, reflecting an impression of openness and the beauty of the natural world and how the West was envisioned during this era. Over time, in the surroundings and reinforcing the game's theme, one can see the gradual modernization of the wild in certain places. Near eastern *Ambarino*, for example, one can encounter a railroad camp populated by Chinese laborers, which later turns into finished train tracks; the deforestation of a section of the wild by a timber company; and the construction of new settlements in both the wilderness and small towns—all of which occur once the player waits a certain amount of time while in the game.

A potential issue with the game for a first-time player and especially one new to the *Red Dead* series may be getting used to the controls in the gameplay itself. Initially, one may find oneself overwhelmed with the multitude of buttons and interfaces at one's disposal where the absurd situation of trying to feed a carrot to one's traveling horse may result in accidently punching the animal, which can certainly happen. However, navigation of the controls becomes familiar over time as one either plays through the story campaign or ventures on one's own in the breath-taking environment offered by the game's developers.

*Red Dead Redemption 2* features a series of small interactions that reflect what a historical actor in this period might have experienced. Players can fish and hunt animals common in these habitats, including the American bison which, during this period, was on the verge of extinction due to overhunting. They can play familiar table games of the time, including dominos and poker, or collect cigarette cards that were part of the era's commercial culture. The mechanics of gunplay also reflect the age. Arthur has an arsenal of period-appropriate weapons, including revolvers and repeating rifles with slow-fire rates, a direct contrast to some of the standard shooter games one can find on the market today. There are also various documents and newspapers one can acquire that reflect common subjects of the day, including talks of racial sciences, breakthroughs in new appliances and inventions, and discourse on Manifest Destiny. These items function as a way to provide extra lore and, consequently, immersion into the gateway world of a re-created American open frontier and Wild West.

I recommend this game to those interested in examining this era in American history. The game allows them to re-enact a character's life from the period in both

its engaging presentation of the storyline and the gameplay itself. However, it must be noted that, just like in other Rockstar games, this video game contains mature themes such as graphic violence depicted through both human and animal disembowelment and strong language. For those who are as of yet indifferent or have a disinterest in this particular historical period, the extraordinary and life-like instrument of *Red Dead Redemption 2* may cause a change of mind.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Emanuel Ayala of Anaheim, California, earned his A.A. in History at Fullerton College (2018) and his B.A. in History "magna cum laude" at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2020). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, where he is a member and the 2020/2021 president of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

*The Sinking City [single-player action-adventure video game].*

Developer: Frogwares. Platforms: Microsoft Windows, Nintendo Switch, PlayStation 4, PlayStation 5, Xbox One. Release date: June 27, 2019.

As our hero, Charles Winfield Reed, nears the end of his journey, he is reminded of how far he has come and the weight of the decision on his shoulders: "Destiny waits for no man, Charles. Decide now whether this ends in salvation—or blood." *The Sinking City*, directed by Jeremie Monedero and Justin Villiers and developed by Frogwares, is a game that takes place in the fictionalized town of Oakmont, Massachusetts, in the 1920s. Frogwares has previously adapted the stories of Sherlock Holmes into various successful action-adventure and puzzle games in which players explore London as the titular character in order to solve various crimes and mysteries. This project was apparently one of anxiety for the developers who had never dived too deeply into the horror genre of video games. Surprisingly, the game has performed better than excepted, with Frogwares stating that it has surpassed all sales expectations. Averaging review scores of 7.5/10, critics have praised the game's environment, storytelling, and puzzle mechanics (archival research and investigation) but criticized its mediocre combat and graphical presentation with a fair share of glitches later patched out as updated versions and downloadable content (DLC) have been added.

*The Sinking City* contains many Lovecraftian elements (fear of the unknown and vast cosmic mysteries) but embraces darker themes surrounding the problematic aspects of American culture during the time period in which it takes place and the existential dread of Lovecraft's Cthulhu mythos. The game's purposeful exploration of these darker aspects is one of its greatest strengths—in addition to its detailed dive into archival research.

Oakmont, Massachusetts, serves as the backdrop for the vast majority of our adventure and as a character of its own. It feels alive with its own secrets, emotions, and actions. Located offshore on an island unmarked on any known map, Oakmont's history is introduced to players right from the start. It has long been associated with the occult, with the townspeople being described as "unabashed eccentrics." The sight of cultists in bloody robes or abandoned rituals

