PREFACE

Twenty-five years ago, the CSU-Sacramento History Department approved the student publication of a scholarly historical journal. With this blessing from the college and university the History Department and the historical scholarship society, Phi Alpha Theta, the CLIO Journal published the first collection of scholarly writings from the, then, upper division and graduate students of history. Then as now, the editorial staff of the Journal conducted a competitive selection of submitted writings to determine the most representative scholarly student academic efforts for that academic year for inclusion in the CLIO Journal. After 25 years, the process continues unabated. With this background, the CLIO Journal editorial staff, in conjunction with Phi Alpha Theta, Rho Xi chapter, presents proudly the 25th Anniversary edition.

This year's journal reveals the diversity of scholarly interests pursued by today's student scholar. Given such a benchmark anniversary date, the selections demonstrate, most acutely, the myriad scholarly issues currently researched by today's historical scholar. Research, however, requires support and this journal, as a tool for developing scholarship, is no exception. Some support goes beyond the call of duty and, as such, merit personal acknowledgement. The CLIO Journal wishes to thank Tim Tadlock, Brittani Orona and Lorraine Herbon for their contributions and untiring efforts in producing this year's CLIO. The Journal wishes also to thank Professor Nicolas Lazaridis, faculty advisor for the CLIO Journal, Professor Candace Gregory, faculty advisor for Phi Alpha Theta and Professor Aaron Cohen, faculty chair of the history department for all their support.

Last, but certainly not least, is the California State University, Sacramento, Student Organization and Leadership division of the university and the CSU Student Academic Council for their support and backing without whose support this 25th edition of the CLIO Journal becomes impossible.

Eugene Boyd
CLIO Journal
Editor-In-Chief

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"Subjectivity, Truth, and Power: A Brief Overview of Postmodern Theory and its Application to the Archival Profession"

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Postmodernism philosophy originated in the 20ᵗʰ century as successor to modernism and positivism. Modernist philosophy is predicated on the belief that rationality triumphs over religiosity and custom. The modern individual is an independent decision maker and acts of his own volition.[1] The predecessor to modernism is positivism, a philosophical movement of the 19ᵗʰ century which posited that the only true knowledge was born from the application of scientific and mathematical principles and rational deduction. Positivism was heavily informed by the Enlightenment's scientific worldview that reason, science, technology, and bureaucratic management heralded the improvement of society. According to positivist philosophy, humanity can discover the underlying natural truth to any question through reason and personal experience.[2] Postmodernism, in contrast to modernism and positivism, questions mankind's ability to objectively seek truth, disregarding the belief that through rational deduction individuals may arrive at the truth. When postmodernism is applied to archives, it brings into question the objectivity of the archivist, the concept of archival holdings representing the truth of history, and the ways in which archives help replicate existing power relations in society through their collecting practices.

Postmodern Theory

Postmodernism is a reaction to modernist and positivist schools of thought.[3] The foundations of postmodernism as a general philosophy began in the 1960s by philosophers inspired by the theories of thinkers like Nietze and Freud. In a general sense, postmodernism

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[1] Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1994), 201

[2] Randall C. Jimerson, *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability, and Social Justice* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009), 293.

[3] Postmodernism is an incredibly large school of thought that reaches into an array of disciplines. This paper focuses primarily on the aspects of postmodernism that are most pertinent to archival theory. Some theorists differentiate between postmodern and poststructuralist thought. However, for the purposes of this paper postmodernism has been used as an umbrella term incorporating both aspects.

critiques "modernity as a set of assumptions about industrial and technological forms of life."[4]

As a school of thought and tool for analysis and critique, postmodernism questioned modernistic enlightenment values like progress, rationality, and truth. To postmodernists, ideas, like progress, represent a discourse supporting the "monolithic structure" of modern society by marginalizing threats to its cultural dominance.[5]

Postmodernists deconstruct the modern idea of the autonomous individual and self-conscious agent. They believe Western Man is trapped by ideology and incapable of freeing himself. Language, they argue, is the barrier to truth.[6] Consequently, the surrounding reality tempers all decisions, thereby making real agency impossible. To the postmodernists, ideology limits the ability to objectively experience the world due to the constraints placed by hegemonic discourses. In postmodern thought, people in power construct the answers and truths to feed and sustain their own authority—a concept referred to as hegemonic discourse. A major tenet of postmodernism, this concept challenges the positivist idea that people apply objective principles to understand and arrive at universal truths.

In addition to questioning the autonomy of the individual, postmodernism challenges the objectivity of truth.[7] Postmodern thought rejects the modernist belief that there is *a priori* knowledge; objective knowledge gained through theoretical deduction, not personal experience or observation. They dismiss those concepts as invalid—the foundations, assumptions, and commonly held beliefs—that constitute "common sense."[8] Furthermore, postmodernism posits that experience tempers all knowledge. Reality does not have essential truths; rather the world is

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[4] Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History*, 201.
[5] Jimerson, *Archives Power,* 215.
[6] Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History*, 208-13.
[7] Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History*, 201-08.
[8] "Common Sense" is now a commonly used concept in postmodern analysis. It refers to the definition coined by theorist Antonio Gramsci, who defined the term as the embedded, incoherent and spontaneous beliefs and assumptions characterizing the conformist thinking of the mass of people in a given social order.
Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Books*, ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982), 419-25.

shaped by our own interpretations of it. Thus, experiences are corrupted by "the cultural and personal prejudices or prejudgments" of the person interpreting them.[9]

Discussing the concept of objective knowledge, historian Joyce Appleby engages the postmodern perspective:

> Human beings do not discover a truth in concordance with nature; they invent it, so that truth is always changing just as the water in a river is always changing. Claims for truth can therefore only be dissimulations, invariably advanced by those who have power.[10]

The idea of truth as a human construct, and therefore impermanent, directly contradicts the modernist concept of rational truth. Modernism embraces the concept of an inherent truth or answer wherein a reasonable person arrives at truth using rational means. With hegemonic discourse defining "truth", in postmodern thought, people in positions of power construct the answers and truths to feed their own authority. Thus, examination of the relationship between power and knowledge becomes fundamental to postmodern theory since knowledge is controlled and disseminated by those people holding power and influence. Disseminated knowledge —the hegemonic discourse—reinforces the power that keeps alternative discourses from gaining credibility and enables the creation of the hegemonic discourse in the first place.

The term postmodernism describes a lens of analysis that weaves together many theories about the way that cultures and societies function, and how individuals function within them. This includes the belief that the knowledge bases upon which everyday life is grounded are created by people in positions of power. This knowledge, in turn, defines and constructs the societal discourse—a cycle which keeps those few discourse creators in power. Hegemonic discourse permeates and controls societal discourse to prevent individual agency in making

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[9] William Grassie, "Post-Modernism: What One Needs To Know," *Zygon: Journal of Religion and Science* (March 1997). William Grassie Official Website. http://www.grassie.net/articles/1997_postmodernism.html. Accessed 19 April 2013.

[10] Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History*, 209.

decisions.

Postmodernism and Archives

The fields of art and architecture were postmodernism's birthplace, but its theoretical framework for analysis spread quickly to other fields. Once postmodern theorists focused on examining cultural institutions; it did not take long for them to consider the role of archives in society. In the 1960s and 1970s, the rise in social history and the influence of postmodernism extended to historians, and archivists. With an increased emphasis on social and microhistory, power relations and underrepresented groups received more attention from scholars.[11] For archivists, questions specific to historical truth and the ability of archival records to capture historical fact came under postmodern scrutiny. Scholars questioned the concept of records as organic byproducts of history and archivists as objective collectors.[12] French Postmodern philosopher Michel Foucault first broached the subject of archives in two books in the late 1960s. *The Order of Things* and *The Archeology of Knowledge* both investigated historic discourse through a postmodern analytical lens. The books, though not focusing on archives in a major way, feature underlying concepts applicable to historical fields and archives. Foucault questioned the perception of the continuity of history by analyzing the act of collecting specific historical documents to support a grand historical narrative. Most importantly for the field of archives, he challenged the assumption that documented history represented the truth.[13]

Postmodernism continued to permeate the field of archives, significantly impacting the theoretical underpinnings of archives as a concept, a process, a place, and a profession into the 1990s when, in 1995, Jacques Derrida, a major postmodern thinker, published *Archive Fever*,

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[11] Jimerson, *Archives Power,* 109-10.
[12] Jimerson, *Archives Power,* 109-10.
[13] Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge & the Discourse of Language*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 6-10; Randall C. Jimerson, *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability, and Social Justice* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009), 109-10.

that attempted to deconstruct the notion of archives and archiving. He explores the authority and

political power garnered from the process of archiving and the relationship between democracy

and archives and also challenged the idea that archives are authentic sources of evidence.[14]

Scholarship relating to the intersection of postmodernism and archival theory continued growing

into the early 21st century when *Archival Science*, a prominent scholarly journal in the field,

published two entire volumes of articles dedicated to the influence of postmodernism.[15] In 2002,

a collection of articles titled *Refiguring the Archive* was published, exploring postmodern

archival theory by scholars from diverse disciplines. The articles, written within the context of

South African history, addressed such postmodern issues like "essential truth," the inherent

power in archives, and the role of politics in archives.[16] In the last twenty years, the influence of

postmodern thought on archival theory became more visible. A substantial amount of archival

theory with a postmodern lens was published in the 1990s and 2000s, and continues to be

published.[17]

　　Postmodern archival theory asserts that records are not just benign by-products of a life

lived—they are conscious creations of documentary evidence or records that do not necessarily

equate to historicity—a concept that challenges the positivist notion of objective truths.

Additionally, postmodern archival theorists recognize that archivists play a very active role in

deciding which records to preserve. Decisions of what to keep and what to discard create the

basis for the future understanding of events, becoming acts of memory construction and placing

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[14] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4, 33.

[15] *Archival Science* 2002 Volumes 1 and 2.

[16] Hamilton, Carolyn, et al, eds., *Refiguring the Archive* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002).

[17] Such publications not listed elsewhere include, but are not limited to Ernst Breisach, *On the Future of History: The Postmodernist Challenge and Its Aftermath* (Chacago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002); as well as dozens of articles published in *Archivaria, Archival Science,* and *American Archivist.*

archives in the role of authenticators of history.[18] Postmodern archival theory emphasizes the

power and authority archivists hold over history that is associated with archival tasks. This

fundamental fact demonstrates how postmodern archival theory intertwines with the subjectivity

of the archivist to preserve history—which is, perhaps, the most important principle in

postmodern archival theory.[19]

The Role of the Archivist: Subjectivity and Truth

For decades, archivists acted as passive keepers of documents—neutral collectors and

preservers of historic records. Sir Hilary Jenkinson, one of the founding fathers of the archival

profession, argued the impartiality of archival evidence and archivists as guardians of the

evidence.[20] Jenkinson introduced, espoused and codified these principles of archival theory in

Europe, which were then brought to the United States in the early 20th century. He demonstrated

the positivist view in his description of the archivist:

> His Creed, the Sanctity of Evidence; his Task, the Conservation of every scrap of
> evidence attaching to the Documents committed to his charge; his aim to
> provide… The good archivist is perhaps the most selfless devotee of Truth the
> modern world produces.[21]

While sounding naive in a modern context, Jenkinson's ideas about what an archive was and

what an archivist's responsibility was served as the foundation of the archival profession in its

adolescent stages. Positivism dominated the early archival landscape as the archivist and the

history documented presumed that historical records accurately reflected history and truth. In

fact, positivism persisted for most of the 20th century. Archivists considered records authentic,

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[18] Jimerson, *Archives Power*, 218.
[19] Laura A. Millar, *Archives: Principles and Practices*, (New York: Neal-Schuman Publishers, Inc., 2010): 32-3.
[20] Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift" *Archivaria* 43 (1 February 1997): 17-62.
[21] Sir Hilary Jenkinson, quoted in Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue," 23.

impartial, and saw them as by-products, not necessarily created for posterity's sake. A more postmodern view of archives as a socially constructed and maintained historical fact, began supplanting the positivist view, although positivism still informs the professional identity of some archivists.[22]

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the positivist conception of archives came under attack from postmodern ideas about the truth and authenticity of archival records that contrasted sharply with the positivist perspective. Postmodernists questioned whether historical records truly represent the past. According to Professor Randall C. Jimerson, records are constructed to, "…reflect particular perspectives and to seize the power to interpret human society, past and present."[23] In other words, those with power and privilege create records to support the hegemonic discourse.

As the archival profession grew and matured, the traditional conception of the archivist's role in preserving history, espoused by Jenkinson, came under increasing scrutiny due in large part to the social history movement and growing influence of postmodern thought. In the 1970s, radical historian Howard Zinn challenged the archival field's perception of itself by arguing that archivist neutrality was essentially impossible. The archivist, as Zinn states, "…tends to be scrupulous about his neutrality, and to see his job as a technical job, free from the nasty world of political interests: a job of collecting, sorting, preserving, making available, the records of the society."[24] Zinn argued that the archivist cannot separate himself from his circumstances and the external influences on his life. Societal forces impact the way an archivist decides which historical records to collect, preserve, and make available. Additionally, hegemonic discourse

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[22] Terry Cook and Joan M Schwartz, "Archives, Records, and power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance," *Archival Science* 2, 2002: 175; Ciaran B. Trace, "What is Recorded is Never Simply 'What Happened': Record Keeping in Modern Organizational Culture," *Archival Science* 2 (2002), 137.

[23] Jimerson, *Archives Power*, 215.

[24] Howard Zinn, "Secrecy, Archives, and Public Interest," *Midwestern Archivist* 2, no. 2 (1977): 20. Minds at University of Wisconsin. http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1793/44114. Accessed 19 April 2013.

influences the archivist's work as well as his judgments and valuations of historical evidence.

Postmodern theory rebels against the positivist idea of ultimate truth. A key concept of the archival field's core concepts assumes the *a priori* existence of an ultimate truth. Original order was a foundational concept to archival practice rested on the concept that records hold an inherently true order, or reflect some truth about the creator's records, if only an archivist can reasonably deduce the archives' original order.[25] Interestingly, the concept of original order and its positivist bent remains woefully under-examined in postmodern archival theory.

Archives as Institutions of Power: Legitimizing Histories

The association between knowledge and power, the hegemonic discourse, remains paramount in postmodern theory, so much so, that an intersection between the two is expressed as one word—knowledgepower. Howard Zinn framed the issue as it pertains to history and historical records:

> ...the existence, preservation, and availability of archives, documents, records in our society are very much determined by the distribution of wealth and power. That is, the most powerful, the richest elements in society have the greatest capacity to find documents, preserve them, and decide what is or is not available to the public.[26]

Archives cater to those individuals possessing enough power and privilege to document their activities. Simply archiving a record confers importance, creating a tool to preserve the power of the powerful, or discredit marginalized groups in society. As Jimerson argued in *Archives Power,* "From the postmodern perspective, archives establish and reinforce power relationships in society."[27] If placing something in an archive confers importance, then, by the same token, omitting something from an archive defines unimportance. These value assignments result in the replication of existing power relationships.

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[25] Cook and Schwartz, "Archives, Records, and Power," 174.
[26] Zinn, "Secrecy, Archives, and Public Interest," 20.
[27] Jimerson, *Archives Power*, 135.

Organizations rely on records for structure, discipline, and administrative power. Even the word archive illuminates the relationship between power and records with its root word derived from the Greek word *arché*, meaning power or government. While archives might encourage an open society with accountable government, they might also be used to oppress and dominate. Totalitarian regimes like Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union used archives and records to categorize race, property, residence, employment, and all aspects of peoples' lives. Information collected supported the regime's goals by exerting control over the populace. While totalitarian governments are extreme examples of record and archive use, critics argue that all modern societies, by their nature, depend on totalitarian surveillance and record-keeping techniques. It is therefore important to consider the relationship of power and knowledge of a society within the context of an archive's role and utility in society.[28]

Archives grant authenticity to histories and lend credibility to particular discourses. Once seen as a neutral depository for records, postmodernists view archives as:

> …the product of a judgment, the result of the exercise of a specific power and authority, which involves placing certain documents in an archive at the same time as others are discarded. The archive, therefore, is fundamentally a matter of discrimination and of selection, which, in the end, results in the granting of a privileged status to certain written documents, and the refusal of that same status to others, thereby judged "unarchivable."[29]

This concept applies to both subject matter and medium. Whose history is archived? What kind of historical evidence is deemed valuable enough to keep? Although the United States is culturally, socially, and ethnically diverse, that diversity is not well documented. Under the influence of the social history movement, archives became more inclusive. However, the body of postmodern archival theory is still developing while postmodernists continue deconstructing the

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[28] Eric Ketelaar, "Archival Temples, Archival Prisons: Modes of Power and Protection," *Archival Science* 2 (2002), 221-6.
[29] Achille Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and its Limits," in *Refiguring the Archive* eds. Hamilton et al (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 20.

power relationships that determine who is represented in archives and in what ways.[30]

Most archives focus on one kind of historical evidence—documents. However, some of society's most marginalized groups do not keep written or formal records. Many indigenous cultures use oral tradition to record information. Nations with colonial history can suffer from an extreme imbalance in historic representation favoring the recorded history of the colonizers in contrast to native oral traditions. Since archives reflect dominant cultures, cultures that document their historical pasts in different ways are under-represented in the archival setting. [31]

One common example examines questions as apartheid-era South Africa. According to a white South African archivist, under apartheid, institutions of memory "…legitimized apartheid rule by their silences and their narratives of power… the state record-making system faithfully reproduced oppressive relations of power."[32] The disposal of records documenting the apartheid regime's inhumane practices became crucial in the government's attempt to shape collective memory. The government also attempted to eradicate records of oppositional memories via harassment and media censorship.[33] In this sense, collecting institutions, including but not limited to government-sponsored archives, acted as sites of power by supplementing authority, expanding political influence, and cleansing history. However, even in South Africa, archives acted as sites of resistance. Some archival evidence of wrongdoing by the government remained, Coupled with personal memory, the evidence of apartheid's harshness survived and augmented the collective memory of that period in South Africa's history.[34]

Postmodern analysis of memory enhances archival theory by exercising power over the historical record, and, ultimately, a portion of society's collective memory. Collective memory

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[30] Jimerson, *Archives Power,* 267-68.
[31] Jimerson, *Archives Power,* 270-74.
[32] V.S. Harris, *Archives and Power: A South African Perspective* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007), 43, 259.
[33] Jimerson, *Archives Power,* 260-61.
[34] Jimerson, *Archives Power,* 262.

consists of shared perceptions of the past among a group of people resulting from a shared experience of the same events. Differing opinions exists as to what constitutes collective memory and many theorists and historians engage in the debate; nevertheless, the modern practice of history still largely depends on the documentary record. Thus, the archivist's roleis still based on selecting and maintaining documentary records, further enabling the archive's ability to either undermine or validate histories and memories through accepted collecting policies.[35]

Postmodernism's Practical Contributions to the Field of Archives

Postmodern theory is generally dense and convoluted. At times, it is difficult to fathom a practical application of such theorizing. Despite the abstract nature of   postmodernism, it raises interesting questions about the nature of record-keeping. Ongoing issues continue to surround both archives and archivists such as diversity of historical evidence, social justice, and the archive's role in shaping memory: issues which, from the postmodern perspective, remain unresolved. How historians and archivists shape history and memory continues to bring awareness to the merits and values of the social history movement and the effects of postmodern theory on the archival field.

Awareness of the issues of representation, the archive's ability to replicate relationships of power, and veracity of records is important for archivists in the postmodern era. Armed with this knowledge, archivists can employ more inclusive collection policies relative to alternative histories, mediums, or the histories of marginalized groups. Archivists must inform their own sense of duty with the idea that they themselves are not objective and that archives are sites of power. These factors combined confer upon archives the power to shape memory. From that point of view, archivists can begin to address the problems posed by postmodern thought.

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[35] Jimerson, *Archives Power,* 201.

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Creative Consciousness and the Counter-monument in Public History

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Developing thoughts on history and memory focus new attention on the role that public history plays in personal and social memory constructions. Among the many factors revealed by these analyses are that personal and social memory constructions are inherently interwoven, and that ancient cultural features such as magic, ritual, and myth, continue to permeate contemporary experiences of memory. In the modern era, concepts of objectivity and subjectivity are used to re-define these ancient modes of experience, and are integrated into historiography and the designs of public monuments in an effort to generate collective social memory and form national identity. However, a trajectory away from objectivity and toward an increased subjectivity gives artistic license to challenge new kinds of public monuments, known as counter-monuments. Highlighted by notions of contingency, open-endedness, and absence, counter-monuments pose questions rather than provide narrative, and are designed to more intimately involve the public in the construction of social memory, and serve to better generate historical consciousness.

The phenomenon of memory increased notoriety as a critical factor in historical consciousness. Fundamentally, memory exists in the individual mind and manifests itself in the physiological networks of the human brain. These physiological networks do not store objective experiences of the past within their makeup; rather, memories are plastic and continually active constructions and reconstructions dependent on a variety of temporal and environmental variables, and are at their very essence creative and fallible.[1] A prominent temporal variable found in memory is the influence of the present in the remembrance of past events. "Memory begins when something in the present stimulates an association," thereby, the essential creation of a memory emerges from a relationship between the mind and the

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[1] Daniel L. Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 5.; David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4. (March 1989), 1121.

environment. Re-membering, on the other hand, continually includes the present in its re-

construction.[2] Neuropsychologist Daniel L. Schacter describes this present day influence on past

memories as "hindsight bias":

> [This] bias reflects the powerful influences of our current knowledge and beliefs on how we remember our past. We often edit or entirely rewrite our previous experiences— unknowingly and unconsciously—in light of what we now know or believe. The result can be a skewed rendering of a specific incident, or even of an extended period in our lives, which says more about how we feel now than about what happened then.[3]

In memory, strict markers between the present and past are not easily distinguishable,

and its processes are inherently fluid, fickle, and contingent.

On a collective level, social memory exists as the sum of its individual parts. It is also

formed and reformed by temporal and environmental influences. The temporal influence

similarly includes a prominent influence from the present. Environmental influences

include a broader set of qualities, which include the intricacies of interpersonal relations, social

pressures, and state structures. These characteristics of social memory are, for the most part,

easily recognizable.

What is especially fascinating is the interwoven relationship between personal and social

memory. To conceptualize the play between the two types of memory, we might

imagine a single event that inspires a personal memory construction in the many

individuals who experience it. Each of those individuals will develop their own unique feelings

and interpret their own personal meanings.[4] Collectively, these personal memories sublimated

into social memory, *feed back* into each of the individuals' ever changing memory

constructions. Thereby, the relationship is mutually reinforcing and constitutes a continual

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[2] Thelen, 1120.
[3] Schacter, 5.
[4] Amos Funkenstein, "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness," *History and Memory* 1, no. 1. (Spring-Summer 1989), 6.

feedback-loop. Additional factors of this feedback-loop are that personal memory

constructions are in many ways influenced by the need for social acceptance, and the need to

confirm one's own beliefs through validation from the collective social-structure. Thus, a

paradox occurs: it is personal memories which compose social memory, and it is also social

memory which determines how people shape their own personal memories and confirm their

belief in them.[5] Implicated in this are other social effects such as culture, solidarity, and

prejudice. Altogether, these interwoven relationships and their affects determine, to a large

degree, people's perceptions about the world.[6]

Adding social structure to these phenomena we can set memory into a framework of society,

which provides such unifying and organizational features as infrastructure, institutions, and

culture. Jan Assman argues that the initial emergence of memory was produced by the social

conditions of society.[7] Maurice Halbwachs similarly argues that ". . . in order to remember, one

must be capable of reasoning and comparing and of feeling in contact with a human society that

can guarantee the integrity of our memory," and that "[n]o memory is possible outside the

frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections."[8]

Thereby, the emergence of memory is determined in many ways by the structure of society.

Shifting from a general framework of society to that of the state, Amos Funkenstein argues

that the emergence of history, as an advanced version of memory, was the product of early states

that perceived a need to organize social memories in a narrative form that gave meaning to

the state's existence. Examples of Israel, Greece, and Rome illustrate the utility and function

that such a collective consciousness had for the establishment of states, by creating a shared

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[5] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 53.; Thelen, 1123.
[6] Halbwachs, 53.
[7] Assman, 81.
[8] Halbwachs, 41-43.

identity and locating it in a framework of linear time.[9] He posits that "[c]ollective consciousness presumes collective memory, as without it there is no law and justice, no political structure, and no collective objectives. Without memory, there is no history and no state." Funkenstein continues:

> [C]ollective memory . . . like language, can be characterized as a system of clear signs symbols and practices: times of memory, names of places, monuments and victory arches, museums and texts, customs and manners. . . The individual memory—the act of remembering—is the realization of these symbols, analogous to speech... the point of departure and frame of reference of memory is the stem of signs and symbols that it uses.[10]

Thus, the emergences of memory and history can in some ways be seen as societal inventions, and have been utilized as devices of social cohesion.[11] Further, historical-narratives are not merely representative of social memory, but serve a *symbolic function* that generates social memory, shaping a shared identity.

In nationalist projects of the modern era, history is represented by two primary modes: the written form of historiography, and the material form of public monuments. It is notable, despite such projects' modernistic pretensions, that within them linger traces of ancient or traditional cultural features such as myth, magic, and ritual. Aside from these traces, Historiography and public monuments are today qualitatively defined by their varying degrees of objectivity and subjectivity. In contemporary times, a trajectory away from objectivity and toward subjectivity shows different possible avenues of generating social memory. Of the two, Subjectivity Proves to be more inclusive and pluralistic.

Modern historiography is defined by certain characteristics. A product of Enlightenment ideals of reason and scientific ambitions of accuracy, it retains within it ancient-human cultural

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[9] Amos Funkenstein, "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness" *History and Memory* 1, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1989): 12-13.

[10] Funkenstein, 5, 7.

[11] James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 45.; Funkenstein, 19.

traces of narrative and myth. Anthropologists generally concur that the earliest societies used

 Stories , in narrative forms of myth, as explanatory devices about origins and identity. These

narratives combined myth with elements of observation from nature to project meaning onto the

world. In modern era, science was wielded to dispel such myths. Historians increasingly sought

to professionalize their discipline using rigorous methods and representing their findings in terms

of cause and effect. Despite their efforts, grand narratives of history fell into problematic truth-

claims that were often monolithic, ethnocentric, and nationalistically biased. The focus of

investigations often being limited to politics, and representation limited to the "great men" whose

charisma compelled change and progress—altogether portraying myth-like origins. The

empirical method used in defending these claims attributed a scientific objectivity to them, as if

they were, in and of themselves, fully representative of reality. Notwithstanding the attempt at

methodological rigor, narrative-myth remained the driving force of historical consciousness.

  Alongside this historiographical rhetoric, public monuments represented the same

narrow and mythologized focus on nationalistic grand narratives, politics, and "great men."

Heroic figures and obelisks erected in bronze and stone became the symbolic generators of

historical consciousness, embodying all of the representational dilemmas.[12] These

representations went beyond a conceptual objectivity, existing also in a material objectivity—as

material objects. This emphasis on the symbolic object reveals ancient traces of magic: magic

being an epistemology which associates essences with objects. In the case of public monuments,

it is the materiality of the national narrative that itself serves a symbolic function. Civic

pilgrimages to visit public monuments attest to the fact that they are perceived to hold

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[12] Kirsten Harjes, and Mona Siegel, "Disarming Hatred: History Education, National Memories, and Franco German Reconciliation from World War I to the Cold War," *History of Education Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (August 2012), 395.; Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 4.; Thelen, 1121.

within something more than mere representation.

Scholar of architectural history, Mario Carpo, describes the apparent power of monumental objects over memory as understood by the Romantics:

> The Romantic definition of monuments as totemic catalysts and activators of memory expected and prompted the simultaneous presence of the monument. . . The performative ritual of the act of remembering posited first, the need to go somewhere, and then the direct physical experience, optic or tactile, of the original monument. Remembrance was predicated upon, and activated by, the experience of a special place or object, often remote or unique, and the view, or vision, of something special.[13]

Thus, in what we now describe as objectivity in the empirical method of historiography and in the materiality of public monuments, there exists ancient traces of myth, magic and ritual.

Heidegger argued a similar point in his illustration of phenomenology. He suggested that the materiality of the symbolic object served not only as a referent of meaning but also as the source of existential essence.[14] A more contemporary philosopher, François Tonneau, claims that consciousness exists primarily in the material environment rather than in the individual mind:

> [The observation that] conscious experience contains environmental properties has . . . [an] inescapable consequence, for if consciousness presents us with actual features of surrounding objects, then consciousness must be located where these very features and objects are themselves located: in the environment.[15]

There has also been a history of criticism of these various types of objective symbolism. Nietzsche claimed that by metaphorically turning essences into symbols, objective forms actually robbed humanity of its intuitive authenticity.[16] Halbwachs also held views about the dangers that

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[13] Mario Carpo, "The Postmodern Cult of Monuments". *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 4, no. 2 (Winter 2007), 54.

[14] Lawrence Cahoone, *From Modernism to Postmodernism: An Anthology* (Boston: Blackwell, 2003), 182. Citation taken from Martin Heidegger's "Letter on Humanism."

[15] Francois Tonneau, "Consciousness Outside the Head," *Behavior and Philosophy* 32, no. 1 (2004), 97.

[16] Cahoone, 114. Citation taken from Friedrich Nietzsche's essay "On Truth and Lies in a Non-moral Sense." Here Nietzsche is referring to the symbols of language. I am equating the objective-symbolic form of language to the objective-symbolic form of material.

objective symbolism posed to social consciousness, saying that modern society's symbolic

systems ". . . penetrate and insulate themselves more deeply into their members because of the

multiplicity and complexity of relations of all kinds with which they envelop [them]."[17] Some

historians have argued that, as a product of societal symbolism, historical consciousness is in

many ways limited or even coerced by the objectivity of historiography and public monuments.[18]

The dilemmas of objectivity became apparent in the 19th century, and were slowly brought

into scholarly considerations, leading to a development away from objectivity and toward

subjectivity in the portrayal of historiography and creation of public monument. In

historiography, empirical method and grand narratives were gradually replaced by historical

interpretation and an increased pluralism. One of the new understandings about the nature of

history, similar to contemporary thoughts on memory, included the awareness of the influence

the present had on representations of the past. Historiography critic Georg Iggers explains that

"[t]he idea that objectivity in historical research is not possible because there is no object of

history has gained increased currency. Accordingly the historian is always the prisoner of the

world within which he thinks . . ."[19] This is of course comparable to the influence of the present

on past memories in processes of the mind.

Consistent with this shift away from objectivity in historiography, the strategies used to

conceptualize and design public monuments also shifted away from objective representation and

toward a more subjective and participatory experience with the public. Where public

monuments had traditionally been static sculptures of individual figures who represented the

"great men" who ultimately signified nationalistic grand narratives, monument designers began

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[17] Halbwachs, 49.
[18] Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 94.
[19] Georg Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005), 9.

their shift toward subjectivity by including more dynamic spatial compositions that allowed

viewers access to a greater variety of perspectives of their symbolic material-forms. The

fragmentation and diversification of the experience facilitated viewers engagement with the

societal symbol. In ancient-cultural terms, it was the aspect of ritual that was

emphasized over a magic-like focus on the object.

    The open-endedness of this type of design accounted for a variety of contingencies. While

investigating the evolution of public monuments in the United-States National Mall, Kirk Savage

observes an example of this development toward subjectivity in the spatial composition of the

Lincoln Memorial:

> [I]nstead of offering a simple resolution for the viewer to absorb, [the memorial] open[s]
> up the immense interior space into questions, problems, possibilities, and mixed
> emotions. Didactism alone . . . could not fill the space; it would remain hollow, mere
> emptiness. What fills the space ultimately is the subjective experience of those who
> confront it. . . . The physical space of the monument would also become a mental and
> emotional space of engagement. . .[20]

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari argue that it is a society's ability to continually reconstruct the

meanings of space which signifies its social existence, embracing fluidity and contingency as an

organic and life giving phenomenon.[21] With this understanding, the ever developing influence of

the present day on interpretations of history can be accounted for. The subjective approach

provides an open-ended venue for political debate, representation of a more pluralistic nationalist

narrative, and acts of catharsis or reconciliation: as the Lincoln Memorial demonstrates with its

own history as a place of public discourse.[22] Hence, with the shift toward spatial composition in

the design of public monuments, their function better reflected the processes of social memory,

and the societal symbol becomes more in tune with the nature of memory itself. David Thelen

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[20] Savage, 223.

[21] Gilles Deleuze, and Felix Guattari, *One Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 382.

[22] Paul Connerton, "Seven Types of Forgetting," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 59 (January 2008), 60.; Harjes, 5.; Savage, 19-20.; Thelen, 1120.

sums up this point rather well:

> [M]emory, private and individual as much as collective and cultural, is constructed, not reproduced. . . . [T]his construction is not made in isolation but in considerations with others that occur in the contexts of community, broader politics, and social dynamics.[23]

Further along the trajectory toward an increasing subjectivity in public monuments, is the emergence of the counter-monument. The idea of the counter-monument emerges from the post-modern approach to cultural criticism and social activism. It also demonstrates artistic interests in conceptualism, performance, chance, impermanence, site specificity, and absence. Postmodern artistic and architectural techniques in public monuments often emphasize meaning outside of the work and attempt to fragment historical narratives, often ironically, with an interest in challenging the traditional premise of a monument.[24] The purpose is to demystify the material object and evoke a conscious response from the viewer in the objects negation.[25]

Again, there are ancient precedents correlating the negation of material objects with the production of consciousness. The Egyptian Pharaoh Akhenaten destroyed all idols of the god Amun in order to redirect Egypt's cultural orientation to his new abstracted ideal of religion. The *Hebrew Bible* included many examples of rejecting symbolic images and icons in reverence of a similar religious abstraction, including the rejection of graven images in the *Second Commandment*, the rejection of idolatry in the story of the Golden Calf, and the directive to exclusively warship an invisible deity in the *Book of Deuteronomy*.[26] A medieval European view of negative theology likewise held that "God cannot be described positively, but only negatively

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[23] Thelen, 1119.

[24] Carpo, 51, 52.; Young, 93; 96.

[25] Young, 134.; Hassan, 11.

[26] Joseph Gutman, *The Image and the Word: Confrontations in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Ann Arbor: Scholars Press for the American Academy of Religion, 1977), 1, 5.

through denying his . . . worldly properties."[27] Europe hosted many likeminded waves of

iconoclasm, many of which were inspired by the Reformation. It is also a variable tenet of Islam

to not represent certain images, especially those representing divinity. There are other, more

secular examples of the rejection of material form. For example, there was an early American-

republican position against using political imagery in public monuments because it was thought

to be distracting from political engagement.[28]

There are also more contemporary philosophical thoughts on the absence of form of any

kind. Literary theorist Ihab Hassan refers to such an absence of form as "silence." Similar to the

above discussion of how open-endedness in public monument design encourages participation,

Hassan argues, that it is the open-endedness of silence that invites an activated engagement.

Hassan explains that

> Silence requires the periodic subversion of forms. At times, the resulting anti form feigns
> a formlessness that nothing made or perceived by man can ever possess. . . . [A]nti forms
> oppose control, closure, stasis, telos, and historic pattern.[29]

Hassan continues with reference to art, arguing that this engagement compelled by silence

thereby generates consciousness:

> Criticism of the object prepares the way for the resurrection of the work of art, not as
> something to be possessed, but as a presence to be contemplated. . . The negative then,
> informs silence; and silence is my metaphor of a language that expresses, with harsh and
> subtle cadences, the stress in art, culture, and consciousness.[30]

This alludes to the role the arts have had on all of our discussed developments—in the

literariness of historiography, and the sculptural and design aspects of public monuments, not to

mention the artistic influences on culture in general, since ancient times.[31] Modern and

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[27] Cahoone, 227. This citation taken from a footnote in Jacques Derrida's essay "Difference."
[28] Savage, 37.
[29] Hassan, Ihab, *The Dismemberment of Orpheus: Toward a Postmodern Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 13.
[30] Hassan, 12.
[31] Young, (2000), 95.

contemporary artistic influences informing the concept and design of counter-monuments

include the Dada movement, Jean Tinguely, Richard Serra, Maya Lin, and Rachel Whiteread.

A product of early twentieth-century disillusionment with Western society, the Dada

movement thematically rejected and subverted traditional art forms and norms with experimental

approaches to expression including performance, the notion of chance, and an interest in political

activism. The emergence of conceptual art was famously introduced with Dada-ist, Marcel

Duchamp's seminal work *Fountain*, which was a mass produced "readymade" urinal he had

purchased and submitted to an art exhibition, with his artistic contribution being the idea itself.

