ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The 2015 CLIO Journal is the cumulative effort of the many talented and energetic people who unselfishly gave both time and skill in the production of this year's journal. Both the editors and authors, working together, produced a dynamic academic journal through which the extraordinary abilities of the authors and the academic combined to produce yet another scholarly historical journal. However, with any undertaking of this nature, certain individuals exhort extraordinary contributions from themselves and the authors. With extreme gratitude for their contributions, it is only fitting that these individuals merit special recognition for the key roles played in producing this year's journal. These individuals are the 2015 Associate Editors.

Associate Editors are the key element to CLIO's success. Each year new associates voluntarily step forward to experience the CLIO Journal production process; and, every year they exceed all expectations. This year was no exception. The associate's ability to balance their academic and personal responsibilities in addition to the CLIO responsibilities demands not only public recognition for their efforts but also a tip of the hat in appreciation of their efforts. These associates merit the profoundest gratitude for a job well done. Working diligently with designated authors, the associates worked to produce the best possible essay that is scholastically suitable and meets the high academic levels expected by contributing authors to the CLIO.

CLIO Journal advisors, Professors Aaron Cohen and Nicolas Lazaridis, both of whom gave generously of their time and knowledge, also must receive special kudos for their guidance and expertise that helped smooth the path to final production by removing unforeseen obstacles and offering timely advice. A special note of recognition is due Professor Mona Siegel for her enthusiasm, support and encouragement to both the CLIO staff and authors. Her efforts helped create a novel CLIO publication including the special commemorative section on World War I.

Editor-In-Chief

2015 CLIO Journal
Editorial Staff

Editor-In-Chief

Eugene Boyd,
President, Phi Alpha Theta
Rho Xi Chapter

Associate Editors

Timothy Tadlock
Vice President/ Treasurer
Phi Alpha Theta
Rho Xi Chapter

Robert Edwards
Member
Phi Alpha Theta
Rho Xi Chapter

Shelby Kendrick
Member
Phi Alpha Theta
Rho Xi Chapter

Caleb Sanders
Member
Phi Alpha Theta
Rho Xi Chapter

D. Scott Sault
Member
Phi Alpha Theta
Rho Xi Chapter

Table of Contents

PREFACE

The 2015 CLIO Journal presents a collection of essays by twelve student authors that run the gamut of historical topics; but more importantly, CLIO offers an academic platform allowing public recognition for these budding authors.

This year the 2015 CLIO Journal took a new approach. To recognize the historical importance of the First World War, students could submit essays based either on a historical topic of interest or an essay that focused on the Great War. Not surprisingly, the majority of this year's authors presented papers dealing with aspects surrounding World War I. As such, the 2015 CLIO Journal divides into two sections; first, a compilation of essays of varied historical topics; and, second, a compilation of essays dedicated specifically to World War I. Both sections address interesting subjects while displaying the efforts of emerging scholars. All in all, both sections provide reading enjoyment in an academic format.

Editor-In-Chief

Jack Johnson and Cultural Definitions of Masculinity

By Jamison Mitchell
CSUS, 2015

Abstract:
An examination of the interlinked nature of race and masculinity in the early twentieth century United States uses the iconoclastic boxer Jack Johnson as a case study. Johnson, the first black heavyweight boxing champion, refuted commonly held conceptions of masculinity through his victories over ostensibly superior white opponents. His virtuosic skill and his disdain for the racial mores forced white males Americans to rethink their challenged masculinity. Johnson's success also revealed how black communities in the United States internalized pieces of race-based rhetoric while Johnson's heavyweight hegemony illuminated many angles of race-based preconceptions.

About the Author

Jameson Mitchell is self-styled dandy with such dichotomous interests as dissecting the social implications of rap music and boxing. In his free time, he enjoys boxing and collecting records in his free time. He completed his MA at CSUS in Spring, 2015, and intends to continue his education and pursue a Ph.D.

Jack Johnson exemplified the cognitive dissonance of his times. He was a destroyer in the boxing ring, a worldly playboy outside of it and was still portrayed as a coward and simpleton by the press. Johnson fought off widespread perceptions of cowardice, childishness, and insignificance with his fists as well as his intellect. These same perceptions were commonly projected onto black males who occupied the role of the cultural 'other.' Johnson destroyed his white opponents and forced a reconsidering of the 'default' characteristics of the masculine white male—galvanizing some and converting others. He violated commonly held 'white' principles of the early twentieth century; he was a black man who wanted to live as a dandy, a rich playboy. He appreciated fast cars, betting large sums of money, and dressing nicely. Furthermore, his romantic interests strayed from the socially enforced color line, which barred black men from sleeping with white women. Johnson's problem was that of the times. He held himself in the same regard as white men when it was unacceptable to do so. During the early twentieth century, the highly desirable quality of 'manliness' was profoundly interconnected with whiteness. The boxing ring, however, was a place of brutal honesty, where racial lines could be erased briefly and microcosmically by displays of physical dominance. Johnson was a pioneer in this sense, and through his conquests, he served as a walking refutation of preconceptions regarding race and masculinity. Johnson himself wrote: "I have had adventures that men of my race and nation have never had…how incongruous to think that I, a little Galveston colored boy, should ever become an acquaintance of kings and rulers of the old world!"[1] Johnson's improbable ascendance, worldliness, and most of all blackness embodied the reasons that whites struggled to accept him as champion. He forced the white American public to cope with a dominant, highly intelligent, and outspoken voice without previous parallel.