sites strewn with artifacts and candles is considered unremarkable by most, with local fishermen, town merchants, and others simple passing them on their daily errands. After this introduction to the town, players are given their first glimpse at what makes this game stand out among its peers in terms of Lovecraftian adaptions. It is no secret that Howard Phillips Lovecraft (1890-1937) was an unabashed racist. In almost all of his stories those of mixed or non-European ancestry are viewed as untrustworthy, dangerous, or delusional. When adapting his popular Cthulhu mythos, many artists, filmmakers, and writers omit these problematic aspects of Lovecraft's views. *The Sinking City,* however, exposes these hard truths for all to see. Oakmont is home to a variety of individuals from multiple cultural backgrounds, European immigrants, former slaves, and refugees from the city of Innsmouth who have fish-like qualities to their appearance. Equally bizarre is the physical appearance of the Throgmorton family who resemble gorillas and large apes but are proud of their blood purity to a point that borders on eugenics. Members of the Ku Klux Klan can also be found in the city, and players can even choose how to respond to their actions, whether by interrupting an attempted lynching of Innsmouthers or breaking up a Klan rally. Additionally, advocates for eugenics and pamphlets discussing selective breeding can be found in this environment. When asked why these elements were included in the game, the directors and staff responded that they needed to be acknowledged, and that history can be painful, embarrassing, and difficult to look at. There are many aspects of American culture that we as a society actively choose to ignore because they clash with the ideals on which this country was supposedly founded. Lovecraft himself, in many ways, was a product of his time. His belief in bloody purity and his vehement opposition to the "mixing of the races" were views not uncommon for the era, even if he took them to new extremes in his work.

Six months before the start of the game's story, Oakmont has been struck with a devasting flood that has brought about unparalleled destruction. Sections of the city remain inaccessible, and many residents claim that the flood has also brought about a sinister dark force which plagues all who are touched by it with madness, visions, and hysteria. This is where we are introduced to the game's protagonist, Charles Winfield Reed, a World War I navy veteran turned private investigator working in Boston. At the behest of a client by the name of Johannes van der Berg, Reed travels to Oakmont and is quickly instructed by Robert Throgmorton, the highly influential head of Oakmont's leading family, to discover what has been causing the mass hysteria and disappearances in the town since the time of the flood. Choosing to begin his investigation across town the following morning, Reed takes shelter at a local inn, and in the middle of the night he is plagued by terrible visions of the USS Cyclops, the ship he had served on during the war, sinking and vanishing without a trace. Upon conducting interviews with the locals, Reed discovers that his vision from the previous night is similar in structure to what others have been experiencing.

At this point, the prologue ends, players are given a large world to explore, they are introduced to the three distinct aspects of *The Sinking City*'s gameplay. First and foremost, there is the exploration mode in which players can guide Reed across Oakmont and the surrounding landscapes in order to discover new leads in his case, or several side cases which further draw out the lore surrounding this strange locale. When new leads are found, players must guide Reed to the various historical archives located throughout the city. Whether these are archives in the local library, city hall, or university, players must cross-reference the information they gain throughout these cases in order to progress forward with their investigations. This is the key aspect which makes this game shine for historians and those interested in archival research. With the exception of the aforementioned Sherlock Holmes titles, adventure games of this type rarely require such investigative input from their players. The act of having players examine primary-source documents such as newspapers, personal diaries, business records, and letters in a game is rare to say the least. For those interested in history, it may serve as an introduction to interacting with archival materials in order to further one's own research into a given subject, or in the case of Reed, a crime or mystery. Without the archives, Reed is helpless, and the player can wander aimlessly without progressing in the story. In a fashion similar to Lovecraft's own works, the game requires players to piece information together themselves, rather than simply have it spelled out for them. It is this aspect of the gameplay that makes progress feel rewarding and earned.

Similar to other games in the genre, there are aspects of physical combat and battles to be fought. Reed is equipped with various firearms from the era, as well as the unexplained ability to use extrasensory powers of observation in order to fight strange alien-like creatures known as Wylebeasts. The supernatural elements found in these smaller sections of the gameplay can be jarring for those who want to focus on the game's much more highly emphasized detective and archival research, but those who are fans of horror games, action-adventure titles, or Lovecraft's various stories will feel right at home.

As Reed's journey for answers leads him deeper and deeper into the conspiracies and lore surrounding the town and its inhabitants, he ultimately discovers that beings known as the Great Old Ones (cosmic entities older than the universe, often destructive, existing at a higher level and therefore inexplicable or incomprehensible to mankind) are plotting to purge humanity. Johannes van der Berg is revealed to be an avatar of the deity Hastur, known in the Cthulhu mythos as the King in Yellow. He has invited Reed to Oakmont because of the potential he sees within him. Beneath the town, it is revealed, a temple called Cthygonnaar houses Cthylla, the daughter of Cthulhu, and it is this entity that has caused the flood and is attempting to purge humanity through chosen avatars.