Its scandalous reception stirred up controversy and posed important questions about what it was

that defined art—or what it could be. Art theorist Peter Osborne explains the gestural legacy:

> The event that made conceivable the realization that it was possible to 'speak
> another language' and still make sense in art was Marcel Duchamp's first unassisted
> readymade. . . Whatever else it may be, conceptual art is first and foremost an art
> of questions and it has left in its wake a whole series of questions about itself.[32]

To a similar effect, in 1960, Jean Tinguely's art piece *Homage to New York* was an oversized

moving mechanical apparatus constructed from junk parts which ironically worked toward

destroying itself. *Homage to New York* further challenged the ideas in the relationships between

permanence, value, and meaning in art.[33]

In 1981, Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc* was a post-minimalist, long and leaning slab of

steel that was commissioned as a public art piece and installed in front of the Jacob Javits

Federal Building in Manhattan, New York. It was made infamous in the debate it started

between the public, white collar professionals, city officials, judges, and artists. Some

wanted it removed as an ugly and obnoxious public nuisance obstructing vision and movement in

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[32] Peter Osborne, *Conceptual Art* (New York: Phaiden Press Limited, 2002), 13-14.
[33] Jonathan Fineberg, *Art since 1940: Strategies of Being* (New York: Prentice Hall, 2011), 216.; Young (2000), 132.

the plaza. Others fought for its legal right to remain as a commissioned piece, predicated on its being site specific.[34] The public debate and controversy it inspired is retrospectively seen as gestural in and of itself as it had given the piece an active social meaning beyond the material object itself.

In 1982, Maya Lin's *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* was also critical of traditional forms, notably, the obelisk. Obelisks date back to Egyptian times and have reappeared through many representations of national symbolism as a phallic, patriarchal form. Lin inverted the form into a horizontal, and symbolically feminine signifier, which was intended to articulate loss and absence rather than self-aggrandizing heroism or national myth. The memorial presented a complete listing of the war's casualties, commemorating the uncelebrated individuals who served. It also strategically used a smooth, black granite surfacing that reflected, and thus included the visiting public in its form. Altogether, the Vietnam Memorial was antithetical to traditional monuments in gesture, representation, and form.[35]

In 1993, Rachel Whiteread's *House* was a site specific work which used cement to fill the negative space of an old Victorian house in a neighborhood that was to be demolished in East London. Its gesture of absence ". . . elicited contemplation on the former life of the house," and was later torn down, removing itself from its site-specific context and sparking further questions about the meaning on its impermanence.[36] These artists and their works, among others, provided the conceptual and gestural tools that informed counter-monuments, including political activism, public debate, performance, chance, impermanence, site specificity, and absence. The most significant legacy of these works were their ability to ask questions, provocatively, rather than

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[34] Harriet Senie, "Richard Serra's 'Tilted Arc': Art and Non-Art Issues," *Art Journal* 48. no 4, (Winter 1989), 298-301.
[35] Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, "A Space of Loss: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)* 50. no. 3, (February 1997), 156.
[36] Fineberg, 475.

present a static artifact of expression or meaning whose context continually retreats into the depths of time.

Given these artistic influences, the emergence of the counter-monument was specifically compelled by a unique dilemma in public-monument making the effort to represent the Holocaust though a public monument in Germany. The initial public debate began over the proposal to build public monuments to commemorate the Holocaust. The tension in this effort was created by advocates interested in a traditional, objective grand narrative approach, juxtaposed by the fact that this style of monument typically represented heroism, glorification, or redemption. By this time in architectural trends, the traditional monument style would have likely received criticism in general, but in the context of the Holocaust, it was seen as a grossly inappropriate method of commemoration. Troubling questions and criticisms were haltingly apparent. During the Third Reich, the Nazi party had represented its nationalist narratives in the traditional style, aestheticizing its politics and promoting its propaganda.[37] Outside of the context of Nazi Germany, many people argued that the objectivity of traditional public monuments were fascist in thier own right.[38] Others wondered how Germany could simultaneously celebrate its nationalism—which was the sole purpose of public monuments up to that point—and also commemorate its own crimes.[39] Critics suggested that monuments merely took the burden of historical consciousness off the shoulders of the German nation and the public, burying it altogether ". . . beneath layers of national myth."[40] Leading scholar of the counter-monument, James E. Young, laments, "[t]o the extent that we encourage monuments to

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[37] Crownshaw, 214.; Noam Lupu, "Memory Vanished, Absent, and Confined: The Countermemorial Project in 1980's and 1990's Germany," *History and Memory* 15, no. 2. (Fall/Winter 2003), 131.
[38] Crownshaw, 213.
[39] Young. (1992), 270.
[40] Young. (1992), 272.

do our memory-work for us, we become that much more forgetful. In effect, the initial impulse to memorialize events like the Holocaust may actually spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them."[41]

The attempt to construct a public monument to commemorate the Holocaust developed into the search for novel approaches of monument design, and to the emergence of counter-monuments that were typically impermanent, disruptive, ". . . brazen, painfully self-conscious memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premise of their being."[42] Young explains that

> . . . even as monuments continue to be commissioned and designed by governments and public agencies eager to assign singular meaning to complicated events and people, artists increasingly plant in them seeds of self-doubt and impermanence. . . . Thus the monument has increasingly become the site of contested and competing meanings, more likely the site of cultural conflict than one of shared national values and ideals.[43]

For the artistic designers, public incitement was viewed as productive and gestural in its own right. Like conceptual art, the purpose and meaning of the piece was beyond its material form. By being open-ended, social memory would become more actively engaged in the societal-symbol's processes, and historical consciousness would then be generated.[44] The contentious debates provoked by such approaches are, at times, trivial and distracting, but it is public debate nonetheless, inevitably about the purpose and meaning of the monument.

In 1987, Horst Hoheisel's *Aschrott-Brunnen Monument* in Kassel, Germany is considered the earliest example of a counter-monument though a developed concept had yet to be formalized.[45] The purpose of the Hoheisel's monument was to represent the loss of the 3,500 plus Jews who lived in Kassel who were all deported and killed by the Nazi's. The history of the monument site was that in 1908, Sigmond Aschrott, a local entrepreneur from the Jewish

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[41] Young. (1992), 273.
[42] Ibid, 271.
[43] Young, (2000), 119.
[44] Young, (1992), 295.; Young. (2000), 119.; Crownshaw, 212.
[45] Young, (2000), 98.

community, funded a ". . . forty foot high neo-Gothic pyramid fountain, surrounded by a reflecting pool set in the main square in front of city hall," titled the *Aschcrott-Brunnen Fountain*.[46] Just before the deportation of the Jewish community, the Nazi's had the fountain demolished. As decades passed after the war, memory of the original monument faded in the community. Hoheisel thus approached the design of the new monument considering the absence of the original fountain, the absence of its memory, and of course, the absence of the Jewish community; he thereby chose to use negative form as representation of that absence. The final work was a phantom shape of the original monument. It was still a fountain, but was buried into the ground as deep as the original was high, with the water from the flat surface falling into it. The contour of the fountains shape on the surface outlining the design channeled the fountains water into the empty space beneath the surface, and a plaque commemorating the history and meaning of the monument was placed for public viewing. Hoheisel stated that "[t]he sunken fountain is not the memorial at all. . . It is only history turned into a pedestal, an invitation to passersby who stand upon it to search for the memorial in their own heads. For only there is the memorial to be found."[47]

Soon after the monuments inauguration, neo-Nazi's came to demonstrate at the site along with their counter-demonstrators, and it was all covered in the media in an ongoing controversy. "For Hoheisel, the neo-Nazis' 'reclamation' of the site, their triumphal striding atop the ruins of the fountain that their predecessors had destroyed in 1939, seemed to bear out his dark hope that this would become a negative center of gravity around which all memory— wanted and unwanted—would now congeal."[48] In this sense, the controversy might be considered as a performative gesture, drawing the variable elements of present day social

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[46] Ibid, 97.
[47] Ibid, (2000), 100.
[48] Ibid, 102.

memory into the meaning represented by the societal-symbol. Hoheisal's design, intention, and social effect, if not conceived of in terms of a general style, was nevertheless the precedent to later artists and architects.

The most famous counter-monument designer is German artist Jochen Gerz. He has created several projects on the topic of the Holocaust in Germany. Gerz elaborates:

> Faced with Germany's past, a number of people my age, even those too young to remember events, or born after the war, have always been aware of not knowing exactly how to behave. . . They exercise a sort of sublime repression of the past. Hence my idea of repressing the work of art. Since Freud's teachings, it is well known that things we have repressed continue to haunt us. My intention is to turn this relation to the past into a public event.[49]

Gerz most seminal and controversial counter-monument is the *Monument Against Fascism and for Peace* installed in Harburg Germany in 1986. The work was co-inspired and co-designed by Israeli Esther Shalev, his wife. Their combined identities conceptually brought together ancient Jewish traditions against images and icons and Germany's skepticism toward the public monument: the result being a monument that disappears.[50] Placed outside of a shopping mall, the *Monument Against Fascism and for Peace* was a 40 foot tall column, wrapped in a thin layer of soft lead. A stylus was attached near its base so that visitors might be encouraged to make their mark on it, and they did, adding signatures, messages, and other various types of "memorial graffiti." Annually, it was to be lowered five feet into the ground. Next to the column was a plaque that read:

> WE INVITE THE CITIZENS OF HARBURG, AND VISITORS TO THE TOWN, TO ADD THEIR NAMES HERE TO OURS. IN DOING SO, WE COMMIT OURSELVES TO REMAIN VIGALLENT. AS MORE AND MORE NAMES COVER THIS 12 METER TALL LEAD COLLUMN, IT WILL GRADUALLY BE LOWERED INTO THE GROUND. ONE DAY IT WILL HAVE DISAPERED COMPLETELY, AND THE SITE

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[49] Ibid, 120.
[50] Ibid, 128.

OF THE HARBURG MONUMENT AGAINST FACSISM WILL BE EMPTY. IN THE END, IT IS ONLY WE OURSELVES WHO CAN RISE UP AGAINST INJUSTICE.[51]

The monument proceeded as planned and did eventually disappear beneath the ground, fully covered with markings during its lowering.

The piece stirred much public controversy among the local public and greater German population. An unforeseen effect of the process was that, along with the inscribed commemorations and arbitrary love notes, Nazi slogans and swastikas were engraved and spray-painted on the monument, eliciting general annoyance and embarrassment from the local and greater communities. The general idea and gesture behind the monument was that, like Hoheisel's *Aschrott-Brunnen Monument*, the controversy elicited was seen as an acceptable performative aspect, provoking the present day social-memory. Both good and bad reactions would thereby serve the counter-monument's purpose by generating historical consciousness through public discourse.

In critique of the methods and intentions of Gertz's monument design, Critic Noam Lupu argues that

> [w]hen graffito appears on its surface which claims that 'Erich loves Kirsten,' it is not necessarily a trivialization of the enormity of the political legacy but perhaps a manifestation of banality, of the oversaturation of the culture or possibly of the anxiety of those who come into contact and are faced with the need to respond without having a discourse of response. However we may understand this response, we need to see that it is a form of active engagement rather than the expected one of pious genureflection. . .

In response to the dilemma posed by Nazi graffiti, Lupo states that "[a] distinction must be made between the positive uses of public controversy as a means of engaging masses and the general resentment that blinds and debilitates discourse."[52] It is something of a contradiction that Lupu himself is among the many who have involved themselves in the productive scholarly discussion

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[51] Ibid, 130.; Crownshaw, 221.
[52] Lupo, 144.

of counter-monuments because of such controversy, though his points are well taken. Despite the controversy, the ideal situation would be, through the performative aspect of public engagement, and the eventual absence of the monument, it would ". . . return the burden of memory to those who come looking for it. . . . By vanishing, [it] would leave the public in a position to examine itself as part of the pieces performance. The viewer in effect becomes the subject of the work, . . . the public becomes the sculpture."[53]

These examples of *Aschrott-Brunnen Monument* and the *Monument Against Fascism and for Peace* are notable, but are only examples of the broader history of the counter-monument. Further criticisms of the general approach to counter-monuments in general are that, rather than eliciting historical consciousness, the controversy surrounding the societal-symbols is actually distracting from the their intended meaning.[54] Critics Richard Crownshaw and Noam Lupu note that ultimately, the various efforts to compose absence and avoid self-reference have always been contradicted in one way or another by a dependence on site specificity, some material presence always remains as an artifact and referent. The conceptual presence of the piece is similarly distracting.[55] In the end, it is argued, counter-monuments fail to produce the new discourse of representation that they intended and in many ways still include allusions to narrative and myth in their references to history and avoid the detailed complexities of historical processes.[56]

Although the emergence of the counter-monument has been in Germany, due to the context of the nation's history, . In Britain,

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[53] Young, (2000), 53.; Young, (1992) 132.; Moshenska, 7.
[54] Crownshaw, 214, 224.; Young. (1992), 268-269.
[55] Moshenska, "Charred Churches or Iron Harvests?: Counter-monumentality and the Commemoration of the London Blitz," *Journal of Social Archeology*, (October 2010), 22.; Crownshaw, 146, 218.; Lupu, 146.
[56] Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero*. (Duke University Press, 2007), 119.; Lupu, 133, 146.

Gabriel Moshenska suggested that the ongoing removal of bombs from the London Blitz into the present day—some still live—should be viewed in the context of the counter-monument. The public media coverage, and overall social disruption and anxiety produced by their ongoing removal, she claims, ". . . brings the Blitz and its violent heritage into people's consciousness, proactively revisiting and reinforcing the public commemoration of the second world war."[57] This example shows the breadth in which the notion of the counter-monument might serve broader public history projects.

In sum, the processes of personal and social memory construction are interdependent and interwoven. In the development of the various types of human society, from early social groups, to states and nations, there emerges parallel developments of memory and historical consciousness, both of which are generated by societal symbolism. Alongside these developments, traditions of understanding the world include the ancient cultural features of myth, magic, and ritual, which continue to influence modern and contemporary notions of historiography and public monument design. Beginning in the nineteenth century, a shift away from objectivity toward subjectivity altered historiography and public monument design in ways that better facilitated public engagement, the emergence of the counter-monument being the most provocative example. Whether or not the concept of the counter-monument is entirely consistent, its use of contingency, open-endedness, and absence makes its function as a societal-symbol more in tune with the processes of personal and social memory construction, and is therefore more adept at generating historical consciousness.

[57] Moshenska, 21.

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Small Stories with Large Implications: How Interpretive Anthropology and Microhistory Influence Historiography

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Over the course of their discipline, historians have attempted to decipher and present the importance of the past. Not all historians agree, however, on which methods of analysis are best suited to presenting the significance of historical writing. Until the end of the nineteenth century, most historians focused on politics and state documents. Beginning in the twentieth century a new wave of scholars began to question this approach and instead champion a turn to social questions and methods. For example, in the 1940s, social historians attempted to use quantitative sociological methods in order to create comprehensive histories. These methods included the interdisciplinary "total history" pursued by *Annales* historians and the economic determinism advocated by Marxist historians. In the 1970s, some social historians began to doubt whether quantitative methods could adequately capture the structure and meaning of daily life for ordinary people in history.[1] Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg, for example, argued that historians must first seek to understand history as women and men experienced it in their daily lives before they can possibly know what kinds of big questions to ask to frame large quantitative studies.[2] It was this desire on the part of some historians to capture the everyday cultural context of lived experience that drove them to borrow from aspects of anthropology and literature to create a new historical method, micro-history. In an ironic turnaround, microhistorians, who examine minute events and their significance, produce stories vital to understanding history on a macro scale.

From the 1970s to the present, microhistorians have injected new vitality into the exploration of cultural history by compelling historians to consider how other disciplines offer them valuable tools: the importance of storytelling, how an individual or micro-event impacts history on a macro level, and how the search for history is always a search for meaning. From

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[1] William Sewell Jr., "Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History: From Synchrony to Transformation," *Representations* 59 (Summer 1997): 38.

[2] Trygve Riiser Gunderson, "On the dark side of history: Carlo Ginzburg talks to Trygve Riiser Gundersen," *Eurozine.org* (2003): 4.

now classic monographs such as Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* and Natalie Zemon Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre* to Linda Gordon's recent award-winning book *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, microhistory has tested the boundaries between history and fiction and thus shown how complex and open to interpretation history is**.** Instead of fragmenting literature from reality with his or her interpretation, each micro-historian provides an interpretation that is useful for understanding history as a reality and as a discipline.

Microhistorians turned to many of the methods of anthropology during their search for meaning in the past, and no anthropologist has influenced historians more than Clifford Geertz. Geertz may not be the most recognized name in anthropology, but he is one of the best-known anthropologists in other disciplines.[3] His emphasis on symbols brought about a paradigm shift in anthropology, from structural approaches to interpretive and theoretical ones.[4] According to Geertz, the formation of culture is what separated humans from the earliest hominids. Culture provides the external stimuli necessary for people to take on diverse endeavors such as defense, construction, reproduction, hunting, and politics.[5] During the 1960s and 1970s, Geertz found the reigning structuralist anthropological theories to be too restrictive, subjective, and positivist.[6] According to Geertz, interpretive anthropologists, after careful observation, must decipher culture in order to gain a more complete understanding of it.[7]

Contrary to the quantitative methods favored by many *Annales* and Marxist historians, Geertz defended the inherent values of "cultural analysis," which he defined as "guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses,

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[3] Sewell, 35.
[4] Aletta Biersack, "Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynne Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 73-74.
[5] Sewell, 44.
[6] Biersack, 75.
[7] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward An Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures,* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 4-5.

not discovering the Continent of Meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape."[8] Geertz did not claim that qualitative/cultural analysis promises or results in the absolute truth, because that is not its goal; cultural analysis, rather than definitively answering questions, aims to generate simultaneously knowledge and criticism of both questions and responses to those questions.[9] Geertz argued that, in order to obtain the most accurate interpretation possible, scholars must seek to provide a thick description. A thick description of an event or behavior discerns hidden meaning by placing the event or behavior in its cultural context.[10] In other words, "thick description examines public behavior for what it *says* rather than what it does. It 'reads' the symbolic content of action, interprets it as sign."[11] Thick description is the primary method Geertz used to find meanings in culture. Thus, for historians, "anthropology, as practiced by Geertz, seemed to offer a means to reaching deeper. Like social history, it was focused not on the practices of political leaders and intellectuals but on those of ordinary people. And it revealed— in their rituals, social conventions, and language—lives rich with complex symbolism and overflowing with meaning."[12] Both history and anthropology investigate human cultural variety; history does so across time while anthropology does so in space.[13]

Geertz utilized synchronic methods to show how different times exist in a single moment, which historians have found invaluable in their efforts to analyze history. Geertz's work is essential for historiography because those methods, which involve analyzing time as fixed and unchanging, also help historians connect the synchronic (fixed point in time) with the diachronic (linear) to understand better cultural transformations throughout history.[14] He called for

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[8] Geertz, 20.
[9] Biersack, 78.
[10] Geertz, 4.
[11] Biersack, 74-75.
[12] Sewell, 38.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

analyzing cultural frameworks that stand outside the minutiae of changing human interaction.

Such frameworks are enduring, less prone to mutation, changing only very gradually across time.

Thus Geertz's interpretative anthropology, with its emphasis on deciphering meaning through

publicly available symbols and patterns of behavior, is critical for social historians attempting to

break away from quantitative analysis. Even if elites primarily created the sources that social

historians possess, they can utilize Geertz's methods to search for symbols that uncover cultural

systems that extend far beyond their elite authors.[15]

Despite social historians' fascination with Geertz's thick description concept, not all

embrace his methodology uncritically. Some criticize him for not connecting his thick

description of unique situations to larger processes of economic or social change over time.[16]

The French social historian, William Sewell Jr., disagrees with Geertz. First, Sewell states that

cultural production occurs on many levels, whereas Geertz analyzes one level only; second, that

cultural analysis requires examining relations between different categories of people, not just

examining one category; and third, that studying relations within those categories, such as gender,

class, or social group, as important as societal relations. According to Sewell, historians can use

Geertz's theoretical categories but must develop a more adaptable set of tools, other than

Geertz's, to understand historical transformation, creating a methodology that borrows from

Geertz and other disciplines in order to connect the micro and the macro over time.[17]

Historians began to develop just such a methodology in the 1970s with what Lawrence

Stone called "a return to narrative." According to Stone, the second wave of social historians

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[15] Ibid., 39.
[16] Biersack, 79. Granted, social scientific historians are quick to dismiss such an approach, declaring microhistory and its microscopic analysis too distinct to add anything substantial to general historical knowledge. See Elizabeth Ten Dyke, "Historical Anthropology," in *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing, vol. 1*, ed. Kelly Boyd (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Press, 1999), 38.
[17] Sewell, 50-51.

wanted to get back to understanding the emotions and actions of ordinary people in history, and to how their experiences influenced their decision-making.[18] They called for renewed attention to narrative: to recounting the stories of individuals and explicating the cultural meaning behind the experiences and ideas of those individuals. Influenced by Geertz, they began using anthropological interpretation in place of sociology and economics to set events in a historical context.[19] They also became more interested in the human condition and personal ideals than in the will of kings, presidents, and generals.[20] Historians began to peruse such previously disregarded sources as court records, and to apply thick description to them in order to draw attention to the *mentalité* (broad political culture) that defined the lives of ordinary people.[21] The return to narrative differs from previous narratives produced by historians, such as Leopold von Ranke. Instead, the new narrative history concerned itself with the poor and obscure, not the great and powerful; it explored the subconscious rather than reiterating facts; and it recounted past events not because of their explicit importance but "in order to throw light upon the internal workings of a past culture and society."[22] This narrative turn inspired historians to examine the smallest events for the greatest significance, giving rise to a new subfield known as microhistory.

Microhistorians employ the tools of interpretive anthropology and narrative to great effect, breathing new life into cultural history. The pioneering micro-historian Carlo Ginzburg attributes the birth of the term *microhistory* to "a circle of Italian historians who, in the 1970s and 1980s, asserted that historical changes can only be fully understood when analyzed at the micro-level, where consequences of major social structures always make themselves felt."[23]

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[18] Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New World History," *Past and Present* 85 (November 1979): 13.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 15.
[21] Ibid., 16-17.
[22] Ibid., 19.
[23] Gundersen, 3.

Microhistorians argue that local cultures connect with world culture in many ways.[24] Microhistory differs from interpretive anthropology in its "history from below" approach, which asserts that not only does culture affect individuals but individuals also affect culture.[25] Geertz's thick description is nonetheless invaluable to historians, because, as historian Giovanni Levi writes, as a method, it enables them to perform "microscopic analysis of the most minute events as a means of arriving at the most far-reaching conclusions."[26] Both the original Italian microhistorians and subsequent generations of scholars have come to appreciate micro-history's unique ability to turn a microscope on specific events and individuals in order to determine why and how people construct central cultural categories like race, politics, class, gender, and religion.

With the publication of *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* in 1973, Carlo Ginzburg provided a template for how to structure a microhistory, both bringing to life an obscure and iconoclastic personage and digging deeply into his unique past to understand much broader cultural meaning.[27] Ginzburg succeeds in revealing the culture of the Italian peasantry in the sixteenth century through his analysis of the 1584 and 1599 trials of Domenico Scandella, also known as Menocchio, a miller from Montereale, Italy.[28] Religious authorities sentenced Menocchio to death in 1599, after his imprisonment in 1584 did little to stop him from preaching against the Roman Catholic Church. Ginzburg argues that the oral culture Menocchio lived in affected his interpretation of the books he read, which provided him with the ideas, and the words to express those ideas, to oppose the church and advocate for a new

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[24] István Szijártó, "Four Arguments for Microhistory," *Rethinking History* 6 no. 2 (2002): 209. Biersack, 82-83.
[25] Sewell, 49.
[26] Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory" In *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter Burke, (University Park, PA: Polity Press, 2001), 102.
[27] Gunderson, 4.
[28] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1980), xxi, 1-5.

form of religion.[29] According to Ginzburg, it is possible that Menocchio received some sort of

schooling that enabled him to read books that influenced his perception of the world.

Menocchio's literacy was important to his unique religious view, but Ginzburg shows, "the

encounter between the printed page and the oral culture that formed an explosive mixture in

Menocchio's head."[30] While reading books, Menocchio isolated words and phrases, distorted

them, and provided varied analogies of putrefaction.[31] Ginzburg argues that Menocchio formed

his own ideas after reading, which dispels the notion that only dominant classes generate ideas.

The combination of print and oral tradition enabled Menocchio's ideas to form, which led him to

challenge the hegemonic conceptions of power that religious and political leaders relied on to

remain in power.

Menocchio's connection with print and oral culture is clear in his explanation of his new

faith. According to Ginzburg, Menocchio's argument against the existence of absolute religious

truth threatened the religious authorities more than any of his other arguments. Instead of

accepting the church's claims to possess knowledge of the one true faith, Menocchio felt "every

person considers his faith to be right, and we do not know which is the right one."[32] He

envisioned a church similar to a marketplace, where a new world free of persecution would form,

"and a way of life, because the Church did not act properly, and because there should not be so

much pomp."[33] In such a religious marketplace, one could worship whomever one saw fit, and

the world would be rid of the persecution the Church enacted upon other faiths. Menocchio also

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[29] Ibid., 102.
[30] Ibid., 51, 33.
[31] Ibid., 5-6. For example, Menocchio's analogy of the cheese and the worms: "'I have said that, in my opinion, all was chaos, that is, earth, air, water, and fire were mixed together; and out of that bulk a mass formed – just as cheese is made out of milk – and worms appeared in it, and these were the angels. The most holy majesty decreed that these should be God and the angels, and among that number of angels, there was also God, he too having been created out of that mass at the same time, and he was made lord, with four captains, Lucifer, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael.'"
[32] Ibid., 106.
[33] Ibid., 79.

found confession ludicrous, declaring, "You might as well go and confess to a tree as to priests and monks."[34] Authorities perceived Menocchio as not only a religious threat but also a political one. For example, he disputed the use of Latin in the practice of church law, writing that, "speaking Latin is a betrayal of the poor because in lawsuits the poor do not know what is being said and are crushed; and if they want to say four words they need a lawyer."[35] Ginzburg claims that the oral miller culture attendant on Menocchio's livelihood influenced his cosmogony and political criticism of the church. In the sixteenth century, the mill constituted "a place of meeting, of social relations, in a world that was predominantly closed and static . . . a place for the exchange of ideas."[36] As the heads of these establishments, the millers represented "an occupational group especially responsive to new ideas and inclined to propagate them."[37] In a prelude to the Roman Inquisition, religious authorities silenced Menocchio for his ideological resistance and assertion of his autonomy.[38] According to Ginzburg, Menocchio's reading and his social status as a miller influenced his ideas and how he perceived the church.

Thick description, as applied to the importance of oral culture, enables Ginzburg to provide a deeper explanation about the historical significance of Menocchio's life and persecution. Ginzburg's *microstoria* of a sixteenth-century miller shows that "between the culture of dominant classes and that of the subordinate classes their existed, in preindustrial Europe, a circular relationship composed of reciprocal influences, which traveled from low to high as well as from high to low."[39] This circular relationship is not self-evident from Menocchio's trials, however. It is impressive that Ginzburg deduced it from court records and a

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[34] Ibid., 10.
[35] Ibid., 9.
[36] Ibid., 119.
[37] Ibid., 120.
[38] Ibid., 126.
[39] Ibid., xii.

listing of the books in Menocchio's possession. He did so by self-consciously acting as an historical ethnographer in this study, and his book, though not directly influenced by Geertz, is undoubtedly an example of historical thick description. Menocchio's persecution could be seen as just another execution of a heretic in the sixteenth century. Ginzburg's thick description of Menocchio's trial and his books, however, permits a "rejection of this simplistic explanation [and] implies a much more complicated hypothesis about relationships in the period between the culture of the dominant classes and the culture of the subordinate classes."[40] The story of Menocchio reveals that peasant culture was not simple or purely dictated from above. This revelation influenced how historians would perceive peasant culture in subsequent work on the sixteenth century.

Early modern Europe remained a rich terrain for cultural historians interested in exploring the possibilities of microhistory. In 1983, the American historian Natalie Zemon Davis published her now canonical *The Return of Martin Guerre*, an examination of a unique case of identity theft in sixteenth-century France. In her analysis, Davis pays homage to Ginzburg, following his lead in turning to records of court records to explore past concerns and their meaning.[41] Davis's court cases centered on a man named Arnaud du Tilh and his impersonation of the landowning peasant Martin Guerre. Arnaud arrived in the town of Artigat and assumed Martin's identity there ten years after Martin had left, having a daughter with Martin's wife and consolidating his property. Arnaud kept up the ruse for multiple years, until he was accused of fraud by Martin's uncle, Pierre. He had almost succeeded in convincing the court that he was Martin Guerre when the real Martin arrived, which led to Arnaud's execution.

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[40] Ibid., 126.
[41] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 3.

Davis wrote *The Return of Martin Guerre* after serving as a consultant on a French film of the same name. She felt that, while the film portrayed nicely the unique personalities caught up in the drama, it did not provide the kind of cultural context that would make the story meaningful to modern viewers or readers. In particular, it did not reflect on the importance of sixteenth-century identity, left out any information on rural Protestantism, and lessened the impact of the contradictions faced by Martin's wife and the judge.[42] Davis conducted further research into the story in an attempt to understand better rural society and culture in the sixteenth century.[43] She argues that previous historians analyzed events involving rural peasants in France but not "the peasants' hopes and feelings; the ways in which they experienced the relation between husband and wife, parent and child; the ways in which they experienced the constraints and possibilities in their lives."[44] She also argues that the Martin Guerre case sheds light on the greater world of peasant culture in sixteenth-century France.[45]

Davis, who taught with Geertz at Princeton, employs thick description in order to discover peasants' agency and better comprehend their culture. She utilizes "a series of incidents from the peasant life of sixteenth-century France to probe local sentiments, motivations, values, feelings, and the lived world."[46] She discovers all of these elements most poignantly in Bertrande de Rols, Martin's wife. Davis argues that, although few sources exist that might give insight into Bertrande's motivations for refusing to leave Martin when they failed to conceive, one can infer "a concern for her reputation as a women, a stubborn independence, and a shrewd realism about how she could maneuver within the constraints upon one of her sex."[47] Faced with limited

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[42] Ibid., viii.
[43] Ibid., ix.
[44] Ibid., 1.
[45] Ibid., 1-4.
[46] Biersack, 76.
[47] Davis, 28.

choices and forced to live with Martin's uncle Pierre after her husband fled Artigat, Bertrande

jumped at the opportunities afforded by Martin's ersatz return in the person of Arnaud du Tilh,

because even if he was an imposter, he provided a way out of the doldrums of her life.[48] Davis

also postulates that the new Martin and Bertrande spent countless hours refining the ruse,

dispelling the commonly held view that complex conversation took place only among the higher

classes.[49] She also confirms the importance of the Reformation to peasant society, as Ginzburg

also emphasizes. For Menocchio, a connection existed between the Reformation and the printed

word, which empowered him to voice his opposition to the Catholic Church. For Bertrande and

Arnaud, the Reformation allowed them to hide their ruse from that church. Protestant

proselytizers first entered Artigat sometime in the 1550s, and Davis offers the informed

hypothesis that Bertrande and Arnaud were among those drawn to the new faith. This conversion

is significant because, unlike Catholicism, Protestantism did not require confession to a priest.

Arnaud and Bertrande could "tell their story to God alone and need not communicate it to any

human intermediary."[50] Thus, Davis also connects oral culture with the Reformation, albeit in a

slightly different manner from Ginzburg.

Davis uses thick description to assert further that Bertrande possessed agency, whether

she worked for or against the man impersonating her husband. After Pierre and his wife

(Bertrande's mother) succeed in having Arnaud arrested for fraud, they appear to have also

succeeded in convincing Bertrande to join them in bringing charges against the imposter. In

reality, "[Bertrande] would go along with the court case against the impostor and hope to lose

it . . . She would also be prepared to win the case [, though], however terrible the consequences

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[48] Ibid., 22, 32-33.
[49] Ibid., 46.
[50] Ibid., 48-50.

for the new Martin."[51] The story of the way Bertrande played both sides is exemplary of the way microhistory can demonstrate the agency possessed by peasant women.

Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre* also provides examples of how microhistory can incorporate multiple methods in its analysis, including some detailed attention to the language and symbols of the men who wrote about the trial contemporaneously. While Davis does not credit Michel Foucault or the concept of the linguistic turn as influencing her research outright, she analyzes the discourse utilized in the texts of both Judge Jean de Coras and Guillaume Le Sueur. Coras's *Arrest Memorable* is a book about images and genres, while Le Sueur's *Admiranda historia* reads more like a news account.[52] Davis questions the motives behind Coras's report because he presents Arnaud as having a perfect memory, neglects to mention the imprisonment of Pierre and Bertrande, and adds charges of abduction, sacrilege, plagiarism, and larceny to Arnaud's sentence.[53] Thus, Davis's thick description of the case of Martin Guerre sheds light on sixteenth-century French peasant culture and the roles women fashioned for themselves within that culture, and exposes the bias that exists in every source. Like other microhistorians, she is forthright about the limits of her sources.

In 1999, the American historian Linda Gordon, using the micro-historic methods pioneered by Ginzburg and then further developed by Davis, investigated the 1904 adoption and then abduction of a group of Irish-American children on the American mining frontier in *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*. Gordon's book is a tale of Irish-Catholic orphans from New York who arrive in Clifton-Morenci, Arizona, to meet their new adoptive Mexican parents. The white women of both towns, in an act of shrewd vigilantism, convinced their husbands to abduct the children to be raised in white families, despite the best efforts of the local Catholic priest and

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[51] Ibid., 61.
[52] Ibid., 104.
[53] Davis, 108-109.

orphanage officials, claiming that the Mexican families were unfit to raise white children. The Catholic orphanage in New York that sent the children west pressed charges against the vigilantes, and, eventually, the Supreme Court sided with the white mothers deeming them better able to provide for the orphans than the Mexican women.[54] Gordon expands on the examples of microhistory provided by Ginzburg and Davis by reconstructing the experiences of not only multiple individuals but also multiple ethnic, racial, and gender groups at the turn of the twentieth century. She exemplifies a more recent iteration of microhistory, inspired by Foucault and the linguistic turn, which further challenges Geertz's methods by stressing the importance discourse plays in forming a culture.[55]

Gordon examines the interactions of the copper miners of Clifton and Morenci and their wives with the orphanage to illustrate the transiency and mutability of categories like race, ethnicity, gender, and nationality.[56] The story disputes the notion that the American West was the stomping ground only of cowboys and prospectors, as the historian Frederick Jackson Turner once famously declared.[57] Gordon structures her book in such a way that it alternates between analytical chapters on macro concepts like the economics of copper mining or white and Mexican gender relations in frontier communities and short chapters devoted primarily to retelling the narrative of the orphan abduction, thus connecting the macro with the micro. Even her macro chapters incorporate the micro as seen by the relationship of Clifton-Morenci to copper mining at the start of the twentieth century. The relationship exemplifies, "a microcosmic illustration of the whole copper story: the insignificance of international borders at the time, the transformation from individuals to big-capital mining, the role of the federal government in

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[54] Gordon, 297.
[55] Biersack, 81.
[56] Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), x.
[57] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*. 1920. Reprint. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962).

giving birth to that capital, the centrality of railroad construction."[58] Mexicans, she argues,

traveled occasionally between the Mexican-American border and considered themselves both

Mexican and American. Phelps Dodge, the company that owned the copper mines, preempted

any possibility of white and Mexican miners uniting by first playing to the racist fears of the

Anglo workers, then utilizing its influence with the territorial government to squash a Mexican

strike. According to Gordon, the orphan affair finished what that 1903 strike had begun: it made

all Mexicans poor and all Anglos respectable, and diminished the femininity of Mexican women.

White miners no longer perceived Mexican miners as brothers in the struggle against capitalism

but rather as an impoverished race that brought down wages.[59] In the fight against a perceived

Mexican menace, the Anglo women followed their husbands' lead against Mexican men,

pushing women of color into further subjugation by declaring them unsuitable mothers.[60]

Clifton-Morenci society had transitioned to a biracial discourse, assigning all nonwhites as filthy

and poor. For Mexicans in Clifton-Morenci, this shift to a biracial discourse, according to

Gordon, signified that Mexicans could no longer elevate their status in society through social or

economic means. For example, a Mexican woman could no longer shed the color of her skin by

marrying a white man in an attempt to become more "white."[61] The Anglo women also turned

"white" orphans whom New Yorkers had assigned to the Irish "race." *The Great Arizona

Orphan Abduction* demonstrates that gender, racial, and class discourses are constantly changing.

As can be seen in these three monographs, interpretative anthropology, the narrative turn,

and microhistory have enriched social history and cultural history on both sides of the Atlantic,

but they are not without their flaws. Critics claim that Geertz's interpretive ethnographic studies

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[58] Gordon, 29.
[59] Ibid., 229.
[60] Ibid., 199-200
[61] Ibid., 241.

are no more than projections of his own subjectivity, and thus do not represent reality.[62]

Narrative microhistorians can easily fall into similar problems. Historians writing about the rare

events that leave an archival trace must be able to discern the normal from the unconventional.

Interpretation can be arbitrary and narrative microhistorians must not only choose their sources

wisely but also be up front about the limits of those sources, or face accusations of returning to

the old narrative historic form of storytelling for its own sake.[63]

  The structure of a micro-historic work can also lend credence to the argument that

microhistory is too often merely a work of literature. For example, Ginzburg writes his books as

freestanding paragraphs because he wants to include readers in the conclusion *and* the process.[64]

This freestanding structure and its sixty-two chapters can make *The Cheese and the Worms* seem

to stretch on without a pause for historical reflection, which is surprising in a book slightly over a

hundred pages. Davis's *Martin Guerre,* structured similarly to a novel, recounts a chronological

series of events. Davis does not incorporate her analysis of Coras' and Le Sueur's texts

throughout, placing them instead in the final chapters. If she had incorporated her analysis of

Coras and Le Sueur into her main narrative, *Martin Guerre* would flow more smoothly. As it

stands, the last two chapters occur after the chapter that culminates in the climax of Arnaud's

trial, which takes away from her narrative. Gordon alternates the chapters in *The Great Arizona*

Orphan Abduction between analysis and narrative. This structure appears to concretely divide

narrative from thick description, but in each chapter, Gordon actually does both. Thus, her

chapters can be misleading. Microhistorians must tread lightly when structuring their works, or

risk alienating both general and scholarly readers.

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[62] Biersack, 79.
[63] Stone, 21-22.
[64] Gunderson, 10.

Microhistorians also sometimes risk slipping into the realm of literature within their narrative when they conjecture too much. For example, Ginzburg pays slight attention to the Koran and its influence on Menocchio. He claims Menocchio doubted the divinity of Christ after reading Mandeville's *Travels*: "Mandeville's long exposition of the religion of Mohammed would have fascinated Menocchio even more . . . He had been able to find a clear rejection of Christ's crucifixion."[65] Ginzburg posits that reading *Travels* and the Koran spurred not Menocchio's rejection of the church but rather his interpretation of the texts, which is understandable since the connection between print and oral culture is paramount to Ginzburg's thesis.[66] It is odd that Ginzburg assigns little significance to the Koran but much significance to Mandeville, given the latter's opposition to Christianity.

Davis and Gordon also occasionally slip into the realm of literature on multiple occasions. Davis conducts a "thought experiment" regarding whether Martin and Arnaud ever met, which does nothing to help move her narrative.[67] She also "hazard[s] a guess" that Protestants favored the new Martin and Catholics favored Pierre Guerre. She presumes that Protestants favored new ways while Catholics represented the established order, providing little evidence to back up either claim.[68] Gordon is forced to speculate and turn to alternative sources when describing the motivations of the Mexican women for adopting the orphans. Most of what Gordon presents about the Mexican women comes from what is known about Margarita Chacón, the only one of them known to have left any records. Chacón, however, is not necessarily exemplary of most Mexicans in Clifton-Morenci; Anglo villagers respected Chacón, and she was

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[65] Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, 43.
[66] Ibid., 51.
[67] Davis, 38-39.
[68] Davis, 56.

the only Mexican woman to leave records and the only woman the court subpoenaed.[69] Gordon provides context with her analysis of Mexican culture in other areas but hurts her own argument by presenting Chacón as a typical example of Mexican women in Clifton-Morenci.

While microhistory and interpretative anthropology may have their flaws, their impact upon historiography is undeniable. Geertz's call for a science of interpretation opened the door for not only microhistorians but also gender historians, race historians, postcolonial historians, and subaltern historians. While Geertz' structured historical anthropology searches for a different end than the textualism inspired by Michel Foucault, both authors strive to uncover the reality and theoretical paradoxes created by multidimensionality.[70] Recent microhistory utilizes both Geertzian and Foucauldian methods to discover hidden meanings in previously overlooked texts. As a result, historians should add Ginzburg's, Davis's, and Gordon's works to current historical understanding, not take them separately from it. The ongoing scholarly interest in micro-history is due in part to its flexibility: "Microhistory never was one thing, never a codified procedure that one could embrace or reject. Rather, it is a loose, unrestricted label for a variety of works— many, but not all, European and produced in response to global meta-narratives—that discounted or undervalued the importance of the local, individual, or event in historical interpretation."[71] The study of history is a search for meaning in and a larger understanding of the past; microhistory locates that meaning in the small, often otherwise forgotten stories of seemingly ordinary men and women. Microhistory influences historians to remember that not only can the world be found in a grain of sand, but the grain of sand carries many meanings, all equally important.

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[69] Gordon, 67, 118, 154-155, 289.
[70] Biersack, 96.
[71] John Walton, James Brooks, and Christopher R.N. DeCorse, "Introduction," in *Small Worlds: Method, Meaning, & Narrative in Microhistory*, eds. James F. Brooks, Christopher R.N. DeCorse, & John Walton (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008), 5.

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PERPETUATING THE MYTH
THE LOST CAUSE IN FEATURE FILMS
1930 - 1940

Edward Peple

THE LITTLEST REBEL
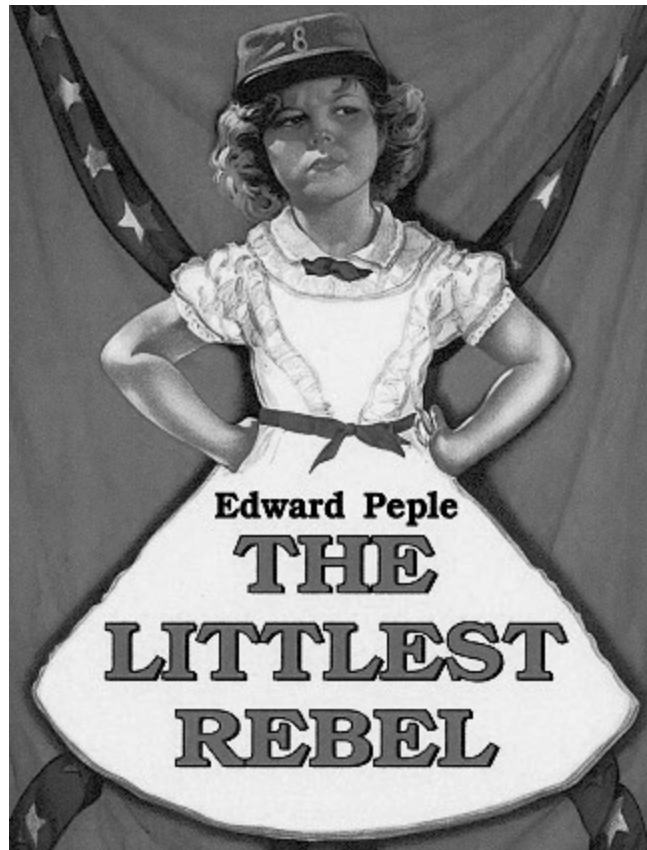
ABOUT THE AUTHOR
Lorraine Dias Herbon received both her Master of Arts and Bachelor of Arts in History from California State University, Sacramento. With her focus on collective memory and the American Civil War, Lorraine hopes to continue her educational pursuits in a doctoral program, perhaps at a university in the South.

Stately homes, embellished with white columns, wide porches, and trailing vines, stand guard over sprawling southern plantations. Beautiful women giggle and flirt, hoop skirts swishing gently. Gallant cavaliers in brightly colored waistcoats sip mint juleps from tall, cool glasses delivered to them by a smiling black house slave. Across the acres of tilled ground, happy, contented field hands sing as they pick cotton. This is an idyllic existence for both master and slave. After all, according to esteemed historian William Dunning, writing in 1904, "slavery had been a *modus vivendi* through which social life was possible" in the South.[1]

For millions of Americans in the 1930s, struggling against the binding hold of the Great Depression, the description above served as the reality of the antebellum and Civil War South. Movie audiences found films that portrayed this image of the nineteenth-century South comfortably familiar, the version of history presented to them through memorials, literature, education, and academic study since a time not long after Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. In reality, this idyllic image of the South served as part and parcel of a way of viewing the Civil War known as the Myth of the Lost Cause. This Myth, a retelling of history from a pro-Southern perspective and strengthened in the collective memory over the course of fifty years, received further reinforcement between 1930 and 1940 through Hollywood feature films.

Historians have expertly plumbed the depths of the Lost Cause in blockbuster films such as 1915's *Birth of a Nation* and 1939's *Gone with the Wind*. In *Causes Won, Lost and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War*, Gary Gallagher points to the importance of these two films for "their singular influence over the span of many

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[1] William D. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1904), 384.

decades (a continuing influence in the case of *Gone with the Wind*)."[2] While Gallagher, like

others, goes on to explore more recent Civil War films, like *Gettysburg* and *Glory*, little analysis

exists for the everyday films of early Hollywood, particularly those of the 1930s when the Civil

War reemerged as a theme after a hiatus in the aftermath of World War I.[3] The films examined in

this study do not represent the great blockbusters of their day, although some garnered

impressive box office returns, but rather the general fare served up by the Hollywood assembly

line of the 1930s. Some featured impressive casts, including stars like Shirley Temple, Gary

Cooper, and Errol Flynn, while others starred actors less readily recognizable today, such as

Warner Baxter and Norman Foster.[4] These films served as the backbone of the film industry,

bringing in reliable returns while concurrently serving up a vision of history that echoed the

Myth of the Lost Cause.

The Collective Memory of the American Civil War

The claims of the Lost Cause Myth contained in the Civil War films of the 1930s

reinforced a collective American memory of the conflict established shortly after the War had

ended. Coined by Richmond, Virginia, newspaper editor Edward A. Pollard, a fervent supporter

of the Southern cause before and during the War , the term "Lost Cause" originally served in the

early years after the Civil War as a call for a "war of ideas" as part of an effort to retain Southern

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[2] Gary W. Gallagher, *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 9.

[3] Bruce Chadwick, *The Reel Civil War: Mythmaking in American Film* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 6.

[4] The films chosen for this study were initially identified through *The Civil War in Motion Pictures: A Bibliography of Films Produced in the United States since 1897*, a publication edited by Paul C. Spehr and the staff of the Motion Picture Section of the Library of Congress (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1961). From this work, eighteen films were chosen that met the following criteria: (1) full-length, feature film; (2) released between January of 1930 and December of 1940; and (3) the Civil War or its aftermath were a background or theme within the film. Of the eighteen films, only sixteen are available for the general public and have been included in this study.*The Civil War in Motion Pictures: A Bibliography of Films Produced in the United States since 1897* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1961).

identity.[5] Taken up by a variety of individuals and groups in the South during the late nineteenth century, by the 1930s, the Myth became more nationally accepted as the collective memory of the Civil War, its causes, and its aftermath.

From the Myth's earliest conception, various forms of popular culture were employed to spread its ideology. Initial efforts focused on the creation of Confederate memorials across the South to commemorate the fallen dead and to celebrate the survivors, such efforts often led by women's groups such as the formidable United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC).[6] These efforts gradually expanded into the classroom as the UDC and others sought to educate children across the South, and then across the nation, in the Lost Cause mythology. As James M. McPherson notes in his essay *Long-Legged Yankee Lies*, the years surrounding the turn of the twentieth century saw an expansion in public education. Combined with the increasing professionalization of historians and their work, the study of history at all levels of education rose and created a concurrent need for new textbooks. Into this whirlwind of activity came the UDC, determined to put forth the "correct history" of the United States for the benefit of the schoolchildren of the South.[7] Calling for history books written by Southerners, the UDC, along with the United Veterans of the Confederacy, instigated a successful effort to include Lost Cause themes within mandated textbooks, first in the South, and then gradually expanding, in one form or another, to the nation as a whole.[8]

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[5] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause 1865-1920* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980), 7.

[6] Karen L. Cox, Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003), 2-3.

[7] James M. McPherson, "Long-Legged Yankee Lies: The Southern Textbook Crusade," in *The Memory of the Civil War in America Culture*, ed. Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 67.

[8] McPherson, *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, 76.

As educational efforts took shape, popular culture followed suit. Jim Cullen, writing in

The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past, identifies the power of popular culture,

noting its ability "to offer large numbers of people explanations of why things are the way things

are." Cullen goes further to note that infusing "this power with history…and you have a potent

agent for influencing the thinking, and thus the actions, of millions of people."[9] Literary works

by popular authors Joel Chandler Harris, Thomas Nelson Page, Thomas Dixon, and Annie

Fellows Johnston utilized the mechanisms of popular culture to further ensure the acceptance of

the Lost Cause as the dominant national memory of the Civil War era. By the 1930s, the works

of authors like Margaret Mitchell and Stark Young further reinforced the memory. That works

by these authors and others garnered readers from across the nation and, in some instances, from

around the world, speaks to the popularity of the Lost Cause, not just in the South, but

throughout the United States.[10] From many of these works, the films of Hollywood's Golden

Age arose.

The acceptance of the Lost Cause into both popular culture and education achieved

further reinforcement in the nation's consciousness by the work of academics, especially those

historians who came of age during the nation's Progressive Era (roughly 1890-1920). Perhaps no

historian working during the first decades of the twentieth century was as influential as William

Dunning. A professor of history at Columbia University, Dunning argued that the irresponsible

behavior of enslaved blacks in the South, urged on as it was by abolitionists, not only poisoned

the life of the antebellum South but acted upon post-War society in such a way that the Jim Crow

laws and segregation following Reconstruction became necessary to restore the appropriate

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[9] Jim Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 13.

[10] Sue Lynn McGuire, "The Little Colonel: A Phenomenon in Popular Literary Culture," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 89, No. 2 (1991), 134. Also, David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 393.

superior-subordinate relationship between the races.[11] Dunning wrote in his *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics* in 1904 that "the ultimate root of the trouble in the South had been, not the institution of slavery, but the coexistence in one society of two races so distinct in characteristics as to render coalescence impossible…." Slavery kept the South stable, a necessary component in the social structure of that particular region of the United States.[12] As historian Bruce Chadwick notes, during "the 1907-1940 period, this historian's [Dunning] views influenced most Americans, including filmmakers and their audiences." Scholars taught by Dunning followed his lead, with the views learned in his classrooms further reinforced when those scholars from the South returned home and participated in discussions of the war and politics with aging Confederate veterans and their sympathizers.[13]

With the Lost Cause so much a part of the national memory, it comes as no surprise that the burgeoning film industry of the second decade of the twentieth century should further carry the message of southern redemption. During the 1910s, 359 films silent films featured a Civil War theme, running for a total of 8,079 minutes in theaters across America.[14] In 1913 alone, during the semicentennial of the War, 98 films with a Civil War theme were produced, all following "ritual plots full of nostalgia" and including "brave if defeated Confederates surrounded by their virtuous women, and countless uncles and mammies protecting plantations and arranging marriages of the Blue and Gray."[15] According to Bruce Chadwick in *The Reel Civil War: Mythmaking in American Film*, silent era films tended to focus on reconciliation, which masked the "political and cultural strife between North and South that lasted for

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[11] Bruce Chadwick, *The Reel Civil War: Mythmaking in American Film*, 30.
[12] William D. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics*, 384.
[13] Bruce Chadwick, *The Reel Civil War: Mythmaking in American Film*, 30-31.
[14] John B. Kuiper, "Civil War Films: A Quantitative Description of a Genre," *The Journal of the Society of Cinematologists*, Vol. 4-5 (1965), 82.
[15] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, 394.

generations and led to the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, a crippled Southern economy, Jim Crow

laws and strident segregation."[16]

Movies, from their inception to today, create a compelling vision of the past. As Stuart

McConnell so astutely notes, "more people have seen a single fictional Civil War film, *Gone

with the Wind*, than have read the works of all professional historians combined."[17] Eric Foner

agrees, noting that "after all, many more people learn their history from watching the film

Malcolm X than from reading some academic tome about Malcom X."[18] In the years of the Great

Depression, a resurgence in the American appetite for nostalgic cultural expressions of the Lost

Cause flourished, and Hollywood responded.[19] For many Americans, the Lost Cause mythology

included in the films of the 1930s became their remembered vision of the antebellum, Civil War,

and post-War periods of United States history.

Defining the Lost Cause

For purposes of this study, historian Alan Nolan provides an instructive description of the

ideas contained within the Myth of the Lost Cause that can be found in the Civil War films of the

1930s. These ideas include: (1) Northern abolitionists as provocateurs leading to sectional strife

between the North and a South that would have gladly given up slavery if left to its own devices;

(2) the nature of the slaves themselves; (3) slavery did not constitute the cause for secession, an

act that was Constitutionally legal and justified; (4) the idealized home front; and (5) the

idealized Confederate soldier and his venerated commanders. By exploring each of these themes

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[16] Bruce Chadwick, *The Reel Civil War: Mythmaking in American Film*, 9.
[17] Stuart McConnell, "Epilogue: The Geography of Memory," in *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 259.
[18] Eric Foner, "A Conversation Between Eric Foner and John Sayles," in Past Imperfect: History According to the Movies, eds. Ted Mico, John Miller-Monzon, and David Rubel (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995), 20.
[19] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, 393.

through the films of the 1930s, the importance of the Myth of the Lost Cause as the collective national memory becomes clear.

The Provocateurs

First among the claims of the Lost Cause to be explored is the idea that Northern abolitionists acted as provocateurs, an idea which provided a means of identifying the true culprits behind the sectional strife between North and South in the decades leading up to the War. This theme finds its ready accompaniment in another component of the Myth, the idea that the South would have given up slavery of its own accord had it just been given enough time.[20]

No one film released between 1930 and 1940 more fully exposes this particular Lost Cause claim than 1940's *Santa Fe Trail*. In this film, as remarkable for its historical inaccuracy as its Lost Cause themes, star Errol Flynn brings his unique brand of swashbuckling charm to a portrayal of future Confederate cavalry leader J.E.B. Stuart. Beginning with his graduation from West Point, Stuart finds himself confronting a classmate, Rader (played with sparkling evil by Van Heflin), who is intent on distributing abolitionist literature at the academy and on provoking conflict with the Southern cadets. Stuart answers the abolitionist rhetoric of Rader, saying, "The South will settle it in its own time and in its own way but not through the propaganda of renegades like this John Brown or any of his followers." Stuart, along with his companion, George Custer, meets up with Brown in the Kansas Territory and again in Harper's Ferry where Stuart plays a pivotal role in Brown's capture.

Raymond Massey's frightening portrayal of John Brown captures the idea that Brown, like his fellow abolitionists, was bent on destroying slavery at all costs. While Rader is portrayed as a venal individual, seeking monetary gain for aiding in Brown's efforts, Brown's fanaticism

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[20] Alan T. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, eds. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 15-16.

and desire for vengeance knows no bounds. In fact, when questioned about his Harper's Ferry

plans and how they might lead to the secession of the Southern states, Brown defiantly growls,

"To the devil with the Union." The character of John Brown in *Santa Fe Trail* starts a chain of

events that viewers of the film know will end in the disunion of the United States, and J.E.B.

Stuart's calm assertion that the South will address its slavery issues in time is denied its place in

history. [21]

The Nature of Slaves

The second component explored here, and a major part of the Lost Cause that found its

way into popular culture, concerns the nature of slavery itself. According to Alan Nolan, "there

exist two prominent images of the black slaves….One is of the 'faithful slave'; the other is of

'the happy darky stereotype.'" One need think only of Joel Chandler Harris' beloved Uncle

Remus to see the powerful allure of this particular Lost Cause claim.[22]

In two films from the 1930s, Bill "Bojangles" Robinson portrays characters imbued with

the "faithful slave" identity. Coincidentally, both films featured Twentieth-Century Fox star

Shirley Temple. In *The Littlest Rebel*, Robinson's Uncle Billy remains faithful to his Confederate

owners throughout the course of the War, including watching over Shirley Temple's character,

Virgie, when her father, Captain Cary, finds himself imprisoned as a spy by the Union army.

Even with the end of the War, Uncle Billy refers to himself as "Captain Cary's slave." In the

end, Uncle Billy travels with Virgie to Washington, D.C., to plead with Abraham Lincoln

himself to free his master.[23]

In the *Little Colonel*, also a Temple film, Robinson's character, Walker, has remained

with his former owner, still serving as butler and general household servant for the querulous

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[21] *Santa Fe Trail*, DVD, directed by Michael Curtiz (1940; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers Pictures).
[22] Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 16.
[23] *The Littlest Rebel*, DVD, directed by David Butler (1935; Century City, CA: Twentieth Century-Fox Films).

Colonel Lloyd. With Hattie McDaniel's character, Becky, Walker brings little Lloyd, played by

Temple, to a backwoods baptism. Especially for Southern viewers of this film, this portion

served as a clear reminder of one of the oft-repeated arguments of slavery proponents: that their

enslavement actually benefitted of the former Africans as it served to bring Christianity to the

former heathen.[24]

A feature of slavery in several films, dedication to the Confederate cause, fed the notion

that blacks had been contented in their slavery and faithful to those who enslaved them. The

1936 film *Hearts in Bondage* tells the tale of both Northern and Southern efforts to build

ironclad ships, ships that would become the Monitor and the Merrimac and eventually engage in

one of the few major sea battles of the Civil War. In the South, valiant Julie Buchanan, played by

Charlotte Henry, takes a wagon and her Mammy, played by Etta McDaniel (sister of Hattie

McDaniel), and scours the countryside for scraps of metal that can be melted down for the

Merrimac. The two arrive at the shipyard to deliver their goods to Julie's fiancée, Raymond; as

he examines the collections, Mammy hands him her own frying pan, wishing to contribute to

Confederate efforts. When Raymond calls that "uncommon patriotic," Mammy beams with

pride.[25]

King Vidor's 1936 box-office failure, *So Red the Rose*, provides yet another example of

the "faithful slave." The Louisiana plantation of the Bedford family receives word of the firing

on Fort Sumter. As the young men of the neighborhood march off to the fight, the plantation's

"faithful slaves" stand by the roadside, cheering on their young masters to martial greatness.

Their faithfulness faces a challenge, however, when Grant's armies march through Louisiana,

sending a volley of cannonballs before them. As one cannonball lands near the slave quarters of

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[24] *The Little Colonel*, DVD, directed by David Butler (1935; Century City, CA: Twentieth Century-Fox Films).
[25] *Hearts in Bondage*, DVD, directed by Lew Ayres (1936; Studio City, CA: Republic Pictures).

the plantation, a gleeful young slave exclaims that "Abe Lincoln done sent us a cannonball to tell

us he ain't far away. We's gwine be free!" It takes a heartfelt appeal from the plantation's young

mistress, played by Margaret Sullavan, to persuade the slaves to return to their work.[26]

While criticism of such portrayals as that of the slaves in *So Red the Rose* rarely appeared

in the mainstream press, the film critic for the *New York Times*, Andre Sennwald, took exception

to "the moments of unconscious irony" engendered by "the enthusiastic cheering of the slaves

when their master goes off to fight their liberators, and Margaret Sullavan's absurdly sentimental

appeal to the slaves later on when they are primed for rebellion."[27]

Like the "faithful slave," the "happy darky" served as a stock character in films with a

Civil War background. A truly unique portrayal of this character came from Billie "Buckwheat"

Thomas in a film entitled *General Spanky*. A product of the *Little Rascals* series by producer Hal

Roach, *General Spanky* features George "Spanky" McFarland as an orphan who acquires a slave

when Buckwheat finds himself separated from his former master and fellow slaves. The boys

come together with other *Little Rascals* favorites like Carl "Alfalfa" Switzer to confound the

efforts of Yankee troops in Mississippi to capture a Confederate soldier who came home after

being wounded.[28] The use of children to tell a Lost Cause story of noble Confederates and nearly

moronic Yankees may seem bizarre to audiences today, but such a film likely did not seem amiss

to moviegoers accustomed to seeing child stars like Shirley Temple in Civil War-themed films.

The Causes of the War and the Lawfulness of Secession

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[26] *So Red the Rose*, DVD, directed by King Vidor (1935; Hollywood, CA: Paramount Pictures).
[27] Andre Sennwald, "King Vidor's Screen Version of the Stark Young Novel 'So Red the Rose' at the Paramount," *New York Times*, November 28, 1935, http://www.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9807E1D7173FEE3BBC 4051DFB767838E629EDE.
[28] *General Spanky*, DVD, directed by Gordon Douglas and Fred C. Newmeyer (1936; Culver City, CA: Hal Roach Studios).

A third major theme within Lost Cause ideology finds that slavery itself did not constitute the cause of discord between the Southern states and their Northern counterparts. Nolan notes that this particular view allowed for the "decontaminating [of slavery]…turning it into something that they [Southerners] could cherish."[29] Accompanying this particular theme, the lawfulness of secession became the means by which Southern apologists explained the efforts by Confederate leaders to force a rupture in the union of the states.

In the 1936 John Ford film *The Prisoner of Shark Island*, the story of Dr. Samuel Mudd comes to the silver screen with Warner Baxter in the title role. While the film's tale begins with the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, screenwriter Nunnally Johnson, a Georgian by birth, manages to include a passage in which Mudd's father-in-law, a curmudgeonly former Confederate colonel, teaches his granddaughter about the War. Emphatically, he proclaims to the little girl, "It was not a question of slavery and never was. It was a question of states' rights. The Constitution of the United States laid down certain fundamental truths, by gad, that one of them was that the individual state had a right to secede at any time it so choose."[30] A similar sentiment found expression in *Hearts in Bondage* as U.S. Navy officer Raymond Jordan chooses to renounce his vow to protect the Constitution and resign his Naval commission, noting that he must serve "a more sacred duty," the right of his home state of Virginia to secede.[31]

Not all films included such a forceful explanation of the causes of the Civil War. Many ignored the issue all together by having their characters feign ignorance of the matter. For example, Frank Tuttle's 1930 release *Only the Brave* tells the improbable story of a Union spy who purposefully allows himself to be captured by the Confederates so as to spread disinformation regarding Yankee battle plans. Taken prisoner in a typical plantation home with

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[29] Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 15.
[30] *The Prisoner of Shark Island*, DVD, directed by John Ford, (1936; Century City, CA: Twentieth-Century Fox).
[31] *Hearts in Bondage*, DVD, directed by Lew Ayres (1936; Studio City, CA: Republic Pictures).

its accompanying typical Southern belle, the spy, played by Gary Cooper, exchanges small talk

with the Confederate sentry ordered to guard him. When the sentry opines that he does not even

know what the war is about, Cooper's character does nothing to enlighten him, leaving viewers

to ponder the absurdity of men fighting to the death in a war without having the least notion as to

what they are fighting for or against.[32]

     In 1930, D.W. Griffith produced and directed the film *Abraham Lincoln*. In light of

Griffith's earlier sympathetic portrayal of Lincoln in 1915's *Birth of a Nation*, it is not surprising

that the character of Abraham Lincoln in the 1930 film serves as a voice of reason during the

tumultuous Civil War. While Lincoln "starts" the War with his order to reinforce Fort Sumter,

the audience finds the sixteenth president very reluctant to call for volunteer soldiers.

Throughout the majority of the film, Lincoln's sole war aim is presented as the preservation of

the Union. Only in a short sequence does the audience view slaves working along a river,

followed by Lincoln somberly signing the Emancipation Proclamation; the issue of slavery never

acts as Lincoln's reason behind prosecuting the War.[33]

The Home Front

     The fourth theme finding its way into the films of the 1930s involves the conduct of the

war itself and the superiority of Southern culture overall. While this theme as identified by Nolan

concerns the "moonlight and magnolias" image of the white Southern aristocracy, it expands to

include the image of the gallant wife and mother keeping the plantation running, fending off

renegade Yankees, and patiently awaiting the return of her soldier. Unusually, the idealized

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[32] *Only the Brave, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3cyYrQVQ_E, directed by Frank Tuttle (1930; Hollywood, CA: Paramount Pictures).*

[33] *Abraham Lincoln*, http://movies.netflix.com/WiMovie/70265458?strkid=1872912140_1_0&trkid =222336&movieid=70265458, directed by D. W. Griffith (1930; Hollywood, CA: United Artists).

home front exists not just in South but in the North as well, although this is a proposition rarely presented.

The 1936 film *Hearts in Bondage* provides a glimpse into how the roles of women in both the north and the south found Lost Cause expression. In this film, Virginian Connie Jordan remains in the North with her father, Commodore Jordan, despite their Southern roots. Settled in New York during the War, Connie has time for picnics, dining in restaurants, and other leisure activities. By contrast, the character of Julie Buchanon, also a Virginian, returns to the South at the beginning of the War. While Connie picnics, Julie travels the Virginia countryside seeking donations of metal objects which the Confederacy can melt down to build its first iron-clad ship. Julie urges on her beau, Raymond, as he struggles to finish the construction of the Merrimac. At the same time, Connie tells her beau, Ken, that his efforts to build the Monitor "will spell failure for the two of them." Julie's self-sacrificing, supportive Southern woman contrasts with the superficial and selfish attitudes Connie has adopted because of her presence in the North.

Not all Northern women suffered a portrayal as negative as that of Connie in *Hearts in Bondage*. In 1933 George Cukor directed an adaption of the Louisa May Alcott classic, *Little Women*. True to the book, Cukor's depiction of the four March daughters focused on the willingness of the family to sacrifice for the Union effort, to which their father gives his service as a minister. Also in keeping with the book, no mention is made in the film of why the war is being fought; in fact, no mention is made of the Confederacy or the South at all in either book or movie. In this way, no Southern audience can be offended by the content of either.[34]

The idealized home front lingered even after the end of the War. David Butler based his 1935 film, *The Little Colonel*, on the novels of Annie Fellows Johnston. Again a vehicle for Shirley Temple, *The Little Colonel* provides a view of the South after the War has ended and,

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[34] *Little Women*, DVD, directed by George Cukor (1933; New York City, NY: RKO Radio Pictures).

presumably, Reconstruction has ceased. Temple's character of Lloyd finds in her grandfather,

the Colonel's, home a picture-perfect recreation of a true antebellum plantation, complete with

former slaves remaining true to their prior owner. While the story of Lloyd and her irascible

grandfather serves as a charming enough tale when told by Johnston in her books, director David

Butler felt the need to include additional Lost Cause themes to the film not present in the book.

For example, in the film, the Colonel hosts a gathering in his home during which he raises the

toast, "I give you our homeland, glorious in defeat, gallant in victory, and brave in her hour of

grief. Gentlemen, I give you the South. And confusion to all her enemies!" In additional interior

scenes, the camera focuses on a Confederate flag in the main foyer of the home hanging on a

pole as though it had just been taken down from the front porch. Neither of these scenes came

from Johnston's novel; the filmmakers themselves added these Lost Cause elements to the

film.[35]

The Gallant Confederate Soldier and His Venerated Leaders

   The returning soldier and his noble commanders serve as important components in a fifth

theme of the Myth of the Lost Cause, the idealized Confederate soldier and his venerated leaders.

According to Nolan, the description of the common Confederate soldier noted that "[h]e was

invariably heroic, indefatigable, gallant, and law-abiding."[36] This particular martial image found

its way again and again onto the silver screen in the 1930s.

   Based on the stories of Robert W. Chambers, director Richard Boleslavsky brought the

film *Operator 13* to the screen in 1934. In this unlikely drama, Gary Cooper stars as Confederate

officer Captain Gaylord. Serving as a spy for General J.E.B. Stuart, Cooper finds himself

strangely drawn to a mulatto washerwoman in Stuart's camp, a character played by white actress

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[35] *The Little Colonel*, DVD, directed by David Butler (1935; Century City, CA: Twentieth Century-Fox Films). Also, Johnston, Annie Fellows, *The Little Colonel* (Bedford, MA; Applewood Books, 1895).
[36] Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 17.

Miriam Davies in blackface. Little does he know that Davies character is actually Operator 13, a white actress hired by Allen Pinkerton to spy for the Union. When Captain Gaylord eventually uncovers Operator 13's identity as a spy, he struggles with his loyalty to the Confederacy and his love for this Northern woman. In the end, duty to his country wins the day, and he leaves Davies' character behind to continue to fight for the Confederate cause—only to be reunited with his love when the war is over.

So strongly did Hollywood adhere to the image of an idealized Confederate soldier that, even when telling the tale of a less-than-savory Confederate, filmmakers exercised great care in seeing that the image remained untarnished. In 1940's *Dark Command*, a film directed by Raoul Walsh, John Wayne stars as an uneducated cowboy who arrives in Kansas in the 1850s as free-soil and pro-slavery immigrants flood the territory. Rising to the position of sheriff in Lawrence, Kansas by the start of the war, Wayne's character, Bob Seaton, earns the animosity of the town's former leading figure, William Cantrell. Cantrell, a not-too-subtle characterization of Confederate guerilla fighter William Quantrill, reverts to criminal behavior after Bob Seaton's ascension to sheriff, spreading a reign of terror across Kansas and Missouri. The fact that the real Quantrill served as a Confederate soldier does not fit the Lost Cause mold; so, the film recasts him as a renegade who stumbles upon a shipment of Confederate uniforms and thus dresses himself and his men as counterfeit Confederates. Director Walsh and screenwriters Grover Jones, Lionel Houser, and F. Hugh Herbert make certain that no tarnish falls to true Confederate soldiers through their portrayal of William Quantrill/Cantrell.[37]

As gallant as is the idealized Confederate soldier, he received nothing near the adulation reserved for Confederate leaders, particularly Generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. These men, although given credit for their military prowess, "are also presented as

[37] *Dark Command*, DVD, directed by Raoul Walsh (1940; Studio City, CA: Republic Pictures).

remarkable and saintly creatures, supermen."[38] Certainly the image of the kindly and wise

Robert E. Lee persists to this day and forms one of the most enduring components of the Myth.

D.W. Griffith's *Abraham Lincoln* provides one of the most compelling visions of Lee as

a man of greatness. With the War going badly for the Union forces, President Lincoln meets with

General Grant to offer him a promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Army. When

doing so, Lincoln notes that "unfortunately, many of us have failed to recognize a great

Confederate soldier." "Lee," notes Grant, as the President nods in affirmation. Later in the film,

Lincoln and Grant meet once again, this time on the verge of victory. The people, Grant says, are

advocating for the execution of Lee and the other Confederate commanders as traitors. "Shoot

Robert E. Lee?" Lincoln asks incredulously, "Someone will have to shoot Abraham Lincoln

first." Lincoln goes on to suggest that Grant "sort of let Jeff Davis escape," further underscoring

not only Lincoln's mercy but also his admiration for the gallant Confederate leadership. After all,

he opines, "they're rebels, not traitors."[39]

Additional Themes

In viewing the Civil War films of the 1930s, two additional themes emerge to go hand-in-

hand with the Lost Cause mythology. These themes focus on the veneration of Abraham Lincoln

and the cause of reunion and reconciliation among the warring sides of the nation.