Upon learning the truth, players can choose one of the three endings. They can have Reed flee Oakmont and return to Boston, in which case the visions eventually drive him to the point of suicide, but the apocalyptic purge is delayed. The second

ending sees Reed accept his "destiny," allowing the deity to surface and destroy mankind. In the third ending (considered the secret ending because it requires various checkpoints and tasks to have been completed), Reed can actively defy the deity by destroying an important artifact found it its temple. In this ending, Reed can be seen returning to Boston and living out the remainder of his life in relative peace. However, players are then shown a vision of Johannes waiting at the Oakmont docks, seemingly finding another chosen one to fulfill their destiny. The sheer dread and helplessness experienced by Reed at these rather unfulfilling conclusions to his journey can also be felt by the player. It perfectly encapsulates the themes of Lovecraft's writing, the fear of the unknown and a feeling of insignificance in an ever-expanding universe.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Christopher Dean Robbins of Brea, California, earned his B.A. in History (2018) and his M.A. in History (2021) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member and former vice president of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society).*

# Department of History (Awards) 2020/2021

## Student Award Recipients

Emma Bianco ♦ *Lawrence B. De Graaf Outstanding Graduate Student Award*
Emma Bianco ♦ *Nancy Fitch Women and Gender History Award*
Yuan Chiang ♦ *Ronald Rietveld Fellowship on the Era of Abraham Lincoln*
Andrew Estaras ♦ *Warren Beck Outstanding History Student Award*
Monique Garcia ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Andrea Mercado ♦ *Seymour Scheinberg Jewish Studies Award*
Mirella Monroy ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Robbie Renteria ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Lila Rodriguez ♦ *Jorice Maag Local History Scholarship*
Lila Rodriguez ♦ *Warren Beck Outstanding History Student Award*
Diego Rojas ♦ *Bakken Book Fund Award*
Osbaldo Rubalcava ♦ *Bakken Book Fund Award*
Marlen Sanchez ♦ *Carmen Delphine Bayati Memorial Scholarship*
Melanie Vigil ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Melanie Vigil ♦ *Hansen Fellowship in Oral and Public History*

## Faculty Award Recipients

Jochen Burgtorf ♦ *James Woodward Faculty Achievement Award*
Kate Burlingham ♦ *Leland and Marlita Bellot Research Fellowship*
Jamila Moore-Pewu ♦ *James Woodward Faculty Achievement Award*

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# Phi Alpha Theta (Theta-Pi Chapter) 2020/2021

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# Submission Guidelines for Volume 49 (2022)

*The Welebaethan: A Journal of History* invites authors to submit their scholarly articles and essays (including article-length theses); editions of archival materials (e.g., manuscripts, oral histories, and historical photographs); as well as reviews (e.g., of books, exhibitions, films, documentaries, TV shows, and games that are of interest to historians) for publication consideration; reviews must pertain to items with a publication date or release date of January 1, 2019, or thereafter.

Submissions should be authored either by undergraduate or graduate scholars at California State University, Fullerton, who are currently matriculated or have graduated within one year before the journal's next publication date (summer 2022); or by undergraduate or graduate scholars from other institutions, as long as a brief recommendation written on letterhead by a faculty member from the author's home institution is sent directly via e-mail to the journal's faculty advisor by the respective deadline (see below). Authors do not have to be History majors. Multi-author submissions may be considered. Authors may submit more than one item for publication consideration but must send each item attached to a separate e-mail (see below).

Citations must follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* (Notes-Bibliography style). Authors should consult the journal's current volume as a guideline when they prepare their citations. Submissions must be in the form of MS Word documents, carefully proofread, and with as little formatting as possible. The responsibility to obtain copyright clearance and permission to publish with regard to archival materials and images rests with the authors and will be required in writing. Note that "public domain" does not equal copyright clearance or permission to publish.

Authors must attach their submission as a MS Word document and send it via e-mail by the respective deadline (see below). The following must be included in the original e-mail:

1. *the author's full name, e-mail address, and cell phone number;*
2. *a very brief bio of the author (consult the bios in the journal's current volume as a guideline);*
3. *the title of the submission;*
4. *the type of submission (i.e., article, essay, edition, or review);*
5. *a brief abstract (for articles and essays only; consult the journal's current volume as a guideline);*
6. *the name of the class for which the submission was originally produced;*
7. *the name of the professor who taught the class;*
8. *the semester and year (e.g., spring 2021) during which the submission was completed;*
9. *the institution (e.g., CSUF) where the submission was completed;*
10. *a statement whether a plagiarism report (e.g., Turnitin) was generated for the submission;*
11. *for archival material and images only, a statement whether copyright clearance and permission to publish has been obtained; if yes, the respective paperwork must be scanned and attached (PDF);*
12. *this statement: "If my submission is accepted, I, [insert author's name], will cooperate with the editorial staff of 'The Welebaethan' in a timely fashion to prepare my submission for publication. I declare that the work submitted herewith is mine and constitutes original, previously unpublished scholarship that is not currently under publication consideration elsewhere."*

Complete submissions will be acknowledged via e-mail within fifteen business days. All submissions will undergo triple-blind review (usually by CSUF's matriculated scholars, faculty members, and alumni). Decisions will be communicated to authors within thirty business days after the respective deadline (see below). Acceptance for publication is provisional and contingent upon an author's collaboration with the editors and timely consent to final galleys. *The Welebaethan* is an online publication **https://www.welebaethan.org/** and registered with the Library of Congress: **ISSN 2692-501X**. Inquiries should be sent via e-mail.

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| First deadline for submissions: | Wednesday, **June 30, 2021**, noon (PDT). |
| Second deadline for submissions: | Friday, **August 27, 2021**, noon (PDT). |

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