In several of the films, not just Griffith's *Abraham Lincoln*, the sixteenth president

features as a character that, in one way or another, serves as an enlightened and noble beacon to

both sides of the conflict and, in some instances, takes positive action to resolve issues arising for

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[38] Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, 18.
[39] Abraham Lincoln.

the other characters in the film.[40] In *The Littlest Rebel*, Shirley Temple's Virgie finds her father in a Union prison, convicted as a spy and facing execution. With the assistance of a kindly Yankee captain, Virgie and her faithful servant, Uncle Billy, travel to Washington, D.C., to meet with a judge to seek a pardon. Instead, they find themselves in the White House with the president himself. As gentle as any father, Abraham Lincoln sits Virgie upon his lap and embarks on a notable scene in which they share slices from an apple. Lincoln hears the child's heartfelt appeal and issues the requested pardon.[41]

In *Of Human Hearts*, a film directed by Clarence Brown, the protagonist is a young parson's son from Ohio played by James Stewart. Spoiled by a self-sacrificing mother, Stewart's character, Jason, becomes a surgeon who eventually volunteers to ply his trade with the Union army. So dedicated is Jason in his duty that he neglects to even write to his mother to let her know that he is still alive after a few years of war. When she receives no news of her son, Jason's mother, played touchingly by Beulah Bondi, believes her son to be dead and writes to the President to ask that her son's remains be sent home to Ohio. To his surprise, Jason is called to the White House from the Union hospital in which he is working to receive a fatherly lecture from the President on his duty to his mother. Needless to say, Jason receives a furlough and returns home to Ohio to the delight of his mother.[42]

In both these films, the character of Abraham Lincoln takes on a paternalistic role. In addition, Lincoln comes to be seen by both North and South as a possible savior, a person who can set the nation right again after the war. In *The Prisoner of Shark Island*, Virginian Dr. Samuel Mudd witnesses Lincoln's request to play *Dixie* upon hearing the news of the

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[40] Abraham Lincoln's life was the focus of three films produced between 1930 and 1940; two of these, *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* (1940) and *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939) focus on Lincoln's early years and do not include scenes from his time as president during the Civil War.
[41] The Littlest Rebel
[42] Of Human Hearts

Confederate surrender at Appomattox. Dr. Mudd remarks ""I guess ol' Abe's all right after all….Looks to me like he's the only salvation we Southerners can look for."[43]

The second theme common to most of the films of the 1930s is that of reunion and reconciliation. As historian David W. Blight notes in his seminal work *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, "in American culture romance triumphed over reality; sentimental remembrance won over ideological memory." Blight goes further to note that Americans consider the Civil War to be a "defining event upon which we have often imposed unity and continuity."[44] This emphasis on reconciliation also informs Nina Silber's *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, in which the author sees the "image of marriage between northern men and southern woman" as the foundation of the nineteenth century concept of reconciliation.

Hollywood followed the course of reconciliation as well during the 1930s. For example, in 1934's *Operator 13*, Confederate spy Captain Gaylord and Union spy Miriam Davies, while true to their causes during the War, come together in marriage afterwards.[45] In *Only the Brave* from 1930, Southerner Barbara Buchanan rescues her lover, Union officer Jim Braydon—again symbolizing the reunion of North and South by marrying once the War was over.[46] Even in *The Littlest Rebel*, with its strongly pro-Southern ideology, the Shirley Temple character of Virgie brings together her Confederate father, Captain Cary, with the Union officer, Colonel

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[43] The Prisoner of Shark Island
[44] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, 4.
[45] *Operator 13*, DVD, directed by Richard Boleslavsky (1934; Culver City, CA: Cosmopolitan Pictures through Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer).
[46] Only the Brave, *http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3cyYrQVQ_E*, directed by Frank Tuttle (1930; Hollywood, CA: Paramount Pictures).

Morrison.[47] Perhaps more than any other single theme, the cause of reconciliation dominated Hollywood's Civil War landscape in the 1930s.

Conclusion

The love affair between American movie audiences and the Lost Cause themes of the films of the 1930s came to a close with the beginning of World War II in 1941. During the War, audiences turned away from Civil War themes. When the film industry returned to the Civil War in the 1950s, times had changed. The burgeoning civil rights movement led the way in reshaping the way the nation remembered the Civil War. The same Raymond Massey who had given a performance of abolitionist John Brown as a wild-eyed maniac in 1940's *Santa Fe Trail* portrayed the same historic character in 1955's *Seven Angry Men* as a caring father and moral leader as well as a dedicated abolitionist. Feature films in the decades that followed offered a more balanced view of the War, its causes and outcomes, following the lead of historians who also began to revise the analysis of the War that had been initially promulgated by William Denning and the other Progressive historians.

Yet the Myth of the Lost Cause remains a part of American culture today. As Gary W. Gallagher explains in C*auses Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War*, "Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and the soldiers they command have emerged triumphant in the world of contemporary painters and sculpture."[48] Contemporary audiences can still find Lost Cause themes from Hollywood as well, although these themes appear with far less frequency and much more subtlety than they did during the years of the Great Depression. In the South, visitors to Georgia's Stone Mountain Park enjoy a

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[47] The Littlest Rebel
[48] Gary W. Gallagher*, Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What we Know about the Civil War*, 136.

laser light show that features a section in which Robert E. Lee not only determines to end the War himself but also reunites the country by breaking his sword over his knee.

Historical films have a tremendous power to influence the collective memory and the way a people remember their past. Filmmakers of the 1930s certainly did not consciously intend to apply any sort of specific historic interpretation to their films; the end goal was, of course, to entertain and to generate income. With that goal in mind, they created films that spoke to the need of many Americans for a comfortingly familiar tale during the dark days of the Great Depression. These moviemakers created films that offered up an interpretation of the War that had grown over a fifty-year period through monuments, literature, education, and academic study. Their influence continues as audiences enjoy these cinematic treasures from the 1930s through the efforts of cable television networks such as American Movie Classics and Turner Classic Movies. As long as these films remain, America will continue to feel the nostalgic pull of the Myth of the Lost Cause. After all, as Gore Vidal put it: "In the end, he who screens the history makes the history."[49]

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[49] Gore Vidal, Screening History (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 81.

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WHAT'S LOVE GOT TO DO WITH IT?
HOW THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS FAILED TO CONTROL
THE WORLD'S OLDEST PROFESSION

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Prostitution in Great Britain during the Victorian period was an issue of societal concern. By the mid-nineteenth century one in sixty London houses served as brothels and one in sixteen women worked as a prostitute.[1] Large numbers of men in the military became infected with venereal diseases after sexual encounters with these prostitutes, and prostitution thus became a national health concern. The fears over the spread of venereal diseases led to the passage of the Contagious Diseases Acts (CDA) in 1866, with amendments in 1868 and again in 1869. The CDA sought to control prostitution and allowed for forced medical treatment of prostitutes suspected of being infected with venereal disease. Such invasive and inhumane medical treatments subsequently led to the placement of women in a state run lock hospital.   These attempts to regulate vice ultimately made conditions worse for prostitutes both economically and socially. The CDA eventually failed at the goal of eradicating venereal disease in Great Britain, in part because the process of deciding who was a prostitute, and how they were treated, was fatally flawed.

Almost as soon as the CDA passed, the public lashed out against them. Many private citizens and physicians spoke out against the CDA citing the inhumane treatment of women. Women organized groups, including those formed by Josephine Butler, that fought for their repeal, citing the double standards that forced women to be subjected to humiliating treatments while men were merely considered victims. These women ran international campaigns to raise awareness for the need to repeal, claiming the CDA labeled women as prostitutes, further alienating them from mainstream society. The poor design of the CDA, a medical community lacking an adequate understanding of how to

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[1] "Prostitution – The Need for its Reform," *Lancet,* November 7, 1857, 478-9.

properly diagnose and treat venereal disease, and an evolving societal view of sexuality compounded with an outspoken force pushing for repeal, ultimately led to the downfall of the CDA.

Persons protected by the Contagious Diseases Acts

The protection of military men from infection after sexual encounters with prostitutes served as the main goal of the CDA. William Acton traced the history of syphilis from the late fifteenth century, as well as the infection rate of returning soldiers in mid-nineteenth century England. The general public and the military saw the high rate of infection in returning soldiers as a great concern.[2] By 1862 venereal disease accounted for one-third of all army hospital admissions.[3] Gonorrhea and syphilis each affected nearly ten percent of men in the navy, primarily those men returning from overseas posts. In the merchant service, one out of three men suffered from venereal disease.[4] One estimate found that nearly one-third of men stationed in India in the 1820s and 1830s sought treatment for venereal diseases arising from contact with prostitutes while abroad. In 1857, *The Lancet* reported that the most common medical conditions affecting a soldier's ability to serve were venereal diseases. The high infection rates of men overseas prompted regulations that later shaped the framework of the CDA in Great Britain.[5]

Early movements towards regulation

In the 1820s, William Burke served as the inspector general for army hospitals in India. He set forth a series of regulations for sexual encounters with local prostitutes,

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[2] William Acton, "Prostitution in Relation to Public Health Forming the Introductory Chapter to the Second Edition of the Treatise on Syphilis," *Private Circulation*, (1851): 43-62.

[3] Philippa Levine, *Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles in Public Commitment* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1990), 84.

[4] Acton, 47-49.

[5] Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 37-38.

created a registry for prostitutes, and instituted twice-monthly mandatory physical exams. Those deemed healthy were allowed to work, but those suspected of carrying venereal diseases were hospitalized. Women who failed to appear for examinations suffered severe punishments . These principals set by Burke in British India three decades prior provided the structure of the CDA in Great Britain in 1866.[6]

The Registrar-General reported that deaths from syphilis in London increased more than five times from 1843 to 1857. Additionally, children accounted for half of the 947 deaths from syphilis in London in 1855. On average, each prostitute was suspected of infecting three soldiers. The typical amount of time spent in a hospital undergoing treatment was twenty-two days with the cost being paid by the state.[7] The combination of high infection rates and the financial burden incurred by costly medical treatment created the need for state intervention.

The true rate of civilian infections was disputed. William Acton claimed that in 1846 fifty percent of outpatients at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London suffered from venereal disease. These numbers continued to rise over the following two decades. Venereal disease accounted for fifteen to twenty percent of patients seen for treatment at eye and ear clinics, and twenty percent of children treated in hospitals were infected with hereditary syphilis. Additionally, hospitals in Newcastle, Birmingham, and Manchester reported statistics that rivaled the number of cases in London, further confirming a national health issue. More recently, these statistics have been challenged as being inflated, and even William Acton agreed that the numbers could have been unintentionally inflated by patients returning multiple times for treatments. Sir John

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[6] Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics,* 38.

[7] "Prostitution: Its Medical Aspects," *Lancet,* February 20, 1858, 198-9.

Simon argued that the numbers were as low as seven percent. Despite these variations, the rate of infection appeared high enough to be considered alarming and inspired state efforts to control prostitution, the source blamed for the high rate of infection among military men as well as civilians.[8]

The House of Lords regularly discussed support for legislation to control prostitution and curb the spread of venereal diseases. It was believed that prostitutes not only defiled the body of the "victim" (the male customer) but his mind as well. Debates raged over whether brothels should be licensed or shut down altogether. New proposals sought to give the police more power to respond to acts of prostitution and suppress brothels.[9] Efforts to control the further spread of diseases did not focus on the client, but on the supplier of the sexual service.[10] Syphilis and gonorrhea cases skyrocketed at alarming rates and by 1864 legislation to control prostitution was seen as the only effective way to stop the spread of venereal diseases.[11]

Passage of the Contagious Diseases Acts

The Contagious Diseases Acts passed on June 11, 1866, were amended on July 31, 1868 and again on August 11, 1869.[12] The issues addressed by the CDA were twofold: public health concern over the spread of venereal diseases and the moral issues of prostitution itself. The CDA attempted to control both aspects. Passed late on a quiet night in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, the CDA did not attract much

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[8] Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, class and the state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 48-50.

[9] *Hansard,* House of Lords v. 75, 14 June 1844, c. 877-91. (Hereafter *HHL*).

[10] Levine, *Feminist Lives in Victorian England,* 84.

[11] Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics,* 37.

[12] *Text of the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1866 and 1869 CAP. XXXV. An Act for the Better Prevention of Contagious Diseases at Certain Naval and Military Stations,* in *Josephine Butler and the Prostitution Campaigns: Diseases of the Body Politic,* ed. Jane Jordan and Ingrid Sharp, 1st ed., vol. II. (London: Routledge, 2003), 13-29.

attention. Deceptively presented to both Houses, the CDA appeared in a form that resembled another bill addressing veterinary issues, not venereal disease. This deceptive passage formed the cornerstone of the arguments of those who fought to have it repealed over the following two decades.[13]

Other aspects of the CDA proved controversial. A clause in the CDA allowed women to submit to voluntary medical exams in order to avoid public appearances in court. The clause served as the foundation of the CDA as well as its most controversial aspect; the examinations were the focus of extensive debates over the fair and humane treatment of women. Additionally, the CDA failed to define what constituted a prostitute, leading to the arrest and forced examination of many women who were not prostitutes.[14]

In 1864 Contagious Disease Acts in India were passed to control prostitution in the colonies, as military men stationed in overseas colonies often returned home infected with venereal diseases. Prostitutes in the colonies served different roles than those at home, playing a pivotal role in serving men stationed overseas. Colonial officials proved reluctant to enforce too much regulation and were generally much less repressive over sexual issues. The "primitive" nature of black women and their sexuality was considered too much to resist. Many myths arose associated with a black women's sexuality and their genitals, and these women were thus regarded as "female animals with strong passions."[15] Men stationed overseas commonly took a concubine for their sole source of sexual activity, a situation viewed as a healthier option to prostitution. Officials discouraged wives and children from joining husbands and fathers in the colonies under

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[13] Paul McHugh, *Prostitution and Victorian Social Reform* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 37.
[14] Ibid., 37.
[15] Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 130-33.

the belief that they served as distractions and sources of jealousy. The concubines served

their purpose without the hassles of long-term commitment.[16]

Courtesans also served a vital role overseas. After inspection by British physicians, who

verified that they were free from venereal disease, they were selected for service to Army

personnel. Treatment of prostitutes in overseas colonies paralleled that of women in

Great Britain, forced to have medical examinations and sent to lock hospitals.[17] Many

spoke out in the House of Commons against the CDA in India, claiming that they

condoned the inhumane treatment of women. Furthermore, it was argued that those not

adhering to the CDA received threatening letters to coerce them into compliance. The

native population most affected by the laws opposed the CDA.[18] The effectiveness of the

CDA was also questioned in the House of Lords, as venereal diseases were eradicated

from some naval ports, while others had consistent and continuous outbreaks.[19]

<u>Identifying prostitutes</u>

How and why did women enter into prostitution?. How could a woman be helped

if it was not known how she fell out of society in the first place? Regardless of a

woman's specific motivation's, an underlying connection to poverty always existed.

Prostitution and poverty went hand and hand in Victorian England.[20] The lack of a male

support system (father or husband) served as a common theme among prostitutes.[21] Equal

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[16] Margaret Strobel, *Gender, Sex and Empire* (Washington D.C.: American Historical Association, 1993), 6-7.

[17] Ibid., 10-11.

[18] *HHL* v. 326 5 June 1888, c.1187-216.

[19] *HHL* v. 189 13 August 1867, c.1487-98.

[20] Levine, *Feminist Lives in Victorian England,* 100.

[21] Ibid., 6.

numbers of prostitutes hailed from urban centers and the countryside.[22] Other theories

also surfaced as to why a woman entered into prostitution. Some believed that a woman

entered prostitution because of a lack of personal morals. Some who worked to help

prostitutes held to the belief that they were wild, lacked impulse control, and were

generally untamable. A thirst for independence had led them astray. Some even went so

far as to claim that many women were born to be prostitutes and were

"vain…vulgar…intemperate." This view portrayed them as perpetrators, rather than

victims. Alcohol addiction also was attributed to a woman's fall into prostitution; in fact,

many women used intoxication to numb themselves in order to commit acts of

prostitution. Victorian England experienced a growth in the brewing industry; the

increased number of pubs also led to an increase in prostitution as many owners saw it as

a draw for customers.[23]

     Sometimes a woman entered into prostitution after being raped. Forbidden to

engage in premarital sex, women found themselves shamed by society in spite of their

victimization. Without a proper means of supporting herself, a woman turned to

prostitution as her only means of income. Some prostitutes claimed to have been seduced

by a man of upper class status. Others admitted to having been "led astray" by other

prostitutes.[24] Whatever led women into prostitution, all were considered inferior and

"feeble-minded" to all other classes.[25] As the lowest of the low class, prostitutes found

themselves deemed as "white negroes" in a condition where skin color no longer

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[22] Walkowitz, 15.

[23] Paula Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in Victorian England, 1869-1914* (London: Routeldge, 2000), 4-6.

[24] Ibid., 4-5.

[25] Ibid., 25-28.

mattered when a woman had fallen so far.[26] Prostitutes in Victorian England had

essentially defined a new and isolated class for themselves.[27]

Typically a woman only gradually moved into prostitution, a result of her

desperate circumstances. Almost never deliberate, these women simply sought a means

of income. Prostitution was, by definition, an occupation. While some women may have

been able to improve their overall living conditions, still others found it as merely a way

to make ends meet. Some women made their entire living off prostitution while others led

double lives, working legitimate professions during the day and working the streets at

nights to supplement their meager wages.[28] A study conducted in the late Victorian

period of female inmates at Millbank prison showed that nearly ninety percent of

prostitutes were daughters of unskilled laborers. Half of the women had been servants or

laundresses, barmaids, cleaners or street vendors prior to or during their work as

prostitutes. A majority of these women had lost one or both parents, through death or

desertion, at a young age. Those with parents felt they could not seek financial assistance

from them, as the parents were unable to help or would have seen them as a burden. On

average, a prostitute's first sexual encounter occurred at age sixteen, with most entering

into the trade in their late teens. Not all first sexual encounters were with a customer,

often times they were with a boy of similar age and social status.[29]

Although considered immoral, prostitution played a vital role in Victorian society.

Prostitution brought forth the issue of gender and the double standard regarding sexual

activity. A woman was expected to be pure and virtuous, but a man could have as many

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[26] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), 53.
[27] Walkowitz, 210.
[28] Ibid., 14-15.
[29] Ibid., 15-16.

sexual escapades as he wanted. Men were believed incapable of showing the least bit of restraint over their sexual desires.[30] Society deemed men entitled to partake in these sexual encounters; the women who provided the services were deemed outcasts in society.[31] Within a marriage, a woman must be monogamous, but a man could venture out to have his needs met. Women must exercise control over their impulses, if they had any; men had primal urges that had to be met.[32] Masturbation was condemned as leading to further lusting and an increased sexual appetite, was as sinful as sex outside of marriage, and was blamed for many physical ailments, including alcoholism and intemperance, as well as a person's inability to be successful in business. The physical act of ejaculating led to a loss of energy and clarity.[33] With society shunning women for participating in premarital sex and condemning masturbation, prostitution became a necessary evil.

Lock Hospitals

The CDA certified hospitals to perform examinations of women suspected of carrying venereal disease. If a woman was reported for soliciting sex in a public place while carrying a venereal disease, she would be summoned to an interview with the police. If the officer concluded that she was infected, she was sent to a hospital for detention. Women remained hospitalized for a maximum of three months, or until deemed cured. The police interrogation could be avoided by volunteering for the examination. Women who refused to be hospitalized for treatment found themselves sentenced to prison, with or without hard labor, for a period of one month. A woman who

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[30] Josephine E. Butler, "A Word to Christian Skeptics," *Storm-Bell,* November 1898, 283.

[31] Josephine E. Butler, "Memories," *Strom-Bell,* June 1900, 289.

[32] Bartley, 6.

[33] Ibid., 189.

left a hospital before her treatment ended also went to prison.[34] Furthermore, property

owners who knowingly allowed prostitutes to use their facilities were enlisted as

informers with police to avoid a fine for harboring a prostitute.[35]

Grim conditions and invasive examinations awaited women at the lock hospitals.

Those who worked alongside Butler in the repeal campaign compared the forced

examinations to rape. Women interviewed by Butler described the instruments used in

the examinations, with one woman stating, "It is awful work; the attitude they push us

into first is so disgusting and so painful, and then these monstrous instruments – often

they use several. They seem to tear the passage open first with their hands, and examine

us, and then they thrust in instruments, and they pull them out and push them in, and then

they turn and twist them about; and if you cry they stifle you."[36] Other women claimed

that the examinations left them feeling as if they had been "raped beyond rape by a

governmental iron."[37] In a letter written by Butler to Dr. J.J. Garth Wilkinson, later

published in the *Shield,* the repulsive description of a young girl's examination is

recounted. She explained that the broad dimensions of the speculum felt like a hot "glass

and steel telescope" as the body of each woman upon whom it was used heated it.[38]

The CDA called for women carrying venereal diseases to be sent to hospitals for

treatment. These certified facilities,   known as lock hospitals, contained a special area

for the treatment of women suspected of carrying venereal disease. Oftentimes,

authorities converted a former medieval leper hospital to treat prostitutes.   As lepers had

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[34] *Text of the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1866 and 1869 CAP. XXXV,* 13-29.

[35] McHugh, 37-38.

[36] Walkowitz, 109.

[37] Jane Jordan, *General Introduction to Josephine Butler and the Prostitution Campaigns: Diseases of the Body Politic,* ed. Jane Jordan and Ingrid Sharp, 1st ed., vol. I. (London: Routledge, 2003), 11.

[38] Ibid., 11.

frequently been kept in restraints, the term "lock hospital" transferred to their new usage. Society regarded prostitutes as the current social leper and treated them as such.

Ironically, these facilities served as utter failures in effectively treating venereal disease. Unhygienic and more like institutions than hospitals, the space to treat the women sent there proved inadequate. At times, there were more women sent to the hospitals than beds for them. When there were beds available, funds for treatment were not. While in the lock hospitals, the women received poor treatment and reported that the conditions were "foul." Women remained isolated, in stark contrast to any man who was voluntarily in the hospital for treatment.

Lock hospitals were poorly funded and generally unpopular. They provided medical treatment for a condition generally viewed as a divine punishment for undesirable behavior. Mixed public reactions meant that the hospitals often had difficulties with fundraising. Traditional forms of advertising and fundraising for lock hospitals were seen as distasteful, considering who their controversial patients were.[39]

Failures of the Contagious Diseases Acts

According to Colonial Secretary Max F. Simon, "The main object of a Lock Hospital is to put diseased prostitutes during the most venomous period of their career out of a position in which they can spread disease."[40] Subjected to poor conditions and humiliating clinical exams, the average age of a woman in a lock hospital was eighteen to twenty-one years old. Statistics show that younger prostitutes returned more frequently for treatment, as they more actively pursued their profession than older prostitutes. The conditions the prostitutes endured were strict and harsh. Often medical students used the

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[39] Walkowitz, 58-61.

[40] Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics*, 70-71.

female patients in open clinical examinations. With no cloth to cover her body, the woman suffered the humiliation of being exposed in front of the entire class. Some of the women suspected of carrying syphilis and gonorrhea were also subject to cruel experiments so doctors could watch the progression of these two diseases, further evidence of "deep-seated hostilities towards women."[41]

Lock hospitals also had difficulty attracting doctors willing to work in the conditions offered. Located in remote parts of the city, lock hospitals offered positions not regarded as helping one's career move forward. Additionally, most medical professionals found the treatment of venereal diseases to be boring and mundane. The lack of interest by physicians in the treatment of venereal diseases, combined with the remote locations of the lock hospitals, made it difficult to hire capable physicians. These inadequacies served as yet another reason behind the failure of the lock.[42]

Another point of failure for the CDA was the false sense of security for men. Many assumed the CDA instantaneously eradicated venereal diseases, leading to the further spread of venereal diseases . The Royal Commission created to investigate venereal disease consisted of twelve men and only three women. This conspicuous lack of a female voice in the matter led to "a conspiracy of silence as regards venereal disease."[43] Many young women who entered marriage contracted a venereal disease from their husbands, men infected by a prostitute either before or during the course of the marriage. At the time, many doctors believed that as many as seventy-five to eighty percent of men had been infected with a venereal disease prior to marriage. High

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[41] Walkowitz, 55.

[42] Ibid., 60-61.

[43] Christabel Pankhurst, *The Great Scourge and How to End It* (London: E. Pankhurst, 1913), in *The Campaigners: Women and Sexuality* ed. Dr. Marie Mulvey Roberts and Professor Tamae Mizuta (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1994), 1-10.

infection rates could have been diminished through education, for both men and women, not through regulation.[44] Dr. John Chapman, who worked alongside Josephine Butler to repeal the CDA, examined the approaches different countries used in attempts to control prostitution. Citing decrees from as early as the mid-thirteenth century, which allowed for the expulsion of suspected prostitutes from society, he compared the effectiveness of the different methods and weighed the success of trying to control a social issue as large as prostitution. Most attempts to regulate were ineffective.[45]

After the passing of the CDA, a public backlash arose against them. Josephine Butler stood at the forefront of the campaign to repeal the CDA and organized a national campaign, the Ladies National Association (LNA), against them in 1869.[46] Within just a few months of the formation of the LNA, more than fourteen hundred women had joined as members.[47] Butler spoke at public forums and published many articles in a campaign for fair and humane treatment of prostitutes and against forced medical treatments. She even took prostitutes into her home for treatment she considered to be in their best interest. Her argument focused on fair treatment of women, and she argued that the CDA led to the legalization of a "double standard" in the treatment of prostitutes in contrast with men suspected of carrying venereal diseases. The forced examinations, Butler argued, served as nothing more than "instrumental rape by a steel penis" that further led to "medical lust in handling and dominating and degrading women"[48] and that the CDA

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[44] Ibid., 24.

[45] John Chapman, M.D., *Prostitution: Governmental Experiments in Controlling It* (London: Trubner and Co., 1870), in *The Campaigners: Women and Sexuality* ed. Dr. Marie Mulvey Roberts and Professor Tamae Mizuta (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1994), 2-62.

[46] Robert Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 64.

[47] McHugh, 163.

[48] Hyam, 64.

encouraged the "police lust of hunting and persecuting women."[49] Finally, she claimed

that the CDA further trapped women in the lifestyle of prostitution and prevented their re-

entry into society to work in legitimate professions.[50]

Josephine Butler fought tirelessly for the rights of prostitutes and for the repeal of

the CDA in Great Britain and India. She spearheaded several organizations that spoke for

voiceless women condemned to a life of vice. She viewed the women subjected to the

regulations set forth by the CDA as slaves of the police and doctors. In several letters to

the editor of *The Shield,* Butler attacked the treatment of women prescribed by the CDA.

She claimed that women were freely harassed and subjected to heinous physical

treatment and sexual torture via the speculum.[51] She argued that "a Parliament of rich

men is unfit to legislate for the poor"[52] and were not concerned with the best interests of

women. The actions of the men of Parliament,   naïve as to their impact against women,

unleashed the unintended negative consequences that pushed the women to the brink of

society's fringe.

Although her efforts in England were highly publicized, Butler was also very

much involved in the repeal of the CDA in India. The efforts she made in England and

India are early examples of feminist action.[53] In "Memories," published in the *Storm-Bell,*

Butler continued her argument that the women who provided these sexual services were

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[49] Walkowitz, 108.

[50] Hyam, 64.

[51] Jordan, 11.

[52] Josephine E. Butler, "Speech Delivered by Mrs. Josephine E. Butler," at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the 'Vigilance Association for the Defence of Personal Rights,' Held at Bristol, 15 October 1874, in *Josephine Butler and the Prostitution Campaigns: Diseases of the Body Politic,* vol. III. ed. Jane Jordan and Ingrid Sharp (London: Routledge, 2003), 137.

[53] Antoinette M. Burton, "The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and 'The Indian Woman,' 1865-1915". in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* ed. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992) 137-140.

unjustly deemed outcasts in society.[54] Physicians opposed to the forced medical

treatments outlined in the CDA also spoke out openly. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell argued

that medical treatment should only be administered on a strictly voluntary basis between

the doctor and patient and that other female physicians should have held that as their

standard for treatment. She threatened that any female doctors who forcefully performed

examinations on suspected prostitutes would be marked as "traitors."[55]

Butler argued that the CDA put a double standard on women; the forced

treatments did not extend to men. Women were criminalized whereas men were not.[56] A

question posed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department asked if male

prostitutes would also be subject to arrest and prosecution under the same guidelines.

Many present at this particular hearing asked why both sexes were not subject to the

same standards. Both men and women addressed the issue of a double standard to the

House of Lords. The Secretary of State for the Home Department responded that the

focus of the legislation was to provide protection to His Majesty's Forces.[57] Butler

attacked every aspect of the CDA, from the forced examinations, the conditions of the

lock hospitals, and the way society shamed women. She fought against many of the so-

called prostitution "reformers" and the institutions they established and claimed that they

were ineffective. These reformers, mostly middle class people who wanted to help lower

class-working women, only succeeded in further alienating these women from society.

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[54] Butler, "Memories," 289.

[55] Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, "Women Physicians and the Regulation of Vice," *Dawn,* May 1895, 171.

[56] Josephine Butler, *An Appeal to the People and the Recognition and Superintendence of Prostitution by Governments* (Nottingham: Fredrick Banks, 1869), in *The Campaigners: Women and Sexuality* ed. Dr. Marie Mulvey Roberts and Professor Tamae Mizuta (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1994), 5.

[57] *HHL* v.104, 11 April 1918, c.1618-20.

Many of these institutions were affiliated with Christian denominations.[58] Butler claimed

that the goal of the Social Purity League to close down brothels would have instead

rendered a vast number of prostitutes homeless.[59]

Repeal of The Contagious Diseases Acts

In May 1870, Butler presented "The Moral Reclaimability of Prostitutes" at a

conference supporting the repeal of the CDA. She appealed to the general public to

increase awareness of the possibility of a woman leaving behind a life of vice and

reentering society.[60] She led her own social purity campaigns to help women transition

from working as a prostitute to a more morally acceptable profession. Butler's

persistence and the public and moral outrage against the Acts resulted in the suspension

of the CDA in 1883 and their repeal in 1886. The failure of the CDA resulted from

several contributing factors. At the time of the CDA, accurate diagnoses of syphilis and

gonorrhea were not yet possible, leading to false diagnoses for   many women. Accurate

diagnosis of gonorrhea was achieved in 1879 and syphilis in 1906. In general, the

medical knowledge available at the time proved incapable of accurately diagnosing what

was deemed a serious threat. The physicians who supported the CDA had been grossly

overconfident in their endeavors. Additionally, it was now clear that treating only women,

and not men, would never successfully contain the spread of any venereal disease. Many

doctors chose to gloss over this aspect of treatment and legislation. Twenty years had

passed since the CDA were enacted, and the public saw little positive changes from them.

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[58] Bartley, 4, 25-28.

[59] Levine, *Feminist Lives in Victorian England,* 97-98.

[60] Josephine E. Butler,"The Moral Reclaimability of Prostitutes," paper read at a conference of delegates from societies for promoting the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, May 1870, in *Josephine Butler and the Prostitution Campaigns: Diseases of the Body Politic,* ed. Jane Jordan and Ingrid Sharp, 1st ed., vol. I. (London: Routledge, 2003), 121.

In addition, Victorian society's views towards morality had evolved over the previous two decades.[61]

Although they had achieved success in Great Britain, it became clear that their work was not completed as the CDA remained in force in India. Immediately, the focus shifted to the repeal of the CDA in India. Two years later, in 1888, the Acts were repealed in India. The Ladies National Association stayed active in the House of Commons until 1915, which ensured the issue stayed prominent in the public eye.[62]

The Contagious Diseases Acts caused much controversy and were destined by their very nature to fail. Advocates for the fair and humane treatment of women did not tolerate the humiliation of the forced examinations and confinement to lock hospitals. The double standard that blamed women and treated men as innocent victims failed to contain the spread of venereal diseases. The negative reactions from the public were clear, and through the selfless work by Josephine Butler and other early feminists, the CDA were successfully repealed. The inhumane treatment of woman and the inability to provide an accurate diagnosis and treatment led to the failure of the CDA. Treatment was ineffective, as medical technology did not exist to accurately diagnose or treat venereal diseases. Ultimately, the tireless efforts of Josephine Butler and the LNA resulted in the repeal of the CDA.

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[61] McHugh, 259-273.
[62] Burton, 137-138.

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     1867-8. *Venereal Diseases (Army and Navy.)* xxvii Page 84.

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Searching for the American Working Class

ABOUT THE AUTHOR
Shay began his higher education in the Rocklin community college, Sierra College.   At Sierra College, he had his first taste of college-level history instruction, and came to understand his academic and professional goal.   Seeing the enthusiasm and passion instructors showed for their field, he knew he wanted to be the same. So, he set out with the clear goal of a Masters degree and a community college job. Since then his ambition has been confirmed both in under graduate and graduate work. Now, he has recently graduated with a Masters degree and is on the hunt for a job.

The study of the American worker has significantly transformed over the last hundred years. Labor studies began with John R. Commons and the "Wisconsin School." Formally trained as an economist, Commons and his students explored the economics and politics of organized labor. Working in the early 1900s, they sought to explain why, in the early phases of the industrial revolution, socialism existed in Europe but not the United States. This narrow approach presented a somewhat stale, cavalcade of unions and strikes, without consideration for the people that made up these events. E.P. Thompson's seminal work, *The Making of the English Working Class*, transformed the field. He presented a view of labor that melded class, culture, and society, which redirected scholars away from the economics of trade unions. American historians jumped at the opportunity to emulate Thompson's work. New labor history reached its stride in the late 1960s as young historians sought to explore the increasingly multifaceted American worker. From radicals, to unorganized, to gender, each wave of writers sought to include new groups and perspectives which previous writers had neglected. Eventually criticism emerged; as the definition of "Working Class" expanded it also became increasingly nebulous. These diverse studies also made it increasingly clear that within American society, class was not the primary, or perhaps even a major contributor to self-identity. By the 1990s most scholars had given up any hope of creating "The Making of the American Working Class." Some historians, such as David Brody, even argued that Thompson's work ultimately doomed labor history to the nebulous condition it is in today.

The study of labor, as a distinct field, began during the opening years of the twentieth century at the University of Wisconsin. John R. Commons, a trained economist, began the examination of American workers as defined by their class. This marked the beginning of what is now referred to as "old labor." The most famous of the work to come from this "Wisconsin

school" was Selig Perlman's *History of Trade Unionism in the United States*. As the title implies the scope of this work is rather narrow, however Perlman presented the first synthesis to utilize Commons' framework. For the Wisconsin school, labor organization was key. Perlman began his history with "the first continuous organization of wage earners... the Philadelphia shoemakers, organized in 1792."[1] Here Perlman defined his subject; it was not the individual worker whose acts of protest were simply "a symptom of discontent."[2] Perlman's focus was trade organizations. The result was a narrow, chronological presentation of trade unions and their actions, which Perlman measured in largely quantifiable terms. Growing worker discontent was reflected in a greater number of unions, while a decline in organizations meant worker satisfaction.[3] Within these unions the workers were not the agents of change, rather economics drove historical development. "The factor that compelled labor to organize on a much larger scale was the remarkable rise in prices from 1835 to 1837."[4] Perlman's approach significantly obscured the individual in favor of the organization, and all other factors were trumped by economics.

Perlman was guilty of approaching the early republic from a teleological perspective. The lack of socialism in this period was a question that perplexed old labor historians. For Perlman, socialism was the inevitable destination of labor, but the United States presented peculiar conditions that subdued its advance.[5] This drove him and his fellows to attempt to explain why the United States was unique. One impediment to socialism was the "intellectuals"[6] who rose to prominence within the trade unions due to the depression of the 1840s. "Once the sun with its life-giving heat has set, one begins to see the cold distant stars... the intellectuals... thus served in

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[1] Selig Perlman, *A history of Trade Unionism in the United States* (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1923), 4.

[2] Ibid., 3.

[3] Ibid., 19.

[4] Ibid., 19.

[5] Bruce Laurie, *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth Century America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 3-4.

[6] Selig Perlman, *A history of Trade Unionism in the United States,* 29

the capacity of expert astrologers."[7] The utopian, radical intellectuals were, for Perlman,

opponents of labor. They led labor organizations away from class-consciousness, and therefore

toward socialism. He still managed to find an example of progress in the 1840s. "Of all the 'isms'

so prevalent during the forties, 'Agrarianism' alone came close to modern socialism, as it alone

advocated class struggle." Though he was quick to point out "Agrarianism alone was not

initiated by intellectuals."[8] Beyond utopians, feminism was also an impediment in Perlman's

teleology. When he described the Lowell strike of 1834, which included 800 "striking girls," he

attributed its failure to New England's public opinion; this being "disagreeably impressed by this

early manifestation of feminism."[9] Despite its shortcomings, Perlman's work was the first

synthesis of American Labor to present a coherent framework of study, and by extension, his

theories would be largely accepted for the next four decades.

In the 1960s labor history was invaded by the cultural turn. An energized generation of

new scholars brought criticism to Perlman's approach. It is difficult to overstate the importance

of E.P. Thomson's work *The Making of the English Working Class.* To this point labor history

squarely focused on the organizations that represented workers; Thompson turned that notion on

its head. He presented a history of the English worker from the bottom up. He sought to "rescue

the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the 'obsolete hand-loom weaver, the 'utopian' artisan...

from the enormous condescension of posterity."[10] Thompson challenged several assumptions of

the Wisconsin School. Utopian radicals were no longer discarded as misleading labor, but

instead became the center of study. He also sought to return agency and dignity to those

individual workers who fought to resist the onslaught of industrialism. In this way he rejected

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[7] Ibid., 29.
[8] Ibid., 39-40
[9] Ibid., 24-25
[10] E.P Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 12.

Perlman's teleology, but Thompson was still primarily concerned with the emergence of class-consciousness in the Marxist sense. "Class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men... Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms."[11] This statement would ignite labor studies. In essence Thompson crystallized a reorientation away from the economic and toward the cultural, and as a result labor became a field written by historians rather than economists. Thompson's work melded class, culture, and society. This opened the study of the Working Class to a vast pool of new evidence and avenues of examination; it also inspired an entirely new approach to labor history. Most significantly, Thompson's work encouraged many young American scholars to attempt to contribute to "the making of an American Working Class."

Gutman's book *Work, Culture & Society in Industrializing America,* was the first attempt among American historians to apply Thompson's model to the United States. He sought to escape the narrow study of organized labor, and instead sought "to explore the beliefs and behaviors of ordinary working Americans."[12] Like Thompson, Gutman saw an inherent value in these ordinary workers. He challenged old labor historians by saying that "altogether too little attention has been given to the ways in which the behavior of the working people affected the development of the larger culture and society in which they lived."[13] To this end he sought to use a cultural examination of how preindustrial workers sought to resist the early phase of industrialization. For example, "Saint's Monday"[14] was a general practice among early workers to simply not show up to their posts on Mondays, typically after a bout of heavy drinking the

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[11] Ibid., 9-10.
[12] Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture & Society in Industrializing America*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1976), xi
[13] Ibid., xii.
[14] Ibid., 5.

night before. Gutman employed examples like this to show that culture was relevant and often informed workers' resistance to industrialization. However, Gutman's work also represented a "strategic retreat"[15] from Thompson's framework. There was no single moment, for Gutman, when the American Working Class emerged, but instead he identified a common experience that repeated over several generations as new workers were recruited into the industrial system. Gutman's difficulty in synthesizing Thompson's work in the United States did not dampen the surge of new monographic work in the field.

New labor history, coalesced in the late 1960s, fostering an explosion of monographic works throughout the decades that followed. Early nineteenth century New England became the focus of much of this new literature. Many authors saw textile mill mills like Lowell, Massachusetts as the "leading industry" in American industrialism, and key to understanding the emerging American worker. The monographs that followed were thoroughly influenced by Thompson's work. In a sense new labor historians were in constant conversation with Thompson's ideas, and sought to explore American applications of Thompson's approach and to challenge some of his shortcomings. One criticism of Thompson's work was that women were largely absent from his examination. This was also true for pervious American labor study, and an issue Thomas Dublin sought to correct in his book *Women at Work*. Dublin sought to portray women workers as agents. He does this by demonstrating that throughout any organization women were "never an inert mass. They both accommodated the demands of industrial capitalism and rebelled against those demands."[16] To accomplish his thesis, Dublin examined the social and economic reasons that led women to become mill workers, and explained their cultural reaction to it. Gender solidarity was crucial to Dublin's argument. He demonstrated that

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[15] Michael Kammen, *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 267.
[16] Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 2.

close working spaces, boarding houses in particular, helped female workers develop a common experience and consciousness. Like most American New Labor historians, Dublin imagined his workers as a piece of a much larger puzzle. "Such a study can make an important contribution to our understanding of American labor history."[17] For Dublin, his work was meant to help contribute to a larger work of synthesis on the scale of Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*.

A similar trend is seen in Paul G. Faler's *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution.* As with Dublin, Faler sought to demonstrate the agency of early industrial workers in a limited geographic area over a long period of time. To this end he chose the shoemakers of Lynn, Massachusetts from 1780 to 1860. His goal was to "see the differing ways in which workers responded to the new [industrial] values, ranging from acceptance to persistent outright rejection and, finally to something in between."[18] Beyond agency, Faler is focused on the relationship between those involved in the shoemaking process. For example, he explains that class-consciousness emerged in these workers as a result of the growing gap between journeyman and master. Before the division of labor, the master took an active role in the production of a shoe; later the master took no part in the productive process. This was the critical moment when master became employer.[19] Faler went on to explain the journeyman's expressions of discontent. This discontent was a combination of the belief that labor had value and it was the worker's right to sell it with the old ideas of deference. Faler argued "in the process of using old ideas and values in a new context, they succeeded in fashioning a modified mechanic ideology

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[17] Ibid., 6.
[18] Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts 1780-1860*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1981), xii.
[19] Ibid., 173-74.

that became the unique possession of the wage earners."[20] Just as with Dublin, Faler hoped that his geographically limited study would be connected with other case studies that eventually led to the construction of a grand labor synthesis.

Despite the energetic work of so many scholars through the late 1960s and 1970s, Thompson's ideas seemed no closer to fruition in the United States than they had been a decade ago and some doubted they these ideas ever would. In an article in *The Past Before Us,* David Brody explained this doubt. He emphasized the difference in nature between England and America. "Thompson's class analysis turned on the interaction between a settled population... Early America lacked such a preindustrial population."[21] Brody admits that in an absolute sense, writing the "Making of an American Working Class" simply was not feasible. That did not mean he abandoned all hope for a synthetic American labor history. He argued that the only way for finding a common ground between all American workers was through economics, not culture. "Repeatedly scholars have rediscovered the need to see the workers they are studying in the context of job and industry."[22] He argued that many of the monographs from the late 70s were already doing this. "The persistent intrusion of these issues into the new labor history suggests the powerful logic behind an economic approach."[23] Finally, Brody ended this article with an admonishment. The amount of monographic work, and research under way was impressive, but "This momentum can be sustained... only if it leads to a synthesis that will provide guidance for the future scholarship."[24] As labor history entered the 1980s and 90s Brody's warning became all the more apt.

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[20] Ibid., 181.
[21] Kammen, *The Past Before Us,* 267.
[22] Ibid., 268.
[23] Ibid., 268.
[24] Ibid., 269.

The 1980s marked a period of serious reorganization within the field of labor. Sean Wilentz's work, *Chants Democratic*, marked another "strategic retreat" from Thompson and earlier labor historians. While Wilentz hoped his case study of New York would contribute to a greater synthesis of American labor, he harbors no illusions that there is a single American Working Class. "I do not mean to suggest that a single entity [Working Class] came into being in the antebellum years never to change or to be changed... This Working Class never existed."[25] Next, he challenged the Marxist interpretation of labor. Wilentz rejected the search for what *should* exist in favor of what *did* exist. He abandons the idea that there should be class-consciousness in the United States as it appeared in Europe. For him it was the "wrong question."[26] Instead Wilentz examined New York's workers for what they were, and not to explain the lack of socialism. This was not to say that Wilentz rejected Thompson's whole cloth. He was still very interested in demonstrating "the process of class formation as a central development in early-nineteenth-century New York."[27] To this end he employed a similar method to that of Thompson. He examined in detail the articulate, radical, artisan movements of antebellum New York and describes their common experience as "'plebeian' artisan republicanism."[28] Wilentz's artisan-focused work became a lightning rod for the debate over the future path of labor studies. Nick Salvatore accused Wilentz's work of ignoring the vast number of unorganized, non-radical laborers, and their discontent. He argued the result was a distorted view that over-emphasized the importance of class-consciousness in New York.[29] Christine Stansell's criticisms were along a similar vein. Her work, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New*

[25] Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 18.
[26] Ibid., 16.
[27] Ibid., 17.
[28] Ibid., 17.
[29] Laurie, *Artisans into Workers,* 9.

York 1789-1860, examined the tensions between class realities of the Working Class women and the bourgeois, gender expectations they faced. In her introduction she laid down the gauntlet. "Glancing at the history books, it is difficult at first to discern those problematic poor women. When laboring women do appear in scholarship about the nineteenth century, [they are] too miserable and oppressed to take much of a part in making history."[30] Similar to that of Salvatore, Stansell accused Wilentz and others of ignoring large groups of American workers. In addition many critics have accused Wilentz of almost completely ignoring the issues of race in this period.[31] Ultimately, the argument for a broader definition of Working Class "won" and the study of labor expanded. This expansion came at a cost.

From the 1990s into the 2000s labor studies became increasingly nebulous, as scholars sought to enlarge the scope of class to include previously ignored groups of American workers. The Working Class began to lose all definition. In *Wages of Whiteness,* David Roediger expanded labor studies into the realm of race. He argued that new labor history had thus far been unwilling to engage the issue of "whiteness" in the antebellum period.[32] This is a serious shortcoming he sought to correct. The concept of "otherness" was key in unifying white workers. These workers, who wished to resist industrialization, often turned to racial comparisons to make their claim. "The rally cry of 'free labor' understandably proved more durable and popular for antebellum white workers."[33] For Roediger, whiteness was the common ground that united early American industrial workers. This trend of expanding the subject of labor studies continued with Peter Way's *Common Labor.* In his examination of canal workers he departed from Wilentz's

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[30] Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1798-1860*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), xiii.
[31] Wilentz, *Chants Democratic,* xvi.
[32] David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, (New York: Verso, 1991), 9.
[33] Ibid., 14.

radical skilled artisans, and instead focused on unskilled laborers. He also criticizes the tendency to romanticize the struggles of labor against capital. His work instead emphasizes the human nature of these workers. By the mid 1990's hope of a synthetic American labor work had dwindled considerably, and the fate of labor history in general was in question.

Faler expertly summarizes the fate of labor history in an article written for *The History Teacher*. By the mid 1990's labor history was in crisis. As Brody had warned ten years earlier, without a generally accepted synthesis to provide a framework for the discipline, labor was losing its definition and was becoming a less distinct field. Faler places the blame on Thompson. Although his work was pivotal in transforming labor history and introducing new voices and perspectives, Thompson also contributed to the destruction of "class" as a distinct term. As new labor historians sought to better encapsulate the vast amount of evidence Thompson's approach revealed they found American classes dissected deeply by race, gender, and ethnicity. These divisions proved so deep that they made the Working Class essentially meaningless. Faler also criticized new labor for placing far too much emphasis on the struggle of the Working Class, and almost completely ignoring the employer, the strikebreaker, and the foreman.[34] New labor histories sought to return dignity to the lowly worker, but they began to romanticize his or her fight for a better life. It often went unsaid that workers were usually united against the capitalists who oppressed them, and not through fidelity toward one another.

Today, labor has been absorbed by the other disciplines it sought to incorporate. The state of labor studies is made clear by the most recent edition of *American History Now*[35]*,* which has no labor section. In addition, while Seth Rockman's *Scraping By* is clearly a work of labor history, it is categorized as a social history, but this work presents an interesting new direction

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[34] Paul G. Faler, "E. P. Thompson and American History: A Retrospective View." *The History Teacher*. no. 1 (1994): 31-36

[35] Eric Foner and Lisa McGirr, *American History Now*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011).

for labor studies. Rockman flatly rejects Thompson and Gutman's search for the American

Working Class and their study of "artisan republicanism." Instead he advocates a return to the

study of the economic conditions of labor.[36] In essence Rockman has returned to the economic

roots of labor studies, but his thesis brings a fresh interpretation to class consciousness. For

Rockman, workers' culture and resistance is over-emphasized. The study of workers' culture and

resistance favors the radical/articulate artisan, while stifling the common day laborer. He

presents a thesis wherein class-consciousness is defined by economic conditions which span

race, ethnicity, gender, and even slavery. In Baltimore, labor crews included both freemen and

slaves working side-by-side, violating what many assumed to be the absolute racial hierarchy of

antebellum culture as well as the strict incompatibility of wage and slave labor. In this sense,

Rockman's economic approach offers hope for labor studies in the future by allowing for greater

acknowledgment of its past. However, Rockman's new approach does have   serious limitations.

The scrapers, dredgers, and other poor laborers, he seeks to illuminate, were illiterate and owned

very few possession. Additionally, their work went largely unrecorded, leading Rockman to the

miserly records of the City of Baltimore to find evidence of these workers activities. Even

Rockman admits that this was an unusual and lucky find. While Rockman's perspective is

provocative; it remains challenging for researchers to amass sufficient evidence on these largely

silent workers.

From Perlman, to Thompson, to Wilentz, to Rockman the study of American labor has

seen a fascinating evolution. Within one century this field has gone from preeminence to

complete obscurity, all the while closely tied to the fate of the American Working Class. As

historians sought to broaden its scope, it became clear that the American Working Class simply

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[36] Seth Rockman, *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 9.

did not exist in the form historians hoped to find. Reluctantly, historians were forced to abandon the hope of a Thompsonian labor synthesis. Without a strong theoretical base, labor historians perused their disparate interests and were untimely absorbed by the fields they sought to include. Perhaps a return to the economic conditions of workers will yield new findings, but for now "the making of an American Working Class" remains a vision, as yet, unrealized.

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Let's Talk About Sex:
Degrees of Power in Mid-century "Queer" Pulp

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Trevor García-Neeley graduated with an M.A. from California State University, Sacramento in the spring of 2014. As a student, García-Neeley pursued research projects in Modern U.S. Cultural History with particular interest in approaching historical topics via postmodern theory, post-structural theory, and queer theory. As a teacher, Trevor served as a Supplemental Instructor for "Intro to World Civilizations" courses for two semesters. In all academic endeavors, Trevor was influenced by the work of Joan Scott, Michel Foucault, Robert Self, and Susan Stryker, among others. García-Neeley also received a Bachelor's Degree in History from the University of California, Davis in the spring of 2011.

Marijane Meaker's works of lesbian pulp fiction reflected her ability to find love within committed, monogamous relationships. Because of her ability to convey this love in a relatable manner, her first major work, *Spring Fire*, published in 1952, sold 1,463, 917 copies by 1955.[1] William Burroughs, the famous "beat" author of *Naked Lunch*, on the other hand, spent his life writing not for an audience but rather, for himself and his close friends.[2] A few times in his career he remarked that he wrote for the same reason he used drugs, because he had nothing else to do, no motivation.[3] His works rarely center on love, but rather, focus on addiction to sex, money, power, and most of all, "junk" (drugs). Born in 1914 to a wealthy Missouri family, Burroughs enjoyed the privilege of being white, male, and upper-class throughout his writing career. Because of his male privilege in particular, his writings received extensive critical acclaim for decades. While both writers enjoyed the privileges of being white in a still largely segregated society, Meaker failed to garner the respect of professional critics because of her identity as a gay woman. With his unique writing style and constantly objectionable content, William Burroughs challenged social norms far more readily than his female contemporary, yet garnered greater respect within the academic and non-academic communities because he was a man. The fact that these two authors typified the experiences of other authors of queer pulp during the baby boom highlights patterns of social interaction amongst gay literary communities that mirrored the gender and racial inequality of U.S. society more broadly.

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[1] Ann Aldrich, *We, Too, Must Love* (Greenwich: Fawcett Publications, 1958), viii.

[2] William Burroughs, *Queer*, (New York: Viking Books, 1985), xiv.

[3] Oliver Harris, ed. *The Letters of William S. Burroughs, 1945-1959*. (New York: Viking Books, 1993), xxii.

The Ironic Context for Punishing Pulp

The immediate post-war era, or the era of the baby boom, was a time of remarkable political and personal repression in the United States. The 1950s represent an era of contradictions. Hugh Hefner's magazine, *Playboy*, offered sophistication and skin during an era in which people did not publicly display their bodies. Marilyn Monroe, the movie star largely responsible for Hefner's break into major media, projected a unique and vulnerable sexuality that captured the time perfectly.[4] Her ability to "let men fool themselves" into developing fantasy relationships with her epitomizes the juxtaposition of acceptable private lust and public chastity.[5] Understanding the public repression and personal deviance of general society during the 1950s makes the works of William Burroughs and Marijane Meaker all the more remarkable. In an era in which political leaders linked various types of social deviance with communism and treason individuals like Burroughs and Meaker began careers by expertly documenting deviant acts regarding extramarital sex and drug use. The fact that both authors found widespread commercial success stands as a tribute to their ability to feel out true public sentiments and create relatable characters in a time when queer characters were not discussed by the masses.

Alfred Kinsey, a biologist and sexologist from the Northeast and the founder of The Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University, spent the majority of his career attempting to change public perceptions of sex and sexuality. In 1948 he published "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male," a long-winded treatise that shook American society to its core. In this work, the politically (and personally) conservative boy scout from the Midwest shocked the nation by uncovering the disparity between social mores of sexual behavior and actual sexual practice. Commonly known as "The Kinsey Report," this publication had a profound effect on the culture

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[4] David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Fawcett Columbine Publishing, 1993), 566.
[5] Halberstam, *The Fifties*, 565.

of the 1950s and set a necessary groundwork for the evolution of sexual mores commonly

associated with the latter 1960s. By putting in countless hours conducting sexual history

interviews, Kinsey and his team revealed that people participated in extramarital sex "more than

they wanted to admit," that pre-marital sex and homosexuality were both fairly common, and

that masturbation was in fact harmless.[6] Kinsey's work perfectly illustrated the irony of living in

the United States in the early Cold War era by revealing that 95% of young people participated

in illegal pre-marital "petting" and 80% of successful businessmen had had extramarital affairs.[7]

In 1953, Kinsey published his female-focused follow-up to the report and it quickly sold more

than 200,000 copies. Kinsey revealed more complex ideas about sexuality on two levels: not

only did the researcher show that people's ideas about sex did not match up with their actions,

but the very magnitude of the sales of the report illustrated the desire for a national discussion of

sex.[8] The massive sales of pulp novels by authors like Meaker and Burroughs mirrored this

phenomenon of a voracious appetite for a discourse on sexuality in the 1950s that Kinsey

revealed in his reports.

     Political leaders led the charge in demonizing alternative sexualities by overtly linking

homosexuality with communism. As Senator McCarthy famously remarked, "If you want to be

against McCarthy, boys, you've got to be a Communist or a cocksucker."[9] Politicians like

Senator McCarthy used ideas that stemmed from psychologists like Sigmund Freud, who pinned

homosexuality down as a perverted medical condition, as a mental illness that needed to be

eradicated from society to give apparent credibility to their prejudices. McCarthy used the Cold

War anxieties of the nuclear family to construct the notion of "the lavender menace" as a

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[6] Halberstam, *The Fifties*, 277.
[7] Halberstam, *The Fifties*, 272-273.
[8] Halberstam, *The Fifties*, 280.
[9] Halberstam, *The Fifties*, 54.

frightening entity that could de-rail the chances of the U.S. winning the war against the Soviets.[10]

To defeat the USSR, according to conservative anti-communists, the U.S. would have to win the

war at home by creating stronger families of a higher moral pedigree than the communists.

Under the rationality that the homosexual would do anything to keep his/her identity hidden,

President Eisenhower issued Executive Order 10450 in April of 1953. The law theoretically

purged the federal government of any employee "guilty of sexual perversion." More importantly,

it symbolically recognized a link between sexuality and Communism, setting into law the

language used by McCarthy and creating a clear "other" with regard to respectability in 1950s

communities.

The House Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials, more commonly

known as the Gathings Committee, conducted a congressional investigation of popular literature

in 1952-1953 within the context of connected political and personal repression. Led by

Congressman Ezekiel Gathings, the committee "condemned the paperback book industry for

profiting from salacious material."[11] The committee, especially Gathings, worried that the lewd

materials commonly found at magazine stands and in drug stores normalized sexual deviance

and violence and encouraged rape. They published their findings under the title *Investigation of*

Literature Allegedly Containing Objectionable Material, in 1953. In this publication the

members of congress detailed which materials "lack any social value" and should be subject to

censure.[12] While this committee faced widespread public scorn, notably from the major

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[10] Halberstam, *The Fifties*, 55.

[11] James Olson, *Historical Dictionary of the 1950s* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 2000), 109.

[12] House Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials, *Investigation of Literature Allegedly Containing Objectionable Material*, 82nd Cong., 2d sess., 1953.

periodical *Newsweek*, their legacy impacted judicial decisions and legislation for years to come.[13]

Although the U.S. Supreme Court and other state supreme courts upheld much of the conclusions of the committee throughout the 1950s, the works of beatnik writers like William Burroughs later served to dismantle the repressive legislative system.[14] A Massachusetts lower court banned Burroughs' most famous work, *Naked Lunch*, on grounds of obscenity in 1965. The following year, the state Supreme Court overturned the decision on first amendment grounds in what David Allyn calls the "vanquishing" of "the most repressive legacy of puritanism."[15] With the widespread discussion of the controversial book itself, Burroughs helped create a discourse on the seemingly new cravings of all people, not just upper-class white men.[16] During the trial the defense brought various notable social critics and writers, such as Allen Ginsberg and Norman Mailer, to share the effect the book had had on them and argue its social value. The proclamation of what society should accept and what it should reject as obscenity, as designated by the Gathings Committee in 1953, set the tone for the decade of censorship and cultural repression in the 1950s. In the end, sales and the will of the people to support free speech determined which popular literature was printed and distributed by the end of the baby boom.

William Burroughs and Marijane Meaker: A Case Study of 1950s Fiction

Marijane Meaker, pseudonymous under the names Vin Packer and Ann Aldrich, wrote novels that acted as sanitized guidebooks for modern lesbians during the era of the baby boom. As Aldrich, Meaker wrote two novels in the early 1950s, *We Too, Must Love* and *We Walk*

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[13] "No Witch Hunt," *Newsweek,* July 7, 1952, 80.
[14] Attorney General v. A book named "Naked Lunch," W.C., 351 Mass. 298 (Mass. Sup. Ct. 1965-66).
[15] David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War; The Sexual Revolution: An Unfettered History* (New York: Routledge Publishing, 2001), 70.
[16] Allyn, *Make Love, Not War*, 70.

Alone. Advertised as tell-all journalistic fiction from an experienced lesbian, these books served as instruction manuals for countless middle-class, white lesbians in the U.S. during the 1950s. Because of initial support in the form of letters from all over the country, the author often took on a hyperbolic liberationist voice that no writer could possibly live up to. For example, in the introduction to her novel, *We, Too, Must Love*, Meaker indicates her "purpose in writing this book is to dispel much of the ignorance about the Lesbian."[17] This unequivocally untenable universalizing purpose shows in her description of "most all" lesbians sharing a "togetherness in many of their attitudes."[18] Despite the generalized perspective that Meaker writes from, she reached the masses with stories about real human subjects that served to complicate the general public's perceptions of the lesbian in the U.S. society of the 1950s.

Meaker's works of lesbian pulp fiction sold quite well. Her 1955 novel, *We Walk Alone*, sold over a million copies and remained in print for more than a decade.[19] Despite her commercial success, reputable publishing companies largely ignored her work. *We Walk Alone* was never published as a hardcover book. Publishers and congressmen viewed writers like Meaker as particularly hazardous to national morality because of their sexual orientation *and* their biological sex. Her work during this period represents both a cultural double standard based on gender and the embodiment of white privilege when attempting to legitimize subjugated bodies.

The works of William Burroughs found not only commercial success, but also critical acclaim and respectable publication, despite their reification of serious social deviance. Burroughs wrote indiscriminately regarding his sexual frustrations and fantasies, his hatred of

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[17] Aldrich, *We, Too, Must Love*, vii.
[18] Aldrich, *We, Too, Must Love*, 16.
[19] Aldrich, *We Walk Alone*, 159.

the modern democratic bureaucracy, and of the harrowing menace of drug addiction. While he

also wrote from an overtly orientalist and often racist perspective, in most other ways he

seriously challenged social and cultural norms of the era. His work therefore marks a shift in the

language writers dared to use in a tumultuous period of censure. His most famous novel, *Naked

Lunch*, fundamentally altered the judicial understanding of free speech after winning a highly

publicized censorship case at the Massachusetts Supreme Court in 1966.

The Rarely Queer Meaker as the Embodiment of 1950s Repression

Marijane Meaker's books only challenge social norms in terms of monolithic identity-

she almost exclusively tells the story of gay characters during the 1950s. Her characters do not

challenge accepted ideas about class, race, sex, or gender during this time. At times her works

relegate gender blending to a state of absurdity, shame, or repulsiveness. This is especially

evident in her characterization of "very masculine girls" and "trampy" butch girls who the

narrators of her stories never seem to find attractive or kissable.[20][21] The way that Meaker both

normalizes the butch/femme dichotomy *and* describes butch lesbians using unattractive terms

prevents her stories from truly subverting normalized conceptions of body difference.

Furthermore, her creation of mostly white, middle-class, young subjects discovering

themselves in the Greek community at their local universities- such as Jacqueline Spencer of *We,

Too, Must Love* and Ferris Sullivan of *Whisper His Sin*- indicates her failed attempt at meeting

her goal to drive out the social ignorance surrounding lesbianism.[22] While her works may have

eradicated the ignorance surrounding a very specific type of lesbian- white, upper-middle class,

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[20] Aldrich, *We, Too, Must Love*, 28.
[21] Aldrich, *We, Too, Must Love*, 75.
[22] Aldrich, *We, Too, Must Love, vii.*

young girls- her works did not achieve the lofty goal, described by Aldrich, of giving a voice to all modern lesbians because she only wrote about a very specific type of lesbian.

As an educated white, middle-class lesbian herself, Marijane Meaker was well-suited to pioneer the publication of original lesbian literature in the United States. When the editor of Fawcett Publications, Dick Carroll, stumbled upon her tales of the seemingly innocent sexual curiosity of teenage girls away at boarding school he knew he had a potential goldmine on his hands.[23] After the boom of quick read "pocket books" throughout the depression, war-time publishers had been searching for a way to break back into the market of lucrative pulp fiction. They did so by selling to an educated population of white, middle-class readers who secretly craved sexual dialogue in the early 1950s. Through a loophole in federal law, Fawcett and other publishers hired women like Meaker to write stories of curious women at boarding schools and universities. As long as the stories did not have a happy ending for the queer couple, postal offices could not seize the materials under current obscenity laws. The 1950s ushered in a wave of white queer pulp unmatched in scale and largely unified in creating a wary tone regarding the secret sins of social deviancy, which, at the time, meant any sexual practice or discussion of sexual practice outside of the confines of marriage. Marijane Meaker followed the model of wealthy, white sexual curiosity stamped out by a strong and moral U.S. society perfectly.

Book reviews of the time worked in conjunction with Meaker's works to demonstrate that people of the 1950s tried desperately to uphold the punishing of sexual misconduct, even when that misconduct took the form of simple publication. The New York Times, for example, validated Meaker's work when it maintained the strict code of punishing those participating in sex outside of marriage, yet quickly called her a failure when she did not adhere to social mores

[23] Susan Stryker, *Queer Pulp: Perverted Passions from the Golden Age of the Paperback* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2001), 57.

of the time. For example, two of her earliest works under the pseudonym Vin Packer, *The Thrill Kids* (1955) and *The Young and the Violent* (1956), received generally favorable reviews from Anthony Boucher, the author of a regular column on crime novels called "Criminals at Large." In his reviews, Boucher wrote that Packer has a "realistic" understanding of the "puzzle" of juvenile violence and crime more generally, as illustrated by her ability to "succinctly sketch the family background and personal problems of each boy."[24][25] Packer's stories found acceptance so long as they demonized certain individuals and their sexual lasciviousness. Thus, the focus on the individual problems of each criminal is central to understanding reactions of the time period. Boucher quite clearly offered up his solution to the problem of criminality in clearly linking personal failures to the institution of the family. In these two stories, the novelist upholds the notion that family values could protect society from moral deviance. The notion that troubled family histories create murderous youth is one that reviewers and readers alike could get behind. In revealing a more normative than queer point of view, Meaker enjoyed positive reviews for these two novels.

Critics of the era overtly dismissed Meaker, however, when she failed to adequately link moral deviance with something as tangible as troubled home life. One response to her 1956 crime novel about a small Georgia town murder, *Dark Don't Catch Me*, illustrates the social inability to excuse Meaker for her failure to link crime and troubled home life. Boucher writes that the book felt "dominated and distorted by an obsession with sex" that fails to adequately

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[24] Anthony Boucher, review of *The Thrill Kids*, by Vin Packer, New York Times Book Review, Nov. 20, 1955, VII, 59:2.

[25] Anthony Boucher, review of *The Young and the Violent*, by Vin Packer, New York Times Book Review, July 8, 1956, VII, 25:2.

explain the "Problem of the South."[26] Here the same reviewer who had given her positive

reviews for her previous understanding of the social development of criminals wrote an

unfavorable review because Meaker apparently focused too much on sex. The Times also

demonstrated their distaste for the inclusion of sex when they completely ignored Meaker's two

major lesbian-centered works under the pseudonym Ann Aldrich, *We Walk Alone* (1955) and

We, Too, Must Love (1958), despite their sales in the hundreds of thousands. Book reviews for

these titles show that Meaker did often stick to the social conditions of the era. They also

illustrate her ability to push the boundaries of sexual discussion in a repressive society and the

reaction of the "elites" of society who had the duty to document the major books of the era.

Meaker's works themselves more often uphold the standards for writing fiction,

especially with regard to her five Aldrich novels of the 1950s. She employed a standard and

clearly defined linear narrative in all of her works. The plot of her two most famous books

Whisper His Sin and *Spring Fire* follow a traditional chronological plot with clear protagonists,

themes, central conflicts, climax, and conclusion. More notably, the way her themes and

conclusions in these two works follow the conventions of writing about gay subjects generally.

In both of these works, the queer protagonist meets his and her demise because of their neuroses

stemming from sexual deviancy.[27] In writing tragedies, Meaker simply participated in the gay

fiction orthodoxy of the time designed by publishing companies and the Gathings Committee to

prevent people from accepting alternative lifestyles.

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[26] Anthony Boucher, review of *Dark Don't Catch Me*, by Vin Packer, New York Times Book Review, Dec. 23, 1956, VII, 12:2.

[27] Vin Packer, *Whisper His Sin*, (Greenwich: Fawcett Gold Medal Books, 1954).

William Burroughs, a product of the 1950s

William Burroughs failed to develop a nuanced approach to understanding queer subjects, outside the realm of sexuality and addiction. His characters too often represent himself or one of his close friends and therefore do not stray away from a white, middle and upper-class archetype. His main character during the 1950s and 1960s, William Lee, represents the author himself and at other times represents his close friends Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, both of Northeastern, white middle-class backgrounds. Lee, like Burroughs, often spoke in western-centric and flat-out racist terms. Although Burroughs often challenged social norms with regard to everything from sex and nationalism to addiction and love, his Jim Crow upbringing prevented him from approaching race in a similarly complex manner.

The cultural insensitivities that Burroughs employed make his lasting popularity and "respectability" all the more peculiar. Burroughs showed nothing but contempt for his home country and even less respect for many of the other nations he lived and wrote in throughout the 1950s and 60s. In 1951 he left the United States both because of the "bureaucracy" that supposedly strained his creative abilities and the fact that he had accidentally shot and killed his wife, Joan Vollmer during a game that involved drinking and a pistol.[28][29] Shortly after moving to Mexico City, Burroughs spoke with great disrespect for the Mexican people as a whole. In the novel he wrote while in Mexico, *Queer*, Burroughs begins with a pretentious assessment of the "sinister and gloomy" city that "reflected two thousand years of disease and poverty and degradation and stupidity" in which many Mexicans supposedly killed their best friends.[30] While the discussion of the legislative and social impacts of *Naked Lunch* often is in the foreground of

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[28] Burroughs, *Queer*, vi.
[29] Allyn, *Make Love, Not War*, 69.
[30] Burroughs, *Queer*, vii.

discussions of Burroughs, his response to cultural differences remains noteworthy in that he

really did not *completely* break with other Americans of his same class, race, and generation with

regard to social mores.

After leaving Mexico in 1951 for "business" reasons, Burroughs traveled around Central

and South America with his long-time friend Allen Ginsberg- in search of the mythical

hallucinogen, Yagé (yah hey).[31] In writing about his experiences searching for Yagé, Burroughs

consistently describes a search for Yage rather than Yagé, despite his knowledge of the native

Yaquí language and the accent-dependent pronunciation of the drug. His "colonial

appropriation" of the name of the drug represents only the tip of Burroughs' well-documented

disrespect for cultural and racial differences, as well as his tendency toward misogyny and anti-

Semitism.[32] He spoke ill of the next cities he lived in, Rome and Tangier, after his sojourn

through Central and South America.[33] Strangely, Burroughs' contemporaries and even his more

recent critics have largely failed to address his blatant disrespect for diverse peoples- instead

mostly focusing on his apparent literary genius.[34][35][36] While this complex individual represents

marginalized communities such as drug addicts and gay people, Burroughs simultaneously

worked to marginalize other communities based on lingering and antiquated racial hierarchies.

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[31] Oliver Harris, *The Yage Letters Redux*, (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2006), xiii.

[32] Harris, *The Yage Letters*, xi.

[33] Harris, *The Letters of William S. Burroughs*, 215.

[34] Marvin Mudrick, "Sarraute, Duras, Burroughs, Barthelme, and a Postscript," *The Hudson Review* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 1967), 482.

[35] Herbert Gold, review of *Naked Lunch*, by William Burroughs, New York Times Book Review, Nov. 25, 1962, VII, pgs. 4, 69.

[36] Anatole Broyard, review of *Junky*, by William Burroughs, New York Times Book Review, Apr. 10, 1977, VII, p. 14.

Placing Burroughs within a Queer Framework

While many have canonized Marijane Meaker in discussions of queer pulp in the early Cold War era, Meaker wrote gay novels, not queer novels. Recently, many scholars have abandoned the notion of queer as a monolithic category of analysis in favor of understanding the potential of queer as an ever-changing conceptualization that legitimizes subjugated bodies of all types- most often based on race, class, gender, ability, and sexuality- by deconstructing institutionalized knowledge-power discourses. Despite his cultural insensitivity, William Burroughs redeems himself when analyzed through a queer lens because of his ability to challenge some social norms. While queer theory could be understood to have developed in the late 1980s, queer writers like Burroughs prove that an elastic notion of queer as a category of analysis exists across time and space. By evaluating queer writers before the establishment of queer theory as a formal discipline, one can maintain the power of queer (as a concept) to destabilize a potentially self-destructive narrative of the "origins" of queer studies in favor of constantly reconstructing knowledge structures across disciplines. Thus, queer can maintain its unique power to defy orthodoxy via historical inquiry and rejection of linear temporality.

Burroughs made queer fiction. He purposefully decimated standard ideas of personal love, stability, and the idea of the traditional novel as a structure in the mid-twentieth century. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Burroughs employed the "cut-up" method of writing novels. He would write an entire novel and then proceed to cut the story into pieces and randomly splice them together in order to disorient the reader. His works challenged conceptions of normality in nearly all forms, even to the extent of re-defining how a reader could identify the plot within a narrative.[37] In "cutting up" four of his most successful novels before their release, Burroughs

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[37] William Burroughs, *Naked Lunch*, (New York: Grove Press, 1959).

solidified himself as a queer writer in that he did something that nobody else was doing.

Burroughs took on a Dadaist approach in writing *The Nova Trilogy* and *Naked Lunch* as he

treasures the ability to use nonsensical prose to delineate different meanings to different readers.

In literally cutting-up the story after he finished it, he wrote what appeared as a series of

vignettes, literary gibberish to many. In finding an audience to embrace this surreal anti-logic,

William Burroughs directly challenged the status quo for writing literature at the time.

As a lifelong writer, Burroughs also challenged the separation of fiction and non-fiction.

As evidenced by his extensive letters to his close friends Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsburg,

Burroughs viewed his personal correspondence as a sort of story in and of itself.[38] Furthermore,

the deep personal connection he had with his characters not only translated into moving stories

of addiction and suffering- but also into a sort of quasi-autobiography that he at times had trouble

re-visiting.[39] Readers will forever read Burroughs on his own ambiguous terms because he never

explained the symbolism and detail within his stories. In retrospect, Burroughs said of his first

two major novels, "While it was I who wrote *Junky*, I feel that I was being written in *Queer*."[40]

The reader will always wonder: is Burroughs' alter-ego in these books, William Lee, truly an

alter-ego, or does he sometimes represent other people in the author's long life? Despite

Burroughs' incessant need to document even the minute details of his everyday life up until his

death in 1997, the author never provided a clear answer as to whether he wrote fiction or fact.

Burroughs purposefully left his writing ambiguous in order for his readers to develop feelings for

his characters on their own. Readers of past, present, and future feel sympathy, resentment, love,

and bewilderment as they read the frightening plight of William Lee as he descends into madness

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[38] Harris, *The Letters of William S. Burroughs*, 217.
[39] Burroughs, *Queer*, xvii.
[40] Burroughs, *Queer*, xiv.

and ascends into reality in a paradoxically cyclical fashion. Throughout Burroughs' personal correspondence and his fiction a sense of unrelenting hopelessness in the face of modern society dominates both the characters in the stories and the reader because the author himself truly feels it. His queering of the very notion of a point of view forces readers to feel the hopelessness that he himself feels.

Unlike Meaker's works, Burroughs' works appear queer upon first glance. The reader recognizes the abrupt deviance manifest in the author's work without opening the cover of his second major novel, *Queer*.[41] While Burroughs employed titles such as *Junky, Naked Lunch,* and *Queer*, Meaker uses more elusive titles like *Spring Fire, We Walk Alone*, and *We, Too, Must Love.* The covers and titles of Meaker's novels hide the idea of social disruption, so much so that many readers confused her first novel, *Spring Fire*, with the semiautobiographical bestseller by historical fiction writer James Michener titled *The Fires of Spring*.[42][43] For Meaker, being queer is something to hide away from a society that clearly links crime and communism with deviant sexuality. Burroughs, by contrast, sees his queer identity as something that other people must become comfortable with or he will simply remove them from his life.[44] Rather than accepting the pathologizing sentiments of "scientific experts" and laypeople alike, he rejected the current discourse around "homosexuality" and maintained a queer perspective in both his professional, published works as well as his personal letters and journals.

Burroughs wrote from a far more queer perspective than Meaker with regard to general content in his books. His writing challenged acceptable content to the point of a Massachusetts

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[41] Cover Art, Figure 1.

[42] Ann Aldrich, *We Walk Alone* (New York: Feminist Press, City University of NY, 2006), x.

[43] Cover Art, Figure 2.

[44] Harris, *The Letters of William S. Burroughs*, 105-106.

judge calling it "hard-core pornography."[45] While he did not write gay porn, his work inadvertently opened the door for mass-market paperback gay pornography because it shifted the discourse around pulp fiction and obscenity from "I know it when I see it" to a questioning of whether or not a work was "utterly without redeeming social importance."[4647] In his novels *Naked Lunch* and *Cobble Stone Gardens* Burroughs briefly reflected upon the subjects of erections, mutual masturbation, nightmarish hallucinations of varying ejaculates, clear-walled public restrooms, incest, and even human-god sexual interaction.[48] His most common motif consistently remained in the focus on the effects of addiction on the human psyche. In *Junky* the protagonist first struggles with drug addiction; in the sequel, *Queer,* the protagonist battles an addiction to lust. Burroughs' ability to write from a queer perspective throughout his life- both professionally and personally- stands as a testament to the existence of queer thinkers before the Stonewall Riots and the formalized study of queer theory. His literary perseverance, despite his addictions and socially unacceptable sexuality, was a true measure of his character and the potential of individuals to overcome their surroundings.

Male Privilege in Queer Pulp

The blatantly queer perspective of Burroughs, as evidenced by the structure, themes, and imagery he employs, make the positive critical reception he enjoyed puzzling. His work in the 1950s and 1960s embodied exactly what the Gathings Committee most feared from literature, unabashed social deviance. The responses his work elicited serve as a testimony to the power of male privilege in the realm of queer fiction. One critic wrote in 1976 that Burroughs represents one of "our last romantics," describing Burroughs and his two "beat" friends Ginsberg and

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[45] Allyn, *Make Love, Not War*, 69.
[46] Attorney General v. A book named "Naked Lunch," 303.
[47] Allyn, *Make Love, Not War*, 70.
[48] William Burroughs, *Cobble Stone Gardens* (Rockford: Cherry Valley Editions, 1976), 36-38.

Kerouac as "mavericks of inspiration" for their ability to make people identify with the emotions of their characters.[49] Their ability to evoke emotion proved, as one reviewer at the time wrote, that even in literature "the customer is always right."[50] Capitalism may have enabled books like *Naked Lunch* to overcome the sentiments of the Gathings Committee and the overall fears of the public, but maleness ensured the beat authors a place in history.

Book reviews on the works of Meaker and Burroughs also highlight a clear male privilege in queer pulp. In major publications like the New York Times Book Review, gay male authors like Burroughs, Capote, and Baldwin received full page spreads, often covering multiple pages.[51][52] In the case of Burroughs' *Naked Lunch* and *Junky*, the Times reviewers analyzed the entire books, rather than writing short blurbs telling readers whether or not to purchase the works, as they did with Meaker. In covering *Naked Lunch*, Herbert Gold wrote two lengthy pages praising the author for his ability to capture "the darkside of human nature" like nobody else could.[53] Similarly, in the cover-featured review of Burroughs' 1973 compilation of stories, *Exterminator!*, the reviewer analyzes every bit of symbolism within the author's "extraordinary ear for vernacular" and "ferocious immediacy and originality."[54] Marijane Meaker never received that much coverage from literary critics, no matter which pseudonym she used. As Ann Aldrich, her works went completely ignored by the Times, despite their sales in the millions. As Vin Packer, her books only saw tiny paragraphs of 2-4 sentences within the larger regular

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[49] Barry Wallenstein, "The Beats: book reviews," *Contemporary Literature* 18, no. 4 (Autumn 1977): 544.

[50] Mudrick, "Sarraute*, Duras, Burroughs, Barthelme, and a Postscript*," 481.

[51] Mario Puzo, review of *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone*, by James Baldwin, New York Times Book Review, June 23, 1968, VII, p. 5, 34.

[52] Gold, review of *Naked Lunch*, 4, 69.

[53] Gold, review of *Naked Lunch*, 4.

[54] Andrew C.J. Bergman, review of *Exterminator!*, by William Burroughs, New York Times Book Review, Oct. 14, 1973, VII, p. 14.

column on crime, even when the reviewer enjoyed the stories.[55] Despite the fact that Gold Medal

Books published twenty Vin Packer novels between 1952 and 1969, indicating a clear public

demand for her work, the New York Times only mentioned her four times and only within the

context of the small column on crime novels.[56] Furthermore, the Times consciously stopped

reviewing her work after they gave a negative review to her "oversexed" 1956 novel, *Dark Don't

Catch Me*. The disregard for women's writing that spanned across literary review periodicals

sheds light on the broader social anxiety of the time. The lack of meaningful reviews of queer

women's writing juxtaposed with their high sales is representative of a time when private

feelings did not match public concerns. The reviews indicate not only a real fear of women's

sexuality, but also a more general fear of women's roles in the public sphere.

The publishing patterns of the works of these two authors illustrate the wider scope of

gender dynamics of the era. While lesbian writers like Marijane Meaker were lucky to be picked

up pseudonymously by fringe publications like Fawcett Publications, more well-respected

publishing companies like Signet Books and Putnam Publishing signed lucrative contracts with

gay writers such as Truman Capote, Gore Vidal, and William Burroughs. While the

aforementioned reviewer, Mudrick, spoke accurately about the ability of sales to define "literary

sainthood," the customer had no control over which publishers chose which author and therefore

could not change the respectability of their work.[57] Despite the unprecedented sales of lesbian

fiction in the 1950s by authors like Marijane Meaker and Patricia Highsmith, the vast majority of

books with lesbian characters and themes sold for twenty-five cents as paperbacks at a drugstore

or train station. Who hired whom and the stipulations they placed on their work played a much

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[55] Anthony Boucher, review of *The Thrill Kids*, by Vin Packer, New York Times Book Review, Nov. 20, 1955, VII, 59:2.

[56] *Come Destroy Me*, *The Thrill Kids, The Young and the Violent, Dark Don't Catch Me.*

[57] Mudrick, *"Sarraute, Duras, Burroughs, Barthelme, and a Postscript,"* 482.

more vital role in determining whose work critics would glorify than sheer talent, structure, or content.

Historians have also privileged male pulp, thus leading to a continuity of thought about 1950s fiction through historical memory. In his sweeping overview of what would seem every gay novel in the history of American literature, James Levin continually places a certain stigma on women writers. As Levin quickly runs through more than fifty works from the 1950s in just one chapter he leaves unexplained hints about the "trivial" nature of novels by writers such as Margaret Millar and Marijane Meaker.[58] His anthology focuses on works by male authors, such as the "well-written" novel titled *The Invisible Glass* by Loren Wahl, which maintains the author's "firm opposition to homophobia."[59] According to Levin, works by male authors of the 1950s, like Wahl and Burroughs, "intended to encourage tolerance."[60] On the other hand, the author briefly introduces one book by Marijane Meaker with the preface: "On a considerably lower literary level,…"[61] Levin's work simply upholds the standard that publishers and critics held women writers to at the time, a certain ridiculousness remains when considering that Levin wrote forty years after the publication of most of these novels. A more valuable introduction to these texts could have provided less superficial analysis and more detailed explanations as to what he means by the various author's literary merit. Levin failed in his attempt to analyze the books from the perspective of a 1990s scholar of gay and lesbian studies. Rather than critically analyzing the way critics and the public understood these books he simply supported the understanding of lesbian pulp from the 1950s.

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[58] Levin, *The Gay Novel in America*, 141.
[59] Levin, *The Gay Novel in America*, 113.
[60] Levin, *The Gay Novel in America*, 114.
[61] Levin, *The Gay Novel in America*, 135.

Conclusion

As both obvious products of their time *and* discursive propagators of subcultures, writers of queer fiction in the mid-twentieth century broke free of the closet in a literary sense. William Burroughs blurred the lines between reality and fantasy, between novel and "anti-novel," and between orthodoxy and social deviance. His work represents a queer set of texts in most instances, despite his racial prejudices typical of the era. Marijane Meaker, while less queer from the retrospective look that takes into account more contemporary understandings of queer theory, did subvert the heterosexual norm in both her writing and her life. Meaker deserves recognition for her ability to attract hundreds of thousands of people to her discussion of lesbian and criminal lifestyles in the 1950s. Both writers consequently deserve recognition for their abilities to understand what the public secretly craved during the baby boom -books about sex outside of marriage- and for their courage to write about such a taboo topic.
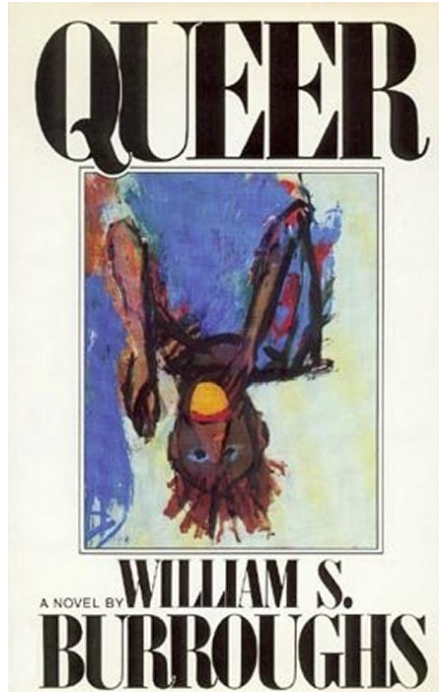
Appendix

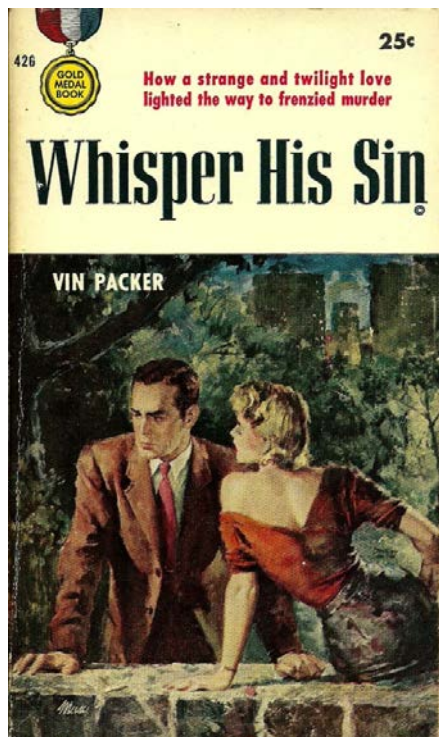Figure 1. Burroughs, William. *Queer*. New York: Viking Books, 1985.

Figure 2. Packer, Vin. *Whisper His Sin*. Greenwich: Fawcett Gold Medal Books, 1954.

We're All in the Same Boat…Well, Not Really:

Germ Theory and Immigrant Baggage Bring Need for Ellis Island:

Separating Immigrants from the Mainland

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Ellis Island processed millions of immigrants between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This essay will ask the questions why and under what circumstances Ellis Island was established; in particular, why an island and why 1892? The discovery and popular notions of Germ Theory in the mid-1800s founded the rising concerns Americans had over health and hygiene, particularly pertaining to new immigrants, and increased their anti-immigrant sentiment at the turn of the 20th century. In response to these escalating concerns, the federal government established Ellis Island to separate immigrants from the mainland in order to screen their health on an island instead. The association of germs and immigrants prior to the end of the 19th century led to the establishment of an immigration station in order to screen the health of "steerage," or third class passengers. The most widely known immigration station in the world, the island operated as a small, self-contained city.[1]

The Progressive Era between 1900 and 1920 called for more humane treatment of all peoples by improving the effectiveness of government-sponsored action intended to improve society. Sentiment toward immigrants became an increasingly frightful issue for American citizens as concerns over sanitation, health, and pure food spiked in popularity. Highly diverse in language, religion, and ethnicity, these so-called "new immigrants" seemed to white Anglo-Americans as particularly inassimilable and disease-prone.[2] With new sensitivity over public health and hygiene, Congress responded to public opinion by passing the Immigration Act of 1891, requiring all entering aliens to answer questions relating to their place of origin, health, and

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[1] Renee C. Rebman, *Life on Ellis Island* (San Diego, CA: Lucent Books, Inc., 2000), p. 14.

[2] Nancy Tomes. *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 111.

destination. Immigrants traveling steerage or third class after 1891 were required to undergo medical inspections.[3] During the 1890's, as the nation's concerns over public health and hygiene increased, laws changed to exclude these immigrants who had dangerous diseases. In order to handle and process floods of immigrants more efficiently and accordingly to address the new health standard, Ellis Island was born. Castle Garden, the former immigration depot, not large enough to properly inspect every individual, ceased to exist as the primary port for foreigners to the United States.

Ellis Island is responsible for the admittance of more than twelve million emigrants into the United States from Western Europe to far-East Asia. From its opening in 1892 to closing in 1954, the Ellis Island Immigration Station accepted, rejected, and detained thousands of people. In the year 1888, a House Report recorded the daily arrival of immigrants amounting to as many as 9,000.[4] Until the 1870's, immigration was a state-regulated entity and not operated by the federal government. New York City was the first state to introduce immigration regulation when it established a formal immigration landing and processing station in lower Manhattan at Castle Clinton. Renamed Castle Garden, all immigrants henceforth had to enter this state-operated station and undergo medical exams, pass through customs, and register their name. Unfortunately this state run operation succumbed to Manhattan corruptness and many immigrants were robbed, tricked by con artists, or fell into the hands of pimps after successful passage through the station and its' inspectors. According to one commissioner of immigration in 1889, "The local administration of affairs at Castle Garden, by the method and

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[3] Alan M. Kraut. *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and "Immigrant Menace"* (Basic Books: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1994), p. 53.

[4] Edith Abbott, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 183.

system now followed, was a perfect farce."[5] The incompetence and ultimate failure of the state to resolve the problems concerning immigrant abuse led directly to a ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court declaring all state laws on immigration unconstitutional. Consequently, this called for the formalization and transfer of processing immigrants from state to federal jurisdiction in 1876.[6] The federal government's decision to implement a screening station for third class passengers located away from the mainland changed the situation for immigrant passengers immensely, thus resulting in the establishment of Ellis Island. Third-class immigrants were ferried from their ship to Ellis Island as to not contaminate the mainland.[7]

The reasons for mass migration from Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America to the United States varies from country to country, however, immigrant's hearts set on America like never before during these blooming decades in United States' history. Emigrants leaving their homes were hopeful as they awaited their point of contact into their new home through Ellis Island. Ukrainian immigrant Morris Moe expressed his affection, "I still have a nostalgia for that great, great entry. It, it was the gate to Heaven, if you will."[8] Ellis Island is significant because it transformed Immigration Policy, received over 12 million immigrants, and in six decades processed over 75% of immigrants that made America home.[9] Despite unwelcoming natives and anti-immigrant sentiment, Ellis Island, because of progressive reformers and social workers that favored a continuation of immigration,[10] succeeded by counteracting angry Americans with new

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[5] Ibid.,, 183.
[6] Kraut, 49.
[7] Ibid., 53.
[8] Ellis Island Library Oral History Collection
[9] Bertha Boody, *A Psychological Study of Immigrant Children at Ellis Island* (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1926), p. 2.
[10] Kraut, 5.

immigration policies, quotas, and the requirement of higher standards of immigrant care on board.

Germ Theory

In the 1860s French chemist Louis Pasteur and German physician Robert Koch founded Germ Theory, the belief in the existence of germs, igniting the new scientific discipline known as *bacteriology*. In the late 1870s, bacteriology identified the bacteria for cholera, tuberculosis, typhoid, gonorrhea, and scarlet fever. These discoveries were groundbreaking and drew the attention of Americans. This understanding changed their lives, and changed the way immigrants were perceived. Prior to the germ theory of disease, the Miasma Theory was the popular explanation as to how people got sick. They believed germs came from "night air."[11] This theory was displaced by the discovery of germ theory and spread like wildfire. The theory provided a guide to the prevention of disease; this led to public health efforts to interrupt the way organisms were spread, and prompted a radical expansion of collective public health practices. The 1880s is the birth of aggressive public health campaigns and germ-conscious advertising that let citizens know disease cold by spread by coughing, sneezing, spitting, and by failure to wash hands before eating.[12]

The average American was now aware that casual contact, food and water contamination, insect vectors, and healthy human carriers transmitted diseases. Nativists were quick to make the connection of the healthy carrier concept with immigrants, "The stigma for disease can become a

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[11] Tomes, 10.
[12] Ibid., 11.

metaphor for already marginalized individuals, culturally defining them even further from society's mainstream."[13] This truly put immigrants at a disadvantage in the way they were welcomed by the American people. One commentator observed in *Popular Science Monthly* in 1885, "The Germ Theory appeals to the average mind: it is something tangible; it may be hunted down, captured, colored…it can be held directly responsible for so much damage."[14] Immigrants were held directly responsible for the spread of disease in the late 1880s. The culpability of new immigrants as carriers of disease caused Americans to disdain them even more than they previously had. Americans associated germs with immigrants because of the widespread belief in Germ Theory, and though some immigrants were turned away at Ellis Island because of their health conditions, Germ Theory helped to protect the American people from incoming diseases by requiring a medical inspection and examination of one's overall health.

　　Immigrant living conditions while traveling to the United States were literally nauseating. Lack of medical care, insufficient portions of water, bad ventilation, and spoiled food were the primary causes of mortality on board.[15] Fatal illnesses that arose from these defective living conditions were stomach catarrh and contagious typhus.[16] Generally, passengers who stayed above deck in first and second cabin were less prone to catching illness. Below deck, in what is called "orlop-deck," passengers succumbed to disease. Orlop is the lowest deck of a wooden-sailing ship with three or more decks. It was common practice to ship passengers across the Atlantic Ocean in wooden ships. The downside of wooden ships is their susceptibility to a number of harsh conditions. Nick-named "coffin ships," wooden ships were vulnerable to

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[13] Kraut, 3.

[14] Tomes, 7.

[15] Donna Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 39.

[16] Abbott, 44.

terrible ventilation, unsanitary drinking water, and filth. Without proper ventilation, foul air and damp climates accumulated, thus resulting in an increased likelihood of catching an infectious disease.[17] The discovery of stomach catarrh and contagious typhus caused by inadequate below deck conditions paved the way for this essential change in the way immigrants were moved. An inspector of the Commission on Immigrant Affairs stated,

> In our opinion, it is of great importance for the interest of humanity, in which both
> Europe and this country are concerned, and as a question of political economy, that
> the transportation of emigrants across the Atlantic to this port, should be confined to
> steam-vessels, as they not only convey the passengers more comfortably and land
> them in better health, but in consequence of the regularity and rapidity of the passage,
> save an immense amount of labor for their own benefit and that of this country.[18]

The appropriate means of travel were steamships, however, not until petitions to Congress were made were steam-vessels required for the transportation of lives across roughly four thousand miles. "As a direct result of these changes the mortality among steerage-passengers has been reduced over 50 per cent…"[19]

Diseases

Cholera had been prevalent in many of the countries emigrants traveled from; it was commonly assumed that they carried this disease with them on board passenger ships. In reality, however, there was a plethora of ailments that burdened passengers while crossing the Atlantic.

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[17] Tomes, 4.

[18] Abbott, Extract from *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration, State of New York* (January 21, 1868), pp. 124-32. The document is a report signed by two of the emigration commissioners; 45.

[19] Abbott, 48.

Immigrants easily may have contracted cholera because of the conditions they were traveling in.

"Cholera is an acute infection with symptoms of diarrhea, vomiting, muscular cramps,

dehydration, and collapse. It is contracted by the ingestion of water or foods

contaminated by the excrement of infected persons…if the dehydration and chemical imbalances

are not treated, the weakened victim suffers collapse and death."[20] Another contractible disease

that was prevalent during the wave of new immigrants was tuberculosis. Tuberculosis, also

known as "consumption," was endemic during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century: it

caused perhaps as many as one in four deaths and took a particularly heavy toll among young

adults. Until the 1880s, consumption was widely attributed to an inherited weakness of the lungs,

which could be aggravated by overwork, a damp climate, or a neglected cold.

Figure 1: Sketch of a wooden boat. The below decks known as "orlop-deck" held immigrant passengers that did not stay in first or second cabin. Orlop-deck held "steerage" passengers, and these were the immigrants who journeyed through Ellis Island before docking. "The steerage area comprised the decks below sea level where the steering mechanisms were located."[21]

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[20] Kraut, 32.

[21] Rebman, 18.

In this particular case study where one hundred and five passengers died while crossing the Atlantic, Abbott and inspectors of the famous fever ship "Leibnitz," conclude that cholera was not the culprit. What killed the passengers in the particular case of the German vessel named "Leibnitz" was the unacceptable living conditions found in orlop-deck. To prove orlop-deck as culpable, they analyzed all members on board. Of the crew, the cook alone fell sick and died, as he slept in the steerage.[22] Passengers who stayed above deck, along with the crewmembers and captain, arrived to the U.S. in perfect health. A discovery like this demanded attention.

The *New York Times* reported this story as a cholera outbreak.[23] As quickly as the news spread it was forgotten and dismissed as cholera. Though the illness very likely may have been a case of cholera, there were many other diseases or illnesses that a passenger was exposed to. If the cause of death was cholera, no one can be blamed for the fatality. The cause of death for the Hamburg passengers aboard the "Leibnitz" was not cholera; it was the fault of the crew and vessel. With no knowledge of the healthy carrier concept, cooks and waiters passed on the microorganisms of typhoid and other ailments to those they served.[24] Unfortunately, no one person was held responsible for the death of these people. Emigrant commissioners used this evidence to petition Congress for an Amendment of the Emigrant Passengers Act, of March 3, 1855, incorporating into the same the following provisions:

I.   The appointment of a physician or surgeon on board of all emigrant vessels with more than fifty passengers…
II.   The doing away with the orlop-deck on board of emigrant ships…
III. A more stringent rule for enforcing the payment of the penalty for the dead passengers…[25]

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[22] Abbott, 44.
[23] "The Emigrant Ship Leibnitz- Two More Deaths From Cholera," *The New York Times,* January 14, 1868.
[24] Abbott, 4.
[25] Ibid., 45.

The commissioners were successful in their endeavors to improve immigrant' traveling

conditions. Once it became law that passengers had to board a steamship instead of a wooden

ship, the death rates decreased by 50% (over a five year span) for traveling immigrant

passengers.[26] Proper air ventilation, shorter traveling time, and improved accommodations

reduced the risk of illness. The discovery of disease caused by inadequate below-deck conditions

paved the way for the essential change in how immigrants were transported across the Atlantic:

from sailing-vessels (wooden ships) to steam-vessels.

It is important to understand how people came to travel in steerage in such large numbers.

Immigrants had been using steerage accommodations since American merchant shippers were

trading with Great Britain, "Migrating people typically traveled on the same vessels that hauled

trade goods. Upon arrival in Europe, ships carrying American exports refitted their holds

(creating what later came to be known as steerage accommodations), thus allowing merchant

shippers to earn profits on both legs of their Atlantic journeys."[27] The creation of steerage

accommodations emerged by way for merchant shippers to earn extra money, and the conditions

for the passenger, willing to pay any price for passage, was of little concern to the crew. An

interesting side note, migrants during this early phase were spoken of as "passengers," not

"immigrants." They were considered passengers because the intent of that person was for

business, not to immigrate to a new country permanently. The term "immigrant" was not utilized

on a regular basis in Congress until the second wave of new immigrants emerged in the 1880s

and 1890s. This is one of the reasons Ellis Island was so necessary-it served as the one shield

between millions of immigrants and U.S. soil.

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[26] Abbott, 48.
[27] Gabaccia, 48.

Unlike steerage, first- and second-cabin passengers underwent their medical inspections on board before docking. They never had to step foot onto Ellis Island.

> For voyagers who could afford the more expensive tickets, those who traveled
> in first- or second-class accommodations, the medical exam last minutes…and
> consisted of…a physician that climbed aboard anchored steamships and inspected
> newcomers in the privacy of their own cabins. Only those who traveled in steerage's
> cramped confines and the slightly more comfortably third-class bunks were directed
> aboard small, crowded boats that bounced up and down in New York's choppy waters
> and ferried immigrants from their tall steamships to Ellis Island.[28]

All other immigrants who traveled below deck, as steerage passengers, were first led to Ellis Island before they could walk onto the mainland. Here they underwent medical inspections and were required to respond to questions regarding their destination, financial situation, and health.

During the 1880s and 1890s, avoiding germs had been primarily the obsession of prosperous urban families. People immensely feared "catching" diseases from other people, and this fear directly led to changes in immigration and foreign policy. Out of a fervent desire to evade a grisly death, Americans participated in the excitement of Germ Theory. "From 1880 to 1920, reformers promoted this code of behavior with religious fervor and made believing in germs part of the credo of modern living."[29] Reformers sought to bring hygienic enlightenment to all Americans, in order to emancipate the whole society from the fear

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[28] Kraut, 53.
[29] Tomes, *xv.*

of infectious diseases.[30] The use of germ-conscious advertising campaigns became popular as they sought to educate anyone who took interest in protecting their selves and families. Unfortunately, the association of poor, immigrant, and non-white citizens with disease germs only deepened many middle-class Americans' feelings of class prejudice, nativism, and racism. The specter of infection served the nativists and racists well in their efforts to legitimize immigration restriction and racial segregation.[31]

Political Cartoons illustrate anti-immigrant sentiment

Beginning in 1880 Americans of all ages were subjected to aggressive public health campaigns that taught them the new lessons discovered by bacteriologists. Starting in the late 1870s, the new scientific discipline of bacteriology scored a succession of dramatic discoveries by rapidly identifying the bacteria responsible for cholera, tuberculosis, gonorrhea, typhoid, and scarlet fever.[32] Immigrants who arrived in America with diseases were treated with suspicion but also with kindness and with care. The doctors of the U.S. Public Health Service had a twofold mission-to heal the sick but also protect the nation from the diseases the immigrants carried.[33] Citizens were concerned about the health and hygiene of new immigrants. They feared that new immigrants brought disease, baggage, corruption, and ultimately that immigrants were taking the nation to hell. As they arrived, the less fortunate, who failed a medical examination or were judged to be anarchists, prostitutes, or in other ways undesirable, were sent home.[34]

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[30] Tomes, 9.

[31] Ibid., 11.

[32] Ibid., 6.

[33] Lorie Conway, *Forgotten Ellis Island: The Extraordinary Story of America's Immigrant Hospital* (Harper Collins Publishers: New York, 2007), p. *xi*.

[34] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2012), p. 678.

Figure 2: This ad to cure stomach catarrh is a popular example of public health campaigns in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Anglo-Saxon women were displayed symbolizing "cleanliness," "health," and "hygiene."

Figure 3: Captured from this 1891 cartoon from the magazine *Judge,* this image depicts steerage passengers labeled as "dirty," "socialist," "diseased," and "communist." It illustrates the widespread fear of immigrants as bearers of dangerous radical ideologies like socialism.[35]

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[35] Figure 1: Political cartoon from the magazine *Judge*, 1891.

Anti-immigrant sentiment spread like wildfire as political cartoons and magazines produced caricatures of immigrants from various European countries. Almost all groups were targeted, including the Irish, Italians, Germans, Slavs, and Poles. James Shenton's essay "Ethnicity and immigration" in Eric Foner's, *The New American History,* argues, "the traditional American ideology of 'Anglo-conformity' that defined the terms of assimilation: a common language, law, and religion served as the base of a changing culture. It was a process that brought with it intense strains."[36] Reasons for negative opinion pertaining to specific groups varied; one ground for dissenting attitudes were religious differences. Though the Irish were from northern European descent, they were Catholic, and the majority of Americans were Protestant. Though they appeared "white," they were not well-received or welcomed upon arrival. There was little said about British immigrants, however, this doesn't mean they escaped completely from American's piercing eyes. Illustrations depict various "*types*" entering the United States.

Figure 4: Political Cartoon from the magazine *Judge.*[37]

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[36] James P. Shenton's essay "Ethnicity and Immigration" in Eric Foner's *The New American History.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), p. 254.
[37] Figure 3 is a political cartoon depicting immigrants as "riffraff" and unwanted by America. This is just one of many political cartoons produced during the late-19th century to early-20th century.

Figure 5: A cartoon illustrating nativist sentiments. From *The Ellis Island Experience*.[38]

Immigrants were viewed as racially, culturally, and intellectually inferior. They were considered different and a threat to American culture. They were backwards, had different religious views, and considered radical. Once admitted to America, workers despised them for their lack of loyalty and willingness to join unions. Their justification for not joining unions was their lack of the English language, and their mindset of saving as much money as possible. The majority of immigrants were single men who came to work, make money, and go back home to make a better life with their family. Unfortunately for the sojourner settlers this dream of returning home with a bundle of money fell short as wages were extremely low and rent was high. Not only were immigrants in search for jobs as soon as they arrived on U.S. soil, unlike now where immigrants are more likely to obtain a visa via sponsorship for a job, in the 1880s it was illegal for immigrants to have a job waiting for them. "In 1885 the U.S. Congress passed a law that said employers could not make contracts- agreements- with immigrants to bring them to

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[38] Figure 4 is a political cartoon from *The Ellis Island Experience*.

America, promising them jobs."[39] Congress feared immigrants coming in large numbers and accept extremely low paying jobs, taking jobs away from American workers already living here. With industrialization booming in the U.S. immigrants flooded here despite the 1885 law.

An Early Advocate of a Literacy Test to Restrict Immigration

Policy makers and immigration specialists were eager as they frantically composed arguments and letters of the necessity to regulate immigration. Intended for presentation to Congress and the president, evidence shows they worked tirelessly on solutions, collecting data on immigrant origins, health, and financial situations. Racist in their methods, they used the data collected to their advantage, blatantly including or excluding various ethnic groups. As proposed by late-nineteenth-century Senator Lodge, immigrants from northern European origin would do fine on a literacy test required by U.S. officials for incoming foreigners. Intended to decrease the numbers of non-white immigrants, or "a large population of the slums," this literacy test would evolve to later be the basis of the National Origins Act of 1924:

> The illiteracy test will bear most heavily upon the Italians, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, and Asiatics, and very lightly, or not at all, upon English-speaking emigrants or Germans, Scandinavians, and French. In other words, the races most affected by the illiteracy test are those whose rapidly to enormous proportions, races with which the English-speaking people have never hitherto assimilated, and who are most alien to the great body of the people of the United States.[40]

Concluding the senator's proposal he pleads, "The danger has begun…the gates which admit men to the United States and to citizenship in the great Republic should no longer by left

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[39] Ellen Levine, *If Your Name was Changed at Ellis Island* (New York: Scholastic Inc., 1993), p. 47.

[40] Abbott, 193. Extract from a speech made by Senator Lodge to the President in *Congressional Record* (March 16, 1896), 54th Congress, 1st session, pp. 2817-20.

unguarded."[41] This illustration of guarding the nation's gates reflects the attitude of the time, and the priorities of members in Congress to shelter the American people from foreign invasion. The rhetoric emphasizes nurture, protection, as if a mother is shielding her child from a dangerous attack. As the senator pleads to the president warning him of the "danger" that was arriving on America's shores, he sends a transparent message of anti-immigrant sentiment.

Immigrants were viewed as a danger and threat to the American "way of life" as early as 1819.[42] A paper entitled, "Imminent Dangers to the Institutions of the United States of America through Foreign Immigration," discloses the sentiment felt in 1835: "Now immigration is the access of weakness from the ignorant victims of the priest ridden slaves of Ireland and Germany, or the outcast tenants of the poor houses and prisons of Europe."[43] Until Germ Theory was theorized, Congress had little evidence that immigrants brought a real danger. They could observe immigrants as poor and arriving in filthy conditions, but not until the 1870s were opponents of open immigration able to advertise disease as an "immigrant problem." From the proponent's perspective, immigrants were in need of attention and better care. 1819 marked the year where "proper" immigrant attention was once practiced. Though immigrant traveling conditions were not of concern this early on, what was of concern pertained to the quantity of travelers per vessel. "Congress's 1819 Act Respecting Passenger Ships and Vessels (sometimes called the Steerage Act) limited the numbers of migrants traveling on any ship to two persons for every five tons of regular freight- thus creating an equation of commodities and living freight…This act required ship captains to collect basic information about arriving foreigners,

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[41] Ibid., 198.
[42] Boody, 5.
[43] Ibid., 6.

thus marking the beginning of U.S. efforts to count immigrants."[44] Without the impetus of

counting immigrants in the early- nineteenth-century, the "new immigration," which made its

debut in the United States between 1880 and 1921.[45]

The same problems Congress felt bogged down with in the 1870s lingered until the First

World War. In 1914, a former Chief Medical Officer at Ellis Island stated, "It may not be too much to

hope…that the day is not far distant when the intending immigrant must present a clean bill of health,

physically and mentally, and a clean bill of character as well, through agencies to be devised by the

scientist and the statesman of the future."[46] As World War I broke out, American policy makers felt the

need to crack down on immigration regulation. "In 1871 the question was 'where is the meter,' while in

1914 the idea had changed to 'the meter must be found.'"[47]

Their immigrant "qualities" characterized early-twentieth-century cities. The "new

immigration" from southern and eastern Europe had begun around 1890, before the opening of

construction of Ellis Island. "The great immigration movement began in Europe in the 1890s as

working-class people and poor families, hearing of tales of plentiful jobs for themselves and free

education for their children, decided to journey to America for a better life."[48] The sheer

numbers of immigrants who walked through Ellis Island sees the significance and necessity of

Ellis Island. "By 1910, one-seventh of the American population was foreign-born, the highest

percentage in the country's history. More than forty percent of New York City's population had

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[44] Gabaccia, 57.

[45] Alan M. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880 - 1921* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1982), p. 8.

[46] Boody, 3.

[47] Ibid., 4.

[48] Rebman, p. 17.

been born abroad."[49] These numbers are staggering, and to ignore their impact on American history would be to ignore how modern America was shaped.

Daniel T. Rogers argues in his work *Atlantic Crossing: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* that "Atlantic-era social politics had its origins not in its nation-state containers, not in a hypothesized 'Europe' nor an equally imagined 'America,' but in the world between them."[50] Acknowledging the activity that occurred in the Atlantic while industrialization was booming in the States is crucial to understanding American history. Recognizing the struggles of the Chinese on the West Coast, as they were harassed and later excluded altogether with the Chinese Exclusion Act, save students, is the beginning of a more cosmopolitan worldview. By understanding that *people,* people from all over the world, made up this great nation, is to recognize globalization and the importance of immigration in United States history. Rogers admits that America *was* different than other nations in that its state structure differed from those in Europe; its ideology was different, and its history was distinct.[51] He lays out a framework of the challenges cosmopolitan progressives struggled with including subsidized workers' housing, city planning and rural reconstruction. Soon they would be confronted with the question of how to handle enormous amounts of immigrants. Issues of "Americanization," health, and the quantity of newcomers from Europe, bogged down reformers. Their hands were full, but their hearts were not heavy as they paved the way for millions of immigrants to pass safely and with better health through the gates of Ellis Island to the mainland. According to Rogers, reformers

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[49] Foner, 679.

[50] Daniel T. Rogers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College, 1998), 5.

[51] Rogers, 5.

cared passionately about issues and ideas. They should be credited for the birth of transatlantic social politics, and the emergence of Ellis Island as an immigration station is just one example.

The United States is a country founded by immigrants from across the globe, and their intentions for migrating varies from nation to nation, person to person. Whether coming to America for prosperity and freedom, or seeking freedom from religious persecution abroad,[52] these millions of people chose America to better their lives. "Most often, emigrants ventured abroad deliberately, not in spontaneous somnambulism occasioned by traumatic upheavals…Emigration was but one among various choices."[53] Between 1880 and 1900, 1,000,000 Jews arrived in the United States. "Approximately 4,500,000 Italians entered the United States between 1880 and 1921."[54] Unfortunately many immigrants have found themselves ostracized as public health menaces because Americans attached the stigma of disease to them.[55] The discovery of germ theory and widespread popularity of bacteriology among the American people gave way to increased anti-immigrant sentiment at the turn of the twentieth century. To respond not only to the wave of new immigrants, but also to the American people, Ellis Island was established. Physically separating immigrants from the mainland, the island operated twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, for over fifty years. Subject to criticism and praise by opponents and proponents of immigration, Ellis Island was a necessary and essential construct in 1892 to properly receive and inspect steerage passengers. The majority of immigrants only

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[52] Catherine Simpson Bueker, *From Immigrant to Naturalized Citizen: Political Incorporation in the United States* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2006), p. 1.
[53] Kraut, *The Huddled Masses,* 9.
[54] Ibid., 19.
[55] Kraut, *Silent Travelers*, 3.

option for travel was to purchase third-class tickets in steerage accommodations, as first- and second-cabin tickets were expensive. [56] Steerage passengers were treated differently than their more affluent compatriots traveling above. One nineteen-year-old immigrant commented as first- and second- cabin passengers left the ship, "Isn't it strange that here we are coming to a country where there is complete equality, but not quite so for the newly arrived immigrants."[57] This teenager was correct in observing the treatment of immigrants upon their arrival to the great land of freedom.

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[56] Rebman, 18.
[57] Levine, 33.

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From the Shadows:

The Emergence of Filipino Farmworker Activism in the American Collective Memory

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"Collective memory," according to historian Amos Funkenstein, "can be characterized as a system of signs, symbols, and practices: times of memory, names of places…stereotype images, and even language itself." Regarding the Delano Grape Strikes of the 1960s, the American collective memory of the event is primarily remembered for Cesar Chavez, the United Farm Workers (UFW), the '*Huelga!*' and '*Si, Se Puede*' picket signs, and as a pivotal moment in Chicano history. However, most people forget or are unaware that the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), a predominantly Filipino labor organization led by Larry Itliong, started the Delano Grape strikes. Cesar Chavez's union, the National Farmworkers Association (NFWA), joined the strike just days after AWOC began picketing the fields. The resulting strike and boycott eventually led to the signing of a collective bargaining agreement between the newly-founded United Farm Workers and the grape growers. While Caesar Chavez is remembered in history books, holidays, and monuments, the accomplishments of Filipino labor activists are greatly overshadowed.

Developments in 2013 and beyond are attempting to change the collective memory of the farm labor movement to include Filipino-Americans in the greater historical narrative. On January 14, 2013, Assembly Member Rob Bonta introduced AB 123, which would ensure that California's k-12 schools implement the teaching of Filipino-American labor history. To build support for the bill, the grassroots organization Destination Delano organized a two day tour and symposium of Delano's Filipino historical sites. Hosted in sites such as Agbayani Village and the Filipino Community Hall, Destination Delano featured oral history presentations from local historians, UFW members, and Larry Itliong's son, Johnny Itliong. After mass political and public support, Governor Jerry Brown signed AB123 on October 10, 2013, which introduces Filipino farmworker history into the K-12 curriculum. Furthermore, on October, 2013, the National Parks Service introduced Delano's Filipino Community Hall for possible inclusion into

the upcoming Cesar Chavez National Park. Assembly Bill 123, Destination Delano, and the historical nomination of the Filipino Community Hall represent a pivotal change in the collective memory of the farm labor movement, spearheading Filipino-American history into the forefront of the historical conscious of the California, and the nation as a whole. This article examines the storied history of Filipino farmworker activism in California, from the farmworker strikes of the early 20th century, to the Filipino-American schism with the United Farm Workers, and the reemergence of Filipino farm labor history in the present. Understanding the nature of Filipino-American labor activism can potentially change the American public's remembrance of the Delano Grape Strikes from a solely Chicano movement to one that includes Filipino-Americans.

From the 1930s to the 1960s, Filipino migrant workers participated in various labor strikes, such as the Salinas Lettuce Strike of 1934 and the Byron Asparagus Strike of 1948.[1] Labor activist Philip Vera Cruz participated in the 1948 Byron Asparagus Strike, which quickly spread throughout the Stockton area. The strike, led by members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Workers Union Local 37, featured two Filipino labor leaders at the helm: Chris Mensalvas and Ernest Mangaoang.[2] During the 1950s, Vera Cruz joined the National Farm Labor Union, an AFL-CIO affiliated organization comprised mostly of Filipino-American laborers. Vera Cruz served as the union's president before leaving the organization for the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee.[3]

Before voting to strike in Delano, Filipino AWOC members at Coachella Valley successfully demanded a $.10 hourly wage increase, and growers reluctantly accepted the conditions due to the onset of the harvest season. Grape growers in Delano refused to make

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[1] Stewart Kwoh & Russell C. Leong,eds, *Untold Civil Rights Stories: Asian Americans Speak out for Justice* (LA:UCLA Asian American Studies Press, 2009), 26

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid, 27.

similar concessions, quickly angering the Delano AWOC community. On September 8, 1965, AWOC members congregated at Delano's Filipino Community Hall and overwhelmingly voted to strike against the grape growers. Approximately 1,500 Filipino farm workers went on strike under the AWOC banner.[4] On September 16, the National Farm Workers Association discussed whether to join the strike. Despite the associations' treasury holding only $70, Chavez and the NFWA agreed to join the picket line.[5] On March 17, 1966, AWOC, NFWA and their political and religious supporters set off to Sacramento from Delano and reached the State Capitol on April 11 with over 10,000 farm worker supporters.[6]

As the success of the Delano Grape Strikes continued, AFL-CIO officials sought to combine the efforts of AWOC and the NFWA. At the behest of William Kircher of the AFL-CIO, AWOC president Al Green and other objecting members were not included in the AWOC-NFWA merger. The joint operations of the AWOC and NFWA combined to become the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, comprised by "an executive board consisting of four former NFWA officers headed by Chavez, and three AWOC Filipino leaders headed by Larry Itliong."[7]

So, why is Chavez remembered for the Delano Grape strikes and most Filipino leaders were forgotten? While AWOC stuck to AFL-CIO-approved tactics, such as organized picket lines, Chavez employed unorthodox union tactics by successfully soliciting funds and support from the academic, political and religious spheres. He raised $6,700 from various Northern California universities, and invited members of the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student

[4] Marissa Aroy, *Delano Manongs, Forgotten Heroes of the UFW* Trailer 2, 4:04, http://vimeo.com/2207029 (accessed December 4, 2013).

[5] Marissa Aroy, *Delano Manongs, Forgotten Heroes of the UFW* Trailer 1, 5:05 https://www.facebook.com/video/video.php?v=621826228093 (accessed December 4, 2013).

[6] Andy Imutan, "What Happened When Mexicans and Filipinos Joined Together," *United Farm Workers*, December 2005, http://www.ufw.org/_page.php?menu=research&inc=history/04.html (accessed December 4, 2013).

[7] Dick Meister, *A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers* (New York: MacMillan Press, 1977), 150.

Nonviolent Committee to the protests.[8] Chavez' leadership during the 1966 Delano to Sacramento protest march not only cemented Chavez as the national figure for the farm labor movement, but also cemented the Delano Grape Strikes as a Chicano movement in the American consciousness.

Although Filipino activists are credited for starting the Delano Grape Strikes, very little is remembered about their accomplishments. From 1966 to 1980, Filipino involvement with the union declined drastically, from leadership roles to rank-and-file membership. Prior to the AWOC-NFWA merger, Filipino labor leaders, such as Ben Grimes, resigned from the organizing committee and left the union in favor of the Teamsters.[9] The small defection of Filipino AWOC members to the Teamsters stemmed from fears of a potential decline of Filipino influence and input after the merger. After the UFW merger, Filipino laborers felt that hiring halls favored Chicanos, and soon others switched over to the Teamsters.[10]

Filipino influence in the UFW declined after Larry Itliong's resignation. Itliong's brash behavior and assertion for AFLCIO-approved tactics caused tensions between him and members of the executive board. Although a founding member of the UFW, Itliong's militant behavior caused "others [to be] threatened by Larry, mistaking his forceful methods of fighting for ideas as an attempt just to rise in the leadership hierarchy."[11] By 1970, Itliong was purposefully left out of executive board meetings.[12] On October 15, 1971, he resigned from the union.[13] Vera Cruz and Velasco, the remaining Filipinos on the Executive Board, held little power or decision

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[8] Patrick Mooney, *Farmers' and Farm Workers' Movements* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), 156.

[9] Craig Scharlin*, Philip Vera Cruz: A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants and the Farmworkers Movement* (Seattle,WA: University of Washington Press, 1994), 46.

[10] Matt Garcia, *From the Jaws of Victory: the Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Workers Movement* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971)*,* 119; Scharlin, 46*.*

[11] Scharlin, 94.

[12] Jacklyn Joanino, Interviewed by Allan Jason Sarmiento, University of California, Davis, November 21, 2013.

[13] "Larry Itliong Papers," Finding aid at Archives of Wayne State University, Detroit MI, http://www.reuther.wayne.edu/files/LP001325.pdf (accessed December 1, 2013).

making processes. According to Vera Cruz, the Executive Board regularly excluded Velasco and himself from the preliminary meeting discussions. During union meetings, Vera Cruz was forced to make decisions on the spot, stating that "they would tell me that a decision had to be made right then and I had to vote either yes or no." [14] As the UFW executive board minimized the influence of Filipino leaders, Filipino union members began to notice Vera Cruz's puppet status. He remarked that "you can't expect the Filipinos...to believe in the union if they see that the Filipino officers are only a showcase."[15]

The relocation of the UFW's headquarters to Keene, California, not only further separated the Executive Board from Velasco and Vera Cruz, but from the Filipino members as a whole. The executive board stated a need to "ease the demands on Chavez' time by farm workers and others who constantly dropped by for visits in Delano and to break members and growers of the habit of coming to him with grievances best left for them to work out through the union committees" as the official reasons for relocating the headquarters from Delano to Keene.[16] The move to Keene excluded Filipino executive board members from the decision making processes, and Vera Cruz noted that the relocation made it "much easier...to be excluded completely from the inner workings of the union."[17] The UFW Executive Council officially left Velasco and Vera Cruz in Delano to manage the ageing Filipino retirees at the Forty Acres' Agbayani Village.[18]

Even in the early years of the UFW, Filipino work crews under AWOC were "broken up by new UFW hiring rules."[19] Filipinos felt stifled at the hiring halls, which many believed favored Mexican over Filipino laborers. Consequently, many Filipino migrant workers

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[14] Scharlin, 103.
[15] Ibid, 105.
[16] Meister, 176.
[17] Scharlin, 103.
[18] Garcia, 193.
[19] Aroy, *Delano Manongs* Trailer 1, 5:51.

discovered that "they couldn't get [a] job because they weren't senior enough in this new union," as the hiring halls favored local farmers over migrant farmers. [20] The new union rules caused many Filipino migrant farmworkers to lose their jobs, and the closure of labor camps left many homeless.[21] As the union's Mexican membership grew, meetings were often "conducted in Spanish, and sometimes union officials would forget to translate."[22] The language barrier inadvertently excluded Filipinos from participating in the meetings, as the Filipino members typically spoke English, Tagalog, or Ilocano.

Chavez further alienated Filipino UFW members by accepting Ferdinand Marcos' invitation to the Philippines. Vera Cruz urged Chavez to decline Marcos' invitation, citing the numerous civil and human rights violations of the Marcos Dictatorship. Chavez dismissed Vera Cruz's and the Catholic communities' concerns and visited the Philippines in 1977. [23] After his tour of the Philippines, Chavez invited Marcos' labor advisor, Blas Ople, as a guest speaker to the 1977 UFW National Convention. During Ople's speech, Vera Cruz attempted to respond to the labor advisor's comments, but Ople promptly denied any opportunity for a rebuttal.[24] Philadelphia member Rudy Reyes also lambasted Ople and denounced the martial law practice in the Philippines. Reyes remained resentful even after the national convention, and "organized with the interfaith community to demand an apology from Chavez for his blunder."[25] As public resentment from the Filipino and religious community grew, Chavez agreed to meet with a Filipino anti-martial law group in the Bay Area. The meeting proved to be less than fruitful, as Chavez met with members of the Philippine consulate three days later, causing Filipino-

[20] Marissa Aroy, dir, *Delano Manongs: The Forgotten Heroes of the United Farm Workers*, (New York, NY: Media Factory, 2013), film.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Scharlin, 108.
[23] Randy Shaw, *Beyond the Fields: Cesar Chavez, the UFW, and the Struggle for Justice in the 21st Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008), 254.
[24] Shaw, 254.
[25] Garcia, 269.

Americans to picket the Philippine consulate as well as UFW buildings.[26] The decline of Filipino membership in the UFW slowly caused the struggles and achievements of Filipino labor activists to be forgotten, while the legend of Cesar Chavez propelled Chicano history to the national forefront.

The overlooked history of Filipino-Americans in the farm worker movement represents an example of repressive erasure of a historical narrative. Repressive erasure can occur in various forms, such as to completely erase the history of a previous regime or "to deny the fact of a historical rupture as well as to bring about a historical break."[27]According to sociologist Paul Connerton, "repressive erasure need not always take malign forms; then; it can be encrypted covertly and without apparent violence."[28] Such is the case with Filipino involvement in the 1960s farm worker movement. Although recent scholarship of the California farmworker movement strives to include Filipino participation in the historical narrative, older books such as John Gregory Dunne's *Delano: A History of the Grape Strikes* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1967) marginalize the accomplishments of Filipino labor activist. Dunne comments on the early ineffectiveness of the grape strikes, and states "what the farm workers clearly lacked was indigenous Mexican-American leadership."[29] Furthermore, Dunne incorrectly states that the NFWA voted to go on strike at the Filipino Community Hall,[30] while most sources state the NFWA voted to go on strike at Delano's Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.[31] Source materials

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[26] Garcia, 269.

[27] Paul Connerton, "Seven Types of Forgetting," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 59 (2008)*:* 60.

[28] Ibid.

[29] John Gregory Dunne, *Delano: A History of the Grape Strikes* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1967), 52.

[30] Ibid, 79.

[31] San Francisco State University Library, "The Virgin of Guadalupe," *Cultivating Creativity: The Arts and the Farm Workers' Movement During the 1960s and '70s*, http://www.library.sfsu.edu/exhibits/cultivating/intropages/delanomarch.html (accessed December 1, 2013)

such as Dunne's *Delano* illustrates the non-malevolent aspect of repressive erasure, as Filipino-American labor activists "are included, yet they are also half edited out."[32]

The acts of repressive erasure, whether malicious in intent or not, can greatly influence the collective memory of an event. Collective memory refers to the shared memories held by society, interplayed with the memories of the individual. Society can influence the memories of the individual, while memories of individuals can also influence the memories held by other members of society. Historian Maurice Halbwachs explains the reciprocal nature of collective memory, stating that individuals "required the testimony and evidence of other people to validate their interpretations of their own experiences."[33]Historian David Thelen further explains the formation of the shared memories, stating that "people develop a shared identity by identifying, exploring and agreeing one memories."[34] During the process of shared memories, individuals, and society, decide on "which experiences to forget and which to remember and what interpretation to place on an experience."[35] As such, the collective memory of a group of people can determine what portions of history to recall and what portions to overlook.

As stated previously, Amos Funkenstein explains that collective memory "can be characterized as a system of clear signs, symbols, and practices: times of memory, names of places…custom and manners, stereotypes images…and even language itself."[36] As we see in the mainstream collective memory of Delano Grape Strikes, the prevalence of Chicano symbols and sayings in the 1960s farm worker movement correlated the historical consciousness of the United States to regard the UFW as a Chicano movement. Throughout the UFW's history, Chicano

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[32] Connerton, 61.

[33] David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no.4 (March 1989):1122

[34] Ibid.

[35] Thelen, 1122

[36] Amos Funkenstein, "Collective Memory and Historical Conscious," *History and Memory* 1, no.1 (Spring-Summer 2008): 7.

symbols and Spanish sayings were incorporated, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe statue during

the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march, or the various Spanish slogans such as *La Causa* (the

cause), *Huelga* (strike), and *si, se puede* (yes, we can). As Chicano membership grew, the UFW

incorporated sayings such as *Viva La Raza* (long live the race) and *Viva Cesar Chavez* (long live

Cesar Chavez). Vera Cruz noted the prevalence of these ethnocentric terms, stating that "all these

'*Vivas* did not include Filipinos…terms like that, you see, are not inclusive but divisive."[37]

The divisive nature of Chicano ethnocentricity in the UFW greatly overshadowed the

achievements and involvement of Filipino labor activists. As a result, Filipino-American

historians and activists strive to bring Filipino-American history into the national spotlight.

Filipino-Americans, past and present, often feel overlooked when it comes to history or societal

recognition. "You see us working or waiting for work," remarked Filipino-American scholar

Carlos Bulosan, "and you think you know us, but our outward guise is more deceptive than our

history."[38] The memory of Filipino farmworker history is important for Filipino scholars, as

memory "provide[s] security, authority, legitimacy, and finally identity in the present."[39] Many

former labor activists of the 1960s are elderly or have passed away, and once they pass away, so

will their memories. Filipinos, like all minorities, strongly urge for their accomplishments to be

remembered in history books. Such notions coincide with David Thelen's theory of minorities

and memory, which states that "assimilationist pressures within the United States… make a more

self-conscious search for 'roots' and shared experiences after their particular groups ceased to be

replenished with new migrants."[40] Although Filipino immigration continues in the present,

foreign-born Filipinos are no longer active in the farming industry as they were during the 20th

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[37] Scharlin, 113.
[38] *Freedom From Want, Text by Carlos Bulosan*, Norman Rockwell, 1941, War Posters and Post Cards Collection, Special Collections and Archives, E.L. Anderson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis MN.
[39] Thelen, 1127.
[40] David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no.4 (March 1989):1124.

century. According to a 2006 study, of 432,946 foreign-born Filipinos in the United States, only 0.4% are engaged in the farming, fishing, or forestry industries.[41] Filipino farm workers and activists of the 1960s are slowly aging and dying off, making it urgent for the Filipino-American community to preserve this history.

Recent academic and political developments are actively attempting to change the collective memory of the Delano Grape Strikes, bringing Filipino American farmworker history out from the shadows. Assembly Bill 123 (2013-2014), introduced in January, 2013, amends the education curriculum in California to teach the accomplishments of Filipino-Americans in the farm worker movement. Assemblyman Rob Bonta, the first Filipino-American politician in California, representing California's 18th district, introduced AB123. Bonta authored AB123 out of personal and cultural motives, as he was raised by Filipino-American UFW members and grew up in the La Paz headquarters. Bonta believes that the accomplishments of Filipino-American labor activists need to be noticed. "The historical significance of vastly influential leaders, such as Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta are rightfully synonymous with California's farm labor movement," says Bonta, "What is missing from the story is that the Delano Grape Strike of 1965 was led by...first-generation Filipinos."[42] For Bonta, and all Filipino-Americans, AB123 is "an important part of our (Filipino American) history that hasn't been told…[and] is about giving voices to those silent in history."[43] AB123 would require any teaching curriculum

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[41] Aaron Terrazas, "Filipino Immigrants in the United States," *Migration Information* Center, September 2008, http://www.migrationinformation.org/usfocus/display.cfm?ID=694 (accessed December 1, 2013).

[42] "Bill proposing to teach Filipinos' role in U.S. labor history awaits fate at appropriations committee," *The FilAm L.A.,* July 11, 2013, http://thefilam.net/thefilamla/?p=171 (accessed December 3, 2013).

[43] Joseph Pimentel, "UC Irvine's Filipino Students Meet Their Champion," *OC Register*, November 3, 2013, http://www.ocregister.com/articles/filipino-534468-bonta-movement.html (Accessed November 17, 2013).

regarding Cesar Chavez to "include instruction on the contributions of Filipino Americans to the farm labor movement in California."[44]

Veterans of the United Farm Workers, both Filipino and Mexican, publicly supported AB123. On May 24th, 2013, the Senate Education Committee heard the testimonies of Marc Grossman, Chavez's longtime press secretary, and Lorraine Agtang, a former UFW organizer and manager of the Agbayani Village retirement home. Grossman stated during his testimony that "Cesar knew the Delano strike would not have firmly established the UFW as the nation's first successful farm worker union were it not for the heroism of the Filipino-American strikers."[45] Dolores Huerta, who was involved with AWOC, NFWA and the UFW, stated that the "students of California need to learn that the sacrifices made by both the Filipino and Latino workers benefited all Californians...AB 123 will ensure that the history is taught accurately."[46] On August 30, 2013, The Senate Appropriates Committee approved AB123. On October 2, 2013, Governor Jerry Brown signed the bill, effectively chaptering AB123 into law. The chaptered version of the bill stipulates that "state criteria for selecting textbooks include information to guide the selection of textbooks that contain sections that highlight the life and contributions of Cesar Chavez, the history of the farm labor movement."[47]

The passage of AB123 is credited to Bonta's personal campaigning, along with Filipino-American grassroots campaigning. Several Filipino-American organizations and groups helped

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[44] California State Assembly, *California Legislature 2013-2014 Regular Session*, "Assembly Bill No.123," January 14, 2013, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/13-14/bill/asm/ab_0101-0150/ab_123_bill_20130114_introduced.htm (accessed November 30,2013).

[45] "Farm worker movement backs bill for schools to teach Filipino Americans' key role in farm labor struggles," *United Farm Workers,* June 20, 2013, http://www.ufw.org/_board.php?mode=view&b_code=news_press&b_no=13963 (accessed December 4 ,2013).

[46] FilAm L.A., July 2013.

[47] Assembly Bill No. 123, An Act to Amend Section 51008 of the Education Code, relating to pupil instruction, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/13-14/bill/asm/ab_0101-0150/ab_123_bill_20131002_chaptered.htm (accessed December 4, 2013).

promote AB123, including Anakbayan California chapters, AB123 Northern California Coalition, and AB123 Southern California Coalition. Student organizations played an integral role in the passage of AB123, such as Kababayan UC Irvine and Samahang Pilipino UCLA. Together, these organizations raised awareness for both AB123 and the accomplishments of Filipino-American labor activists. For example, Anakbayan Silicon Valley disseminated digital flyers on various social media sites, providing quick synopsis of the bill. Anakbayan California chapters provided comprehensive background on the bill on the various chapter webpages, and directed AB123 supporters to send letters of support to Assemblyman Mike Gatto, the Assembly Appropriations Committee chairman. The grassroots efforts proved successful, spreading throughout California's Filipino community. AB123 is viewed not only as an educational bill, but also as an "opportunity for youth and students to take what they learn in the classroom, and begin creating their own history by getting involved in their community."[48] Members of the academic community voiced their support for AB123. Professor Carol Ojeda-Kimbrough of California State University, Fullerton stated that "there is an absence of American historical books to account for Filipino-American contributions in this country."[49]

Destination Delano, an annual pilgrimage to Filipino-American historic sites in Delano, was established to build support for AB123. Destination Delano consists of a coalition of various Filipino-American organizations, including Anakbayan Los Angeles, Anakbayan Silicon Valley, the Filipino Community Center of San Francisco, Migrante San Francisco, and the Filipino Migrant Center. Members of Anakbayan Los Angeles and Silicon Valley were heavily involved

[48] AJ Press, "Filipino Youth in SoCal Celebrate the Passing of AB123,"*Asian Journal,* October 12, 2013, http://asianjournal.com/news/filipino-youth-in-socal-celebrate-the-passing-of-ab123/, (Accessed December 1, 2013).

[49] FilAm L.A., July 2013.

in the planning process of the pilgrimage.[50] Officially beginning in 2013, Destination Delano formalized an annual two-day pilgrimage to the Filipino historic sites in California's Central Valley. Prior to Destination Delano, several individuals planned tours and pilgrimages to Delano's historic sites, including Roger Gadiano, Sid Valledor, Mark Pulido, and Marissa Pulida Rebaya originally organized annual pilgrimages to Delano's Filipino sites. Roger Gadiano, a former UFW member and longtime Delano resident, organized several tours and events commemorating Delano's Filipino-American farmworker history. One of Gadiano's many commemoration events included the Filipino Pioneer Family Day event, hosted at Delano's Filipino Community hall in 2009. The event brought together individuals and descendants of Delano's Filipino community. According to Gadiano, the purpose of the event was to "bring back the feeling of the times we grew up in and to reconnect with each other."[51] UFW veteran Sid Valledor organized informal, annual pilgrimages to Delano's Filipino Community Hall, gathering surviving Filipino AWOC and UFW members to commemorate their accomplishments.[52] Valledor served as Itliong's personal assistant during the 1960's and also authored *The Original Writings of Philip Vera Cruz.* Marissa and Mark Pulido founded the Agbayani Village Pilgrimage Organizing Committee (AVPOC), and organized commemoration ceremonies at both Delano's Filipino Community Hall and Agbayani Village. In 2010, the AVPOC hosted "Remember all the Manongs," the 45th anniversary celebration of the Delano Grape Strikes. The one-day celebration consisted of tours, speeches and potluck at Agbayani Village.[53]

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[50] Jacklyn Joanino, Telephone Interview, July 17, 2014.

[51] Marrisa Aroy, "Filipino farmworker familes to reunite at Pioneer Family Day June 20 in Delano," DelanoNow.com, June 17, 2009.

[52] Joanino, Interview, November 21, 2013.

[53] Frederick Alain Docdocil, "Remember all the Manongs- 45th Anniversary Celebration of Delano Grape Strike," *BakitWhy*, http://www.bakitwhy.com/bwc/events/remember-all-manongs-45th-anniversary-celebration-delano-grape-strike (accessed December 4, 2013).

Destination Delano expanded the scope of the previous tours and commemorations, adding the city of Orosi to the tour. Orosi is home to Ilokano Farms, one of the remaining Filipino farming communities in the United States. From September 28 to September 29, Destination Delano organized tours throughout Delano's farmworker movement sites, including the Perrelli Menetti, Cesar Chavez's Forty Acres, Agbayani Village, Our Lady Guadalupe Church, the grape Vineyard, Stardust Hotel, and the Filipino Community Hall. Destination Delano featured a speaker panel from local farmworkers, former UFW members, and contemporary activists, such as Roger Gadiano, Lorraine Agtang, Mary Jane Galviso, Al Rojas, Johnny Itliong, and Cynthia Bonta.[54] The speakers recounted personal experiences regarding farmworker activism and the accomplishments made by Filipinos in AWOC and the UFW. An open panel allowed visitors to share their own stories or family experiences regarding farmworker activity and the Delano Grape Strikes. Members of the Filipino Community of Delano, Anakbayan, California university students, and UFW veterans attended the event. Kevin Riambon, a sophomore from UCLA, stated he "grew up in Delano but…never read about Larry Itliong or Philip Vera Cruz from our textbooks; it's always been Cesar Chavez leading the protests in our very soil."[55] For Riambon and other Filipino-Americans, Destination Delano and AB123 allows them to uncover untold histories of their community.

Destination Delano's mission statement is to "bring Filipinos from all over California to learn our buried history of the historic 1965 Delano Grape Strike…[and] bring state and national attention to the importance & significance of the 1965 Grape Strike in time to commemorate its

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[54] Joanino, Telephone Interview, July 17, 2014.
[55] Cecil Caguingin Ochoa, *"Finding Giants in the Fields of Delano," The FilAm L.A.,* October 1st, 2013, http://thefilam.net/thefilamla/?p=470 (accessed November 24, 2013).

50th Anniversary in 2015."[56] The two goals of Destination Delano is to contribute to the

education curriculum of Assembly Bill 123 and place sites related to the Filipino farmworker

movement on the National Register of Historic Places.[57]

As Destination Delano attempts to place historic markers on Filipino farm worker sites,

the National Park Service plans to open Delano's Filipino Community Hall as part of a national

historic park. Built in 1949 by volunteers from Delano's Filipino community, the Filipino

Community Hall allowed Filipino migrant workers to gather amongst their countryman. The Hall

hosted several community activities, such as potlucks, beauty pageants, and cockfighting

events.[58] In 1965, the Filipino Community Hall served as AWOC and the AWOC-NFWA

cooperative strike headquarters.[59]

On October 28, 2013, the National Park Service announced the inclusion of Delano's

Filipino Community Hall into the proposed Cesar Chavez National Historic Park. Beginning in

2008, Congress tasked the National Park Service to survey sites and buildings related to Cesar

Chavez and the farm worker movement. The National Park Service and CSU Fullerton's Oral

and Public History Program formed a joint project called the Cesar Chavez Special Resources

Study (CCSRS). The Filipino Community of Delano, Inc. and the Filipino Memorial Project

provided CCSRS with the Filipino-American historical perspective. The Filipino Community of

Delano has owned and operated the Community Hall since the 1940s and the Filipino Memorial

Project lobbies for the creation of monuments and murals dedicated to Filipino-Americans.[60]

After evaluating over 100 sites related to Chavez, the CCSRS team identified five sites for

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[56] *Destination Delano*, "Mission Statement," http://www.destinationdelano.org/mission (Accessed December 4, 2013).

[57] *Destination Delano*, "Mission Statement."

[58] Scharlin, 35.

[59] National Park Service, "Historic Overview and Resource Significance," *Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study* (Washington, DC, 2013), 51.

[60] "Filipino Community of Delano," *Manta,* http://www.manta.com/c/mm86kj3/filipino-community-of-delano (accessed December 16, 2013).

inclusion in the national park: The Forty Acres NHL building and Filipino Community Hall in Delano, Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz in Keene, the Santa Rita Center at Phoenix, and the 1966 March Route from Delano to Sacramento.[61] As part of the Cesar Chavez National Historic Park, the Filipino Community Hall will also be nominated as a National Historic Landmark. The Filipino Community Hall is eligible under criteria 1 and criteria 2 of the National Historic Landmark requirements, as the hall is deemed nationally significant for its "direct association with the productive life of Cesar Chavez (criterion 1) and with the history of the farm labor movement (criterion 2)."[62]

Although the Filipino Community Hall's inclusion into the National Park System has the chance of bringing Filipino-American history to the national spotlight, the Filipino-American community is split on its inclusion. Two of the biggest supporters for the park are the Filipino Community of Delano, Incorporated and the Filipino Memorial Project. In 2012, the Filipino Community of Delano President Jay Tamsi supported the notion to "open the Filipino Hall to visitors, with [National] Park Service Help."[63] Dr. Estella Habal of the Filipino Memorial Project corrected information on the draft for the NPS report, stating that the original indication of the report neglected to include the Filipino Community Hall's "role in the development of UFW, its use for union meetings, strike [headquarters] and boycott [headquarters]."[64] Furthermore, Dr. Habal noted the need to place a historic marker at the Filipino Community Hall. The biggest opponent, Destination Delano, believes that the Hall's inclusion into the park would be another

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[61] National Park Service, "Executive Summary," *Cesar Chavez Special Resources Study and Environmental Assessment,* 3.

[62] National Park Service, "Resource Significance," Cesar Chaves Special Resource Study, October 2013, 66.

[63] Patricia Leigh Brown, "Forgotten Hero of Labor Fight; His Son's Lonely Quest," *New York Times*, October 18, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/19/us/larry-itliong-forgotten-filipino-labor-leader.html?_r=0 (Accessed December 4, 2013).

[64] Estella Habal, private message, *Facebook.com*, November 29, 2013.

example of Chicano history overshadowing over Filipino-American history.[65] Destination Delano poses viable concerns, as the National Park Service only deems the Filipino Community Hall as nationally significant for its relation to Cesar Chavez, not for the accomplishments of Filipino labor activists.[66]

According to Philosopher Georg Hegelm, history is a combination of "*res gestae* (the things that happened) and *historica rerum gestrarum* (the narration of the things that happened)."[67] In time, the collective memory and the *historica rerum gestrarum* of the Delano Grape Strikes will highlight the sacrifices made by Filipino farmworker activists. Funkenstein explains that memories of the past "is remembered present…memory is always derived from the present and from the contents of the present."[68] Filipino-American political activists and scholars are determined to keep the history alive. Grassroots organizations, such as Destination Delano, will remain in the forefront to ensure that the sacrifices of the Delano *Manongs*[69] were not made in vain. The passage of Assembly Bill 123 both passes down the history of Filipino farmworkers and assures living Filipino UFW veterans that their struggles and stories will be passed on to future generations.

Advocates for Filipino farmworker history strive to change how the Delano Grape Strikes are remembered; not to take away any of the accomplishments of Cesar Chavez, but to highlight the sacrifices made by Itliong, Vera Cruz, and countless Filipino activists overlooked in history textbooks. Although Larry Itliong and Philip Vera Cruz remained embittered at the UFW until their final days, the emergence of Filipino labor activism in the American collective memory

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[65] Joanino, Interview, November 21, 2013.
[66] NPS, "Resource Significance," CCSRS, 66.

[67] Funkenstein, 5.
[68] Funkenstein, 9.
[69] Ilokano for "Little Brother."

may finally put their souls at ease. From 2013 and beyond, students and the American public alike will finally have the chance to learn about the accomplishments of California's Filipino labor activists.

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TRUTH AND CONSEQUENCES:
THE ORIGIN AND VICTORY OF THE WAR OF 1812

ABOUT THE AUTHOR
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Who won the War of 1812? This very simple question seems easy to answer in light of nearly two centuries of conventional wisdom. The Americans won the war. But did they? Given their response following the conclusion of the war and in the years that followed, the Americans certainly reacted as if they had achieved victory over the British. Edward Tatum, in his book *The United States and Europe, 1815-1823*, probably best summarizes the feeling in the United States following the war, which he describes as "pride … in its 'victory' over the mistress of the seas, and the undoubted chagrin which existed in England."[1] From Thomas Jefferson's reference to the conflict as the Second War of American Independence, to later authors who describe the significance of the Americans' perseverance against the superior British might, to the artists who wrote poetry and music that would survive in present-day American consciousness, the conflict has had a significant and lasting effect on the United States. Tatum and many other American sources conclude the war as a clear, decisive victory over the British, resulting in the cessation of the actions that had caused so much grief to the fledgling country. However, are good feelings reason and evidence enough to support or suggest an American victory?

The British maintained a separate perspective, one that is contrary to the view of the Americans. British sources seem a little fairer by placing the War of 1812 in the context of the British conflict with French-controlled Europe and its exacerbating effects on the grievances held by the United States against Great Britain. Two separate British sources describe the war and resulting treaty as having returned the United States and Great Britain to a "*status quo ante bellum*," which literally means a state of affairs before the war. [2] Several British historians conclude the conflict in favor of the British because they never conceded their position on the

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[1] Edward Howland Tatum, *The United States and Europe: 1815-1823; A Study in the Background of the Monroe Doctrine* (1936; reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), 58.
[2] Paul Hayes, *Modern British Foreign Policy: The Nineteenth Century, 1814-1880* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 212; J.A.R. Marriott, *Castlereagh: The Political Life of Robert, Second Marquess of Londonderry* (London: Methuen, 1936), 187.

naval policy so important to containing Napoleon, lost no territory, and succeeded in

orchestrating the defeat of Napoleon despite being engaged in a conflict against the United

States. The perspective of the final victor in the War of 1812, then, depends largely on the

source.

Given these conflicting views, it is difficult to determine the victor solely by analyzing

the prevailing opinions following the war. While such analysis is helpful in identifying the need

to further explore the cause and effect of the war, an examination of the justifications and goals

of the war must also occur. As the aggressor in the war, it is instructive to consider the reasons

offered by the United States for declaring war upon Great Britain. In June of 1812, President

James Madison outlined five specific motivations for entering into war with Great Britain in his

War Message to Congress. By the end of the war, every point of his message had been resolved,

although the determining factor in a victory would be a resolution of these goals as a result of the

war. Considering that the treaty concluding the war included only one of Madison's points, the

conclusion of an American victory is unlikely. Using this criterion for victory, the British can

claim the seat of victory in the War of 1812. Despite this, the positive effect of the war on the

self-esteem and perception of national character and honor within the young American republic

cannot be denied.

By the end of the conflict in 1815, conceptions of national honor preoccupied the minds

of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Madison commissioned a pamphlet to "be prepared

and made public" that offered "a correct and full view of the War." He wanted to expose "the

causes and character of the War between the U.S. and G.B." in an effort to "remedy the mischief

produced by the Declaration of the Prince Regent and other misstatements which had soured the

opinion of the world."[3] Jefferson believed that the pamphlet should be spread both among the people of the United States as well as translated and distributed across Europe. Regarding the pamphlet, Jefferson wrote, "it may be said that it will be thought unfriendly, but truths necessary for our own character must not be suppressed out of tenderness to it's [*sic*] calumniators."[4]

Indeed, the lasting belief that the United States had been somehow incorrectly perceived as having wrongfully declared war against Great Britain and the need for the "truth" of the American perspective to justify their actions persisted for some time after the conclusion of the war. Three years after the war concluded, Madison again mentions that truth will justify the war. In a letter to Charles Ingersoll, United States District Attorney for Pennsylvania, Madison expresses optimism regarding the previously fought war, stating that "the contest exhibited in its true features can not fail to do honor to our country…"[5] This letter indicates Madison's belief that the war will prove to be a source of honor, provided that it is presented in the context of the truth. Equally important is his hope that the outcome of the war will be perceived as a demonstration of the abilities of a mature nation, thus prolonging or preventing altogether the need for another conflict. There is little disagreement among both contemporary and modern historians that the War of 1812 had a significant and lasting impact on the national character of the United States.

Both previous President John Adams, who had opposed to war, and outspoken Congressman Henry Clay, who was an early proponent of the war, agreed that the United States made considerable gains as a result of the war. Clay, during his tenure as Representative from

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[3] Madison to Jefferson, March 12, 1815, in *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison 1804-1836,* vol. 3 of *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison 1776-1826,* ed. James Morton Smith (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 1762.
[4] Jefferson to Madison, March 23, 1815 in Ibid, 1764.
[5] Madison to Ingersoll, January 4, 1818 quoted in Irving Brant, *James Madison: Commander in Chief, 1812-1836,* vol. 6 of *The Life of James Madison* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1961), 380.

Kentucky and Speaker of the House, offered his view of the gains the United States had made when he spoke on the floor of Congress in 1816 asking, "What is our present situation? Respectability and character abroad – security and confidence at home. If we have not obtained in the opinion of some the full measure of retribution, our character and Constitution are placed on a solid basis, never to be shaken."[6] He shared the sentiment of many Americans following the war. The United States had been tested and had shown her mettle in battle.

In May of 1815, Andrew Gallatin, after representing the United States as part of the delegation negotiating the Treaty of Ghent which concluded the War of 1812, wrote:

> The War has been productive of evil & good: but I think that the good preponderates … Under our former system we were become too selfish, too much attached exclusively to the acquisition of wealth, above all too much confined in our political opinions to local & state objects. The war has renewed & reinstated the National feeling & character, which the Revolution had given, & which were daily lessened. The people have now more general objects of attachment with which their pride & political opinions are connected. They are more Americans [*sic*]: they feel & act more as a Nation, and I hope that the permanency of the Union is thereby better secured.[7]

Like so many others, Gallatin attests to the importance of the war as having resulted in a greater sense of national character and properly straightened American priorities, which had become "too selfish." Gallatin conveys that the people of the United States, as a result of the war, became filled with a sense of nationalism that may have been lacking before the war. He appears to hope this nationalism may lead to a more secure country in the future; less subject to the factioning and fractioning that occurred within the United States before and during the war perhaps referencing the Hartford Convention where the New England states met to discuss secession in

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[6] Henry Clay, Annals, 14th Cong., 1st sess., 783, quoted in Bradford Perkins, *Castlereagh and Adams: England and the United States, 1812-1823* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 150.
[7] Andrew Gallatin to Mathew Lyon, May 7, 1815, quoted in Ibid, 154.

order to separately negotiate peace with Britain.[8] Had this occurred, the United States may have suffered a fatal blow.

With this strong sense of national pride so pervasive among the American public and government in the period subsequent to the war and the lasting period of peace which followed, later called the "Era of Good Feeling," could there be any question that the United States achieved anything other than victory in the conflict? Indeed the feeling exhibited by the Americans and subsequent pride stemming from the war seems to clearly indicate that there could not be any other interpretation. It is interesting to note that there is little discussion among many of these Americans that the Treaty of Ghent failed to settle most of the grievances outlined by Madison in his War Message to Congress. If the war had not achieved the aims of the United States, had the country instead begun to pride itself on its successful management of a conflict with Great Britain? If the focus of those reflecting on the importance of the war did not rest upon the resolution of the grievances that had caused the declaration of war, what happened during the war? Who actually "won" the conflict?

There is another perspective—that of the "truth" that is referenced in correspondences between Madison and Jefferson from March of 1815 and again in Madison's letter to Charles Ingersoll in 1818. If the United States had clearly won the war, why does there appear so much concern about the "truth" of the events? Why would the British misrepresent the actions of the war except perhaps to protect their pride in the event of a loss? During the conflict, many Europeans, especially the British, became soured in their opinion of the fledgling United States. They maintained a view that conducting a war against Britain while the British engaged in freeing continental Europe from the conquests of Napoleon could only mean that the actions of

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[8] Frank A. Updyke, *The Diplomacy of the War of 1812* (1915; reprint, Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1965), 355.

the United States served French interests. The perspective of the British and, to a lesser extent, the rest of Europe impacted these Americans sufficiently to produce a need to proclaim their disagreement and set straight the record of events by sharing their version of the "truth." Even Jefferson makes references concerning the British perspective in a letter to Madison where he writes that "the people of England, who have been deceived as to the causes and conduct of the war … do not entertain a doubt, that [the war] was entirely wanton and wicked on our part, and under the order of Bonaparte."[9] Why would the truth of the American perspective have been so important to them? Why did they think that anything other than the truth of the war would be circulated abroad? These questions link to the larger question regarding the final victor of the conflict. The Americans may have known that they lacked a solid foundation for a declared victory, based on their inability to meet Madison's stated war aims. Without a clear victory thus defined, they instead believed that an unabridged accounting of the reasons for the war would provide justification for the conflict in the eyes of the world.

Much as Madison and Jefferson imply, a difference existed in the perspective of and reason for the war among the British. Just as the Americans had developed a list of grievances against the British in developing a justification for war, so too did the British develop a list of issues they believed the Americans exacerbated by their actions. Many British authors writing shortly after the event, even as much as a century later, take a defensive posture regarding the conflict. There is a consensus among these authors that the British needed to contain Napoleon and to protect themselves from bringing his conflict to their islands.

As early as 1805, seven years before the American declaration of war against Great Britain, British abolitionist lawyer and later member of Parliament James Stephen wrote of the British concerns of American commercial activity. In his pamphlet entitled *War in Disguise or*

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[9] Jefferson to Madison, March 23, 1815 in Smith, ed. *The Republic of Letters* vol. 3, 1764.

the Frauds of the Neutral Flags, Stephen analyzed the Rule of the War 1756, usually shortened

to "the Rule of 1756." A British naval policy stemming from the Seven Years War with France,

the Rule forbade, among other things, a neutral nation from bringing goods from colonies of a

nation engaged in war to their parent country. Traditionally, colonies traded exclusively with

their "mother country," and the intent of the Rule of 1756 sought to prevent the violation of a

blockade by moving goods from a colony to its "mother country" under a neutral flag that would

otherwise not be subject to the blockade.[10] In his analysis, Stephen said "the voyage of an

American from a hostile colony to any port in Europe … have all been held to be contrary to the

law of war, and have induced the condemnation of both of the ships and cargoes."[11] He argues

strongly that the United States persisted in violating the Rule of 1756 by trading with French

colonies and reshipping French colonial goods aboard American vessels to France, with whom

Britain presently engaged in war. Stephen claimed "it was evident that the flag of the United

States was, for the most part, used to protect the property of the French planter, not of the

American merchant."[12] The *War in Disguise* summarizes how the continued American violation

of the Rule of 1756 hindered the British ability to contain and counter Napoleon and concludes

with an appeal to the British Parliament and people to uphold British maritime policy. In the end,

Stephen says, "let us not, therefore, abandon the best means of defence … let us cherish our

Volunteers, our Navy, and Maritime Rights."[13]

British lawyer and historian William James devoted an entire work in 1817 titled *Naval*

Occurrences of the Late War Against the United States to the clarification of "contradictions and

inconsistencies to be found in the American official accounts" of the naval conflicts of that war

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[10] James Stephen, *War in Disguise: The Frauds of Neutral Flags* (1805), 13-16.
[11] Ibid, 26.
[12] Ibid, 20.
[13] Ibid, 215.

by American authors and journalists. Much like Madison and Jefferson, he desired to bring the truth to the people, which he believed the Americans inaccurately portrayed. James opined that "had the suppressed British letters duly appeared in the Gazette, there would have been something to counteract, in the public mind, the baneful effects of the American accounts, so freely circulated … [and] the author would not now have to eradicate one impression, before he can hope to succeed with another."[14] Like Jefferson, James recognizes that "national character is a sensitive thing; and, surely, the existing peace between our two countries does not oblige to let us pass, unrefuted, the foulest aspirations, or wholly suppress the feelings of a just indignation."[15]

Historians offer little treatment of the competing and oft contradictory viewpoints following the War of 1812. What is clear is that British and American contemporaries sought to counter the known accounts of those entrenched on opposite sides of the Atlantic. And each side responded to the other as distorting the truth regarding the conflict. *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* states that the war may have been caused by "the inability of the United States to understand the British need to defend the liberty of Europe."[16] The difference in opinion exhibited by the British and Americans helps only to muddy the waters regarding the truth of the war. After considering the American and British perspectives regarding the outcome of the war, the victor of the War of 1812 remains unclear.

To better determine a victor, a definition or criteria for that victory must be developed. The criterion for Americans, as the aggressor, should be their own stated goals for determining

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[14] William James, Naval Occurrences of the Late War Between Great Britain and the United States (1817), xi.

[15] Ibid, ix.

[16] A.W. Ward and G.P. Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy: 1783-1815,* vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy: 1783-1919* (1922. reprint, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1939), 367.

success in the conflict. For the British, as the defending party, the criterion ought to be loss, be it loss of land, privilege, or concessions made to the other belligerent power, in this case, the Americans. Consider the statements made by Madison in his War Message to Congress in which he identified the grievances against the British that he concluded amounted to war. Did the British concede to the Americans on any point as a result of the war? Did the war resolve the grievances Madison outlined to Congress?

Madison gave his war message to Congress on June 1, 1812. In it, he outlined five specific grievances against the British that he believed necessary for a declaration of war. The first regarded the impressment of "thousands of American Citizens … [that] have been torn from their country" to serve "on board ships of war of a foreign nation."[17] The second point of issue for Madison referred to "mock blockades" and more importantly, their impact on American commerce. Because of the blockades, "great staples of our Country have been cut off, from their legitimate markets; and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests."[18] Madison's third grievance pointed to the plundering resulting from the blockades. The British considered the plundering to be necessary "retaliation on Edicts" enforced by Napoleon, but expressed concern that the British had "enforced Edicts against millions of our property."[19] The fourth point addressed oppressive British naval policies, such as the Rule of 1756 and the Orders in Council, which Madison believed, if repealed, "would have enabled the United States to demand from France the pledged repeal of her Decree," and if France did not abide, "the United States would have been justified in turning their measures exclusively against France."[20] Finally,

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[17] Madison's War Message to Congress, 1812 in Robert A. Rutland, *Madison's Alternatives: The Jeffersonian Republic and the Coming of War, 1805-1812,* The America's Alternatives Series, edited by Harold M. Hyman (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1975), 143.
[18] Madison's War Message to Congress, 1812 in Ibid, 144.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid, 146.

Madison's fifth point concerned the "warfare just renewed by the Savages, on one of our extensive frontiers," which he thought originated with the British. He believed this even though frontiersmen "have for some time been developing themselves among the tribes in constant intercourse with British traders and garrisons, without connecting their hostility with that influence."[21]

Madison summarized his list of grievances as adequate justification for war by concluding that "We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain a state of War against the United States; and on the side of the United States, a state of peace towards Great Britain."[22] It may have been that Madison could not have been able to move Congress or his people to war by virtue of any single one of the grievances. Taken as a whole, they amounted to "a series of acts, hostile to the United States, as an Independent and neutral nation."[23] Robert Rutland, a historian specializing in Madison's letters and papers, is of the opinion that "Americans might not fight for their unsold cotton, or their dry-rotted ships, or their sons in English and French dungeons – but Americans could lump all these things together under the rubric of what they would fight for – national honor."[24] This is one interpretation; Rutland's version of history may also be an attempt to fit Madison's reasons for war into the ideals that prevailed at the end of the conflict.

The goals of the British differed from those presented by Madison. Many British newspapers gave testimony of the opinion gripping that nation. These varied from moderate to extreme, though nearly all sources called for an American defeat to some degree. The more moderate *Morning Post* in London stated that Britain may agree to a settlement with Madison's submission instead of his removal. Bradford Perkins claims the much more extreme *Courier*

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[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid, 147.
[23] Ibid, 143.
[24] Rutland, *Madison's Alternatives*, 142.

offered the "best summary of British aspirations,"[25] which called for "Vigorous war! till America accedes to the following demands:" and added a long list of grievances and desires for American exclusion from intercourse with British possessions.[26] An interesting opinion in this particular source is the clear refusal to compromise and the view that the United States should concede a great deal to Great Britain, particularly in regard to their naval policy enabling their right to search, which served as a significant source of tension between the two powers, implied as it was in more than one of Madison's points. The *Sun* argued that the Americans should not be "left in a condition to repeat their insults, injuries and wrongs, whenever the situation of Europe should encourage them to resume their arms."[27] This directly referenced the American declaration of war during the time that the British assisted continental Europeans in defeating Napoleon's advances. The opinion offered in the newspaper demonstrates the British distrust of a simple truce with the United States due to fear that it may again pursue a belligerent course of action should Great Britain or Europe again become embroiled in another conflict. Together, these articles indicate the perspective that the British claimed the moral high ground as the saviors of Europe with the Americans unfairly attacking them during a time of distraction, and should, therefore, offer no quarter to their enemy.

Evidence for one of the points made by Madison in his War Message to Congress can be found on the American frontier, where Native American attacks occurred near the Canadian border. Some historians contend that the desire for Canada drove the politicians of the western states toward war with Britain. Louis Hacker, in his essay "The Desire for Canadian Land," argues that the Native American attacks, some of which the British incited from Canada, led Henry Clay and other congressmen from the western frontier states to press for war and an

[25] Perkins, *Castlereagh and Adams*, 61-63.
[26] *Courier* (London), May 21, 1814 quoted in Ibid, 64.
[27] *Sun* (London), May 17 and Feb. 3, 1814 quoted in Ibid, 63.

invasion of Canada in order to protect the American frontier and interests.[28]   These politicians

came to be known as the "War Hawks" because of their pro-war stance and many of their views

dominated Congress during the years leading to Madison's War Message.

The War Hawks planned the invasion of Canada as a major campaign during the War of

1812 to protect the American frontier, although it did not transpire as Madison or Congress had

hoped. The United States failed to make any significant gains in Canada and fought hard to hold

the line at the murky and undefined national boundary. Most forays into Canada collapsed before

even reaching the boundary. Some historians attribute this to the fact that much of the frontier

through which the armies passed laid in the New England states, most of which opposed the war.

The refusal of some states to commit their militia to the war effort further hindered the invasion.

Despite the poor performance on land, some of the fiercest naval battles of the war between the

British Canadians and the Americans occurred on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain. The

Americans managed to land at the Canadian capital of York and torched several state buildings.

This may have been the impetus for the later British invasion of Washington, where they

returned the favor.[29]

The British fought Napoleon throughout much of their conflict with the United States.

This impaired their ability to commit their full resources to the war. Because the British forces

arrayed much smaller forces against the United States in the conflict than they might have been

able to field had they not been engaged with the French, the forces of Great Britain and the

United States were more evenly matched. Neither side held significant ground within the

territory of the other, thus neither had a great deal to offer up or use as leverage during

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[28] Louis Hacker, "The Desire for Canadian Land" in Bradford Perkins, ed., *The Causes of The War of 1812: National Honor or National Interest?* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 46-52.
[29] Rory Muir, *Britain and the Defeat of Napoleon: 1807-1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 235-239.

negotiations for peace. In the end, the invasion of Canada and subsequent naval battles may be best described as a stalemate.

Some historians might challenge the "land hunger" hypothesis as a foundation for war, but there is little doubt that many Native American tribes remained loyal to the British before and during the War of 1812, so much so that Great Britain "insisted that the Indians who had been loyal to her in the war should be expressly included in the peace."[30] The treaty left open the state of affairs along the Canadian border, which the British wished to disarm entirely, but Americans did not make a concession on this point. This unresolved issue awaited settlement with the Rush-Bagot Agreement. Ratified on April 28, 1818, the Rush-Bagot Agreement neutralized the Great Lakes and opened the border between the United States and Canada.[31] This may have been the only real concession of consequence the British made in the treaty that resulted from the war and might not have otherwise occurred for some time.

The British believed their naval policies played a critical role in preventing Napoleon's forces from receiving goods from beyond the Continent by maintaining a naval blockade and seizing vessels at sea loaded with contraband. From well before the declaration of war through the negotiations for peace, the British refused to compromise their naval policies relating to impressments and maritime trade. Success for the British meant conducting the war without sacrificing their naval dominance or exhibiting a weakness that could be exploited by either the Americans or, more importantly, Napoleon. Madison's War Message referenced the British naval policies that plagued American commerce for more than a decade. At the heart of the issue lay two sets of policies. The first is found in the resurrected Rule of 1756 and the second in a group of separate but related declarations issued by the British in reaction to Napoleon's decrees.

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[30] Marriott, *Castlereagh*, 186.
[31] Hayes, *Modern British Foreign Policy*, 213.

These policies contributed to the dwindling rights of neutral nations to trade with powers

engaged in war. After years of diplomacy, attempts by the United States to press their rights as a

neutral nation, and escalating severity in the British policies, there seemed no alternative for the

United States to combat the policies except through warfare. Additionally, these policies provide

related background for the American difficulties also attested to by Madison with British

blockades and plundering at sea.

The history of the detrimental British naval policies that led to war begin in February of

1793 when the British entered into conflict with revolutionary France; this conflict would occupy

the British for more than twenty years. The significance this had on the United States stemmed

from the British declaration that naval commanders were "to seize all ships carrying corn, flour,

or meal bound for a port in France or any port controlled by the armies of France."[32] American

commerce relied heavily upon trade with both Britain and France and these policies amounted to

a practical abandonment of American agricultural trade to France. Thomas Jefferson said of the

policy that "no nation can agree, at the mere will or interest of another, to have its peaceable

industry suspended, and its citizens reduced to idleness and want." He went on to add that the

American government retained "the right … to defend itself against involuntary involvement in

war."[33] In this, he foreshadowed Madison's declaration of war against these policies. However,

the United States employed diplomacy and sanctions before resorting to armed conflict.

The concerns issued over the British policy found some manner of compromise in the Jay

Treaty, signed in 1796. It allowed for some relaxation of the British Navigation Acts, which

governed all aspects of their naval policy. The Jay Treaty afforded American produce—a vital

commodity to the British—the same treatment as if it had originated in a colony; the British

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[32] Paul A. Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1963), 96.
[33] Thomas Jefferson from American State Papers quoted in Ibid, 97.

treated American ships laden with American produce as if they were British. Americans desired to trade freely with Canada and the West Indies, which remained prohibited by the Navigation Acts. The Acts prevented direct trade with British colonies or inter-colonial trade. The need for American lumber pressed British merchants in the West Indies for a treaty that would allow direct trade, but a treaty never materialized. American and British merchants developed and implemented a plan for dual-owned ships which carried goods between the United States and British territories to circumvent the policy.[34]

As the French Revolution evolved into the Napoleonic Wars and came to embroil much of western Europe, Great Britain attempted to contain Napoleon's actions to the Continent and protect the British Isles from possible invasion. To that end, Britain restored the Rule of 1756. This created quite a stir, as it effectively prevented the United States from trading with the West Indies, which the Jay Treaty previously allowed.

From the beginning of Thomas Jefferson's presidency in 1801, the United States persisted in a policy of neutrality with regard to the conflict in Europe. Under the flag of neutrality, the United States continued to trade with Britain, France, and other European nations inasmuch as British policy and enforcement of their maritime laws would allow. Jefferson believed that neutral rights should be clearly defined and pressed for such a definition during the negotiations of the Jay Treaty. Tsar Alexander of Russia also provided strong support of neutral rights. In 1806, Jefferson saw a glimmer of possible peace with the destruction of French naval resistance following the British success at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. In light of that peace, he requested that Tsar Alexander use his influence to help establish "a correct definition of rights

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[34] Ward and Gooch, eds, *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy,* vol. 1, 153.

of neutrals on the high seas,"[35] adding that offenders against neutrals should be prohibited from trading with neutral nations, as Jefferson considered sanctions preferable to war. Certainly the issue of neutrals and neutral trade occupied minds within the British government as well. James Stephen did not agree with the views of Jefferson and Tsar Alexander, arguing in *War in Disguise* that increased trade by neutrals could threaten British commercial dominance of the high seas.[36]

Secretary of State James Madison dispatched William Pinkney and James Monroe to negotiate a new treaty with Great Britain in an effort to ease the growing grievances held by the United States. The resulting Monroe-Pinkney Treaty, signed on December 31, 1806, protected the American re-importation trade, allowing American vessels to continue trade with French colonies, provided that shipments first pass through American ports and duties be paid.

Napoleon began the Continental System with the Berlin Decrees of November 21, 1806, one month before the American treaty with Britain was signed. The Berlin Decrees forbade nations allied or controlled by Napoleon from trading with the British, meaning that Americans would be unable to carry British goods into European ports without violating the decree.[37] After signing the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty, the British retaliated against Napoleon's Berlin Decrees with the first of many Orders in Council on January 7, 1807. This Order in Council prohibited all maritime trade, even that of neutrals, with French territory from Hamburg to Venice.[38]

In retaliation, Jefferson fought to impose an embargo on all foreign trade. Many of the New England states opposed the embargo, believing it would unfairly damage their shipping and export manufacturing economies. The British Order in Council of November 11 virtually

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[35] Jefferson to Alexander the First, April 19, 1806, quoted in Louis Martin Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo* (1927; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 51.
[36] Stephen, *War in Disguise*, 136.
[37] Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers*, 183.
[38] Ward and Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy,* vol. 1, 358.

eliminated opposition to the embargo which was ratified by Congress on December 22, 1807.

The amendment to the previous Order in Council forbade all trade with nations controlled or

allied with Napoleon as well as any country that refused importation of British goods. It also

required that all trade pass through British ports and obtain a license before continuing to a port

in another country. The British justified this action as retaliatory to Napoleon's Berlin Decrees,

while the Americans perceived it as an attack on American, rather than French, commerce.[39]

Napoleon went further when he made the Milan Decrees in mid-December of 1807 in

response to the British Orders in Council. The Milan Decrees declared that any vessel submitting

to search or sailing from a British port became subject to confiscation and considered a prize of

war.[40] The resulting blockades and threats of seizures made neutral trade effectively impossible.

The Milan Decrees allowed the French to claim any ship submitting to the British Orders in

Council while the British claimed any ship ignoring them. The embargo did significant damage

to American commercial interests, but it also had some effect in injuring the British economy.

The British Parliament, confronted with tens of thousands of signed petitions to resolve the

economic situation with the United States, remained unrelenting and the United States

demonstrated that it could use economics as a weapon.[41]

The unfortunate reality of the embargo is that it did more harm than good for the United

States. By the spring of 1809, commerce within the United States had dropped by more than

eighty percent of its pre-Embargo levels. The Embargo led to a change in political power in the

New England states and became stiffly opposed throughout much of the United States by the

time Congress repealed it in March of 1809.[42] The new President of the United States, James

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[39] Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo*, 62-63.
[40] Ward and Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy,* vol. 1, 366-367.
[41] Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers*, 200-201.
[42] Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo*, 318-320.

Madison, was unwilling to concede the value of economic pressure on Europe to force capitulation to the demands of the United States to settle the growing maritime grievances.

Shortly after the repeal of the Embargo Act, Madison and the Tenth Congress enacted a modified version of the Embargo that only applied to Great Britain, France, and their allies and colonies through the Non-Intercourse Act. The centerpiece of this legislation required repeal of the portion applying to either Great Britain or France whichever first repealed their Orders in Council or Berlin and Milan Decrees, respectively.[43] The British moved toward a possible repeal of the Orders in Council despite the strong public opinion to maintain the tight grip on Napoleon. In 1810, Napoleon made a motion that indicated a willingness to revoke his decrees. The United States modified the Non-Intercourse Act with Macon Bill No. 2 in 1811, which reopened trade, but continued to ban French and British warships from American ports. Madison issued a proclamation to Britain to repeal its Orders in Council or all intercourse would cease. The British Government offered to repeal the Orders in Council if Napoleon's decrees could be shown as definitively withdrawn. Ultimately realizing that their requirement could not be proved, the British finally conceded and repealed the Orders in Council on June 23, 1812, although Congress had already approved the declaration of war on June 18.[44] The Americans did not learn of the repeal of the Orders in Council until August, after the war was underway. Contrary to the British expectation, the revocation of the Orders in Council did little to stem the conflict that ultimately erupted.

The British repealed the Orders in Council, which created the blockades and gave the order to plunder ships violating the Orders as legal prizes of war, independent of an acknowledgment of war. The specter of a possible war might have influenced the British

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[43] Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers*, 217.
[44] Ward and Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy,* vol. 1, 377-378 and 525-526.

decision, or instead could have been a response to Napoleon's purported revocation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees. It may have been a diplomatic victory for the United States if Britain repealed the Orders in response to American overtures toward France, though there remains little evidence to support that conclusion. Regardless, the War of 1812 did not contribute to the British revocation of the Orders in Council. Given this, it is fair to conclude that the Americans failed to complete this objective with war. While the British ultimately abandoned the Orders in Council, it did not result from armed conflict with the United States.

The blockades of Europe provided another major point of contention for Madison. His mention of "mock blockades" referred to the American opinion that the British blockades of Europe violated international law.[45] The blockades began to impede American trade when Napoleon enforced the Berlin Decrees, which declared a blockade against British imports. The landscape changed when Great Britain reacted to the Berlin Decrees with the first Order in Council closing all ports from Hamburg to Venice to trade. The United States reacted to these naval policies with their own attempt at economic persuasion by passing the Embargo Act, and later the Non-Intercourse Act. The use of this legislation may have been the reason that the British finally revoked the Orders in Council. It could be that the United States believed Napoleon at his word in his claimed revocation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, thus putting pressure on the British to do the same, per the Non-Intercourse Act, or risk war. Then again, the British might have decided that by 1812, the containment and defeat of Napoleon no longer necessitated the blockades established in the Orders in Council. What is certain is that the armed conflict known as the War of 1812 did not cause the British to revoke the Orders in Council or cease implementation of the blockades.

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[45] Updyke, *The Diplomacy of the War of 1812*, 455.

The history of plundering at sea, another grievance stated in Madison's War Message, begins before the Orders in Council. However, like the blockades, the cause of British plundering at sea is intertwined with British naval policy of the time, and the Orders in Council certainly exacerbated those occurrences. This issue arose as early as the British involvement in war with revolutionary France. Early on, the British and Americans made a few attempts to negotiate a treaty to clarify rights and define trade, but the British abandoned much of that effort as conflict with France turned toward containment of Napoleon.

When the British invoked the Rule of 1756, preventing France from acquiring goods from its colonies, the Americans provided this service for the French as a neutral party instead. The Americans carried goods from French colonies into American ports and re-exported them as American goods to Europe. The British considered this a violation of their Rule of 1756 and argued the illegality of American trade during wartime that would have otherwise been prohibited in peace. This meant that the French, had they not been mired in war with the British and under blockade, would not have allowed the Americans to trade with their colonies. As a result, the British began searching vessels suspected of carrying French goods. If they found violators, the British seized such ships and goods as prizes of war.[46]

As war in Europe continued, British offenses against American shipping increased, especially those bound for France or carrying cargo from French colonies. Some attacks on American shipping occurred very close to American ports. In response, the United States armed light squadrons of ships to capture offenders and try them as pirates. In his message to Congress on January 17, 1806, Jefferson maintained that such attacks on American commerce amounted to infractions of the Jay Treaty.[47]

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[46] Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers*, 96.
[47] Ward and Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy,* vol. 1, 357-358.

The Monroe-Pinkney Treaty of 1806 eased some of this, which offered some protections to the American re-importation of French goods. The treaty did not foresee, nor did it prevent, the latter Order in Council of November 11, 1807 or Napoleon's Milan Decree made in response. The combined action of these British and French policies effectively closed European ports to American vessels by threatening with seizure any ship that met the demands of either of the belligerent powers. Many American ships attempted to work within these policies while others openly violated them.[48] Either course of action resulted in the same consequence: both the British and the French plundered American ships at sea.

Much like the blockades, the issue of plundering at sea resulted directly from the war between Britain and France. Upon conclusion of the conflict in Europe, the British lacked reason and authority to enforce plunder and seizure of war goods. The Americans found these actions damaging enough to consider them as part of a justification for war; however, the British revoked the Orders in Council before war truly began between the United States and Great Britain and the conclusion of hostilities between Great Britain and France nullified the Rule of 1756. In effect, the War of 1812 did not bring about an end to plundering at sea. The possible reasons that did have been explored, but the United States did not conclude this grievance in war, nor did the British abandon it because of war with the Americans.

More than the blockades or plundering at sea, impressment rated perhaps the most significant issue for the United States. The British typically enforced the policy of impressment during times of war when the Royal Navy required additional manpower, not unlike a draft. Traditionally, Britain limited impressment to its own merchants and sailors, but sometimes they pressed into service those captured in conflict. The unpopularity of impressment sometimes resulted in British citizens seeking refuge among the neutral American merchant fleet,

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[48] Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo*, 270-271.

sometimes even acquiring American citizenship, legally or otherwise. In response, the British seized American ships suspected of harboring British citizens. British refugees often declared themselves Americans during such searches. The human element of this grievance probably contributed to Madison's choice to discuss it first and separately from other British naval policies. Like the issue with plundering at sea, its history is as long as the British conflict with France and did not see resolution at all. Even the Treaty of Ghent gained the United States little more than a promise regarding the issue.

There is evidence that the specter of impressment emerged as early as 1792. In that year, Thomas Pinkney, American Minister to London, made an attempt to broach the subject with the British Government. The British suggested a certificate of citizenship for all American sailors to carry on their person. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson considered this "impracticable" and refused to implement the British idea.[49] When representatives of the United States again sat with the British to discuss naval matters in the Jay Treaty, the Americans attempted to address the impressment issue along with the concerns of maritime trade. While the Jay Treaty did much to delay a possible conflict between the United States and Great Britain over the neutral maritime rights of the United States, it failed to address the issue of impressment. The issue experienced delay as a major point of contention for a time. Following the treaty, the United States began providing certification for American seamen in 1796. By 1799, the British Government began to complain about the "frequently fraudulent" papers that the American government granted and again revoked the "protections" afforded American seamen.[50] Since little distinguished Americans and British of the time, the British refused to recognize American citizenship due to the ease by which one could acquire false papers. The British sometimes resorted to pressing

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[49] Updyke, *The Diplomacy of the War of 1812*, 3-6.
[50] Ibid, 10-12.

whole crews into service because the British could not otherwise determine who could

legitimately claim American citizenship and who could not.[51]

In 1806, the Non-Importation Act passed by the United States Congress, which

prohibited the importation of a substantial list of British goods in response to the continued act of

impressment, nearly derailed the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty. While the treaty did not guarantee an

end to forced service, it did make great strides toward reducing it. As a result, it obtained from

the British an "observance of the greatest caution in the impressing of British seamen; and that

the strictest care shall be taken to preserve the citizens of the United States from any molestation

or injury."[52]

This did not last. As the British blockade against Napoleon intensified, so too did the

British demand for more sailors. This resulted in an increase in search and impressments on

American vessels. In June of 1807, the British vessel HMS *Leopard* attempted to board and

search the United States frigate *Chesapeake* for four suspected British citizens. When the

Chesapeake refused, the HMS *Leopard* fired a full cannonade for ten minutes on the unprepared

American vessel, after which the *Chesapeake* submitted. The Chesapeake Affair, as it came to be

known, brought the two countries to the brink of war, since the act of impressment crossed the

boundary from merchant vessels to naval warships for the first time. Possible hostilities awaited

an opportunity for Congress to meet and discuss the issue, during which time Jefferson

developed the embargo as an economic policy to combat British aggression.[53]

In 1814, after concluding the conflict with Napoleon, the British policy of forced service

became less necessary. Despite the serious impact it had upon so many American sailors, the

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[51] Muir, *Britain and the Defeat of Napoleon*, 232.
[52] British Commissioners to James Monroe and William Pinkney, November 8, 1806, quoted in Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers*, 182.
[53] Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers*, 190-191.

British refused to address this grievance in the Treaty of Ghent. Instead, the British persisted in refusing any discussion or submission of their maritime rights. To make negotiations more favorable, British representatives assured the Americans that the British would be willing to check future abuses.[54] Thus, the approved treaty lacked reference to impressment. Given this, it is hard to make the argument that the War of 1812 had any impact on the British decision to cease forcing seamen into the service of the Royal British Navy. Had the war been effective in addressing British impressment of American sailors, it would certainly have been a point of the Treaty of Ghent instead of a merely conciliatory gesture to check further abuses.

The British expected quick negotiations for a resolution to the War because they had revoked the Orders in Council, which accounted for three of the five grievances the Americans held against the British. The Americans initiated the first attempt at negotiating peace. It began in Russia under the mediation of Tsar Alexander in the summer of 1813. After a year of war, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, remained unwilling to concede British maritime superiority. He reminded Cathcart, the British ambassador to the negotiations, of the "necessity … of peremptorily excluding from the general negotiations every maritime question."[55] When Tsar Alexander, whom the Americans knew to be inclined toward defining neutral trade, learned that Great Britain refused any discussion of maritime issues, he terminated his mediation.[56]

The United Kingdom of the Netherlands hosted negotiations at Ghent, which continued through the fall and winter of 1814. The Treaty of Ghent, which finally outlined peace between the United States and Great Britain, also laid out the final resolutions of the war. And just as Castlereagh had requested of his representatives in Russia, he again requested that his

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[54] Marriott, *Castlereagh*, 185.
[55] Castlereagh to Cathcart, July 14, 1813 in C.K. Webster, ed., *British Diplomacy: 1813-1815* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1921), 14.
[56] Cathcart to Castlereagh, August 5, 1813, in Ibid, 16.

representatives at the peace discussion in Ghent waive discussion about maritime rights and concluded impressment as "the undoubted right of the Sovereign of these realms to claim and enforce in war the allegiance and service of his subjects."[57] Since the British refused to compromise on their maritime policies or impressments and did not suffer any loss of land or privilege as a result of the War of 1812, save for a defined and demilitarized border between Canada and the United States, the British succeeded in their goals of war. While it might not have been the resounding victory the press clamored for, it did win by preserving its policies throughout the war and refusing to address them, even in peace.

The cessation of hostilities in Europe did more for ending the War of 1812 than the conflict itself, but war did have a lasting effect on the American consciousness. As a neutral nation before the war, the United States enjoyed some benefits of trade as one of only two non-colonial powers in the Western Hemisphere, the other being Haiti. As a power, the dominant European empires gave little consideration to the United States regarding world affairs. The British did not seem to concern themselves with the possible effect of their naval policies on the young republic. The War of 1812 demonstrated a capacity within the newly United States to stand up for its convictions, even going so far as to declare war against the most powerful naval power in the world. Simply surviving such a conflict against such a powerful foe could be seen as a victory rather than stalemate. The conflict galvanized the country, drawing together the disparate forces at work within the nation and also surviving the possible cessation of New England to form their own country in order to separately negotiate a peace and end hostilities with Britain. The conflict proved to the European powers that the United States could protect itself and its interests against their policies and possible aggressions. But, most importantly, it proved to the people of the United States that their nation could stand among the other powers of

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[57] Marriott, *Castlereagh*, 185.

the world as one worthy of regard. This is perhaps the most significant and lasting effect of the War of 1812.   While the United States failed to achieve Madison's goals and Great Britain secured a victory in the War of 1812, it is difficult to deny that a morale victory occurred within the United States.

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