Johnson is most noteworthy for being the first black man to reign as heavyweight boxing champion. Previously, the 'legitimate' championship had only been held by whites, with a separate 'colored' heavyweight championship for those who were not white. This break in precedent fomented a massive cultural whiplash. Johnson's title reign saw the beginning of what historian Al-Tony Gilmore described as a "messianic search for a 'White Hope' to redeem their honor."[2] His gold teeth, penchant for having interracial relationships with white women, and constant taunting of his overmatched white opponents made Johnson into the personification of agitation. By simply acting in ways seen fit for rich white males to act, and acting in

1Jack Johnson, Jack Johnson is a Dandy: An Autobiography with Pictures. (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1969), 22, 25

2 Al-Tony Gilmore, Bad Nigger! The National Impact of Jack Johnson (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975), 3.

this manner unapologetically, Johnson became a figure of public scorn. As the first black heavyweight champion, the backlash to his success serves as a reflection of white American society's expectations of African Americans.

There is a great body of previous scholarship regarding Jack Johnson. Sportswriter and founder of *The Ring* magazine, Nat Fleischer wrote about boxing professionally for more than 60 years. Fleischer's five part chronicle of the African American experience in boxing, B*lack Dynamite,* is a seminal point in boxing literature. Despite Fleischer's influence, his text is antiquated in several ways, including a most obvious racial component. In the fourth installment of *Black Dynamite,* he stated of Jack Johnson that, "[Johnson] possessed all the darky's love for music."[3] Despite some ignorant and woefully outdated stereotypes, Fleischer's work is referenced in nearly all secondary sources regarding Johnson; including Finnis Farr's 1964 work, *Black Champion* and Al-Tony Gilmore's 1975 work, *Bad Nigger.*[4] These two works are more comprehensive and function together as an influential pairing, *Black Champion* as a biography and *Bad Nigger* as a historic analysis of Johnson's legacy. These texts are fundamental to the scholarship of Jack Johnson's life, times, and influence and are commonly used in more recent and popular interpretations, including Randy Roberts' *Papa Jack* and Geoffrey C. Ward's *Unforgivable Blackness*, the eponymous inspiration for Ken Burns' notable documentary.

Another inspiration for this work is historian Gail Bederman's analysis *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917.*[5] Bederman discusses the tenuously constructed paradigms for masculinity and race which Americans created during the early twentieth century. Examination of Jack Johnson in regards to cultural "otherization" is indebted to Michel Foucault and his work regarding the cultural creation of 'same' and 'other.' As it relates to this work, black men during the early twentieth century were regarded to be timid, weak-willed, and unintelligent among other things. This commonly held perception represents the 'other' to the 'normative' white characteristics of bravery, fortitude, and intelligence. Jack Johnson, however, forced a reevaluation of these collective standards through his boxing conquests of white men.

This work will focus on Jack Johnson's two most significant fights as a means by which to examine the duality of cultural influence and the ability of culture to be influenced. It will begin to identify the racial climate of the

3 Nat Fleischer, Black Dynamite IV: The Story of the Negro in Boxing (New York: C.J. O'Brien Inc. 1939); Ibid., 18.

4 Al-Tony Gilmore, Bad Nigger! The National Impact of Jack Johnson (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975).

5 Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

time and the standards of masculinity before introducing Johnson. Since this work is concerned with American society during this time period as well as Johnson himself, it is appropriate to provide significant context about the environment Johnson lived and fought in. Johnson's popularity and divisiveness initiated a backlash from white Americans. This backlash illustrates a sentimentality regarding held mores of masculinity. Masculinity and its supposedly intrinsic connection with race as well as 'same-ness' against 'other-ness' are major themes of this work. Also, while nomenclature has shifted, the constructs being examined are from the early twentieth century and carry the titles of ''blackness'' and ''whiteness," these themes are pervasive throughout the literature about Jack Johnson and, while imperfect, are more organic to the time period in question.

The climate which Jack Johnson was born into was one of profound prejudice. Born John Arthur Johnson in 1878 in Galveston, Texas, Johnson was born into an American South that had just emerged from the Civil War and was reconciling (as David Blight argues) with the Northern United States at the expense of African Americans. For example, an article published in this 1889 newspaper describes an argument[6] among citizens of a small town called Baxter's Prairie regarding the 'nature' of the black American:

> 'What's the matter with the nigger?' inquired the blacksmith ... 'Thar's a heap the matter with him," replied the judge. "In the first place, he never orter been sot free. He doan' know 'nuff to take keer of hisself. His natural condishun is servitude. ... Just look around you and see the effects of settin' the nigger to take care hisself! Behold the poverty, the suffering[.][7]

African Americans were categorized as subhuman and speculated to be severely different from whites. Notions of innate servitude and subordination permeated white discussions about black males, while the link between the whiteness and normative manhood strengthened.[8] Whites emphasized qualities of while demonizing the paradigm of the disobedient slave, or "bad nigger." The disobedient slave archetype was frowned upon and used, with a great deal of racist confirmation bias, as a justification for slavery. Any good qualities a black male possessed in terms of manliness, prestige or success were culturally limited by his race. Stereotypes of cowardice and meekness

6 Whether this argument actually occurred or not is questionable, but it was written and published and is therefore a cultural production reflective of the values it describes.

7 The Anaconda Standard, October 6, 1889,
7.

8 Bederman, Manliness and Civilization, 5.

were pervasive in portrayals of black men and it was promoted that black men were lacking in vague clichés such as "honor" or "manliness," both terms that served essentially as codewords for "whiteness."[9] The identity of black manliness being defined by white eyes is summarized elegantly by W. E. B. Du Bois, the famous activist and sociologist:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of alwayslooking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. … He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American[.][10]

DuBois posits that African Americans are neither American nor African and this double-consciousness creates a problem of identity. This identity crisis, however, was exacerbated by racism. The white male was the default character within American society and the 'leftover' characteristics which white men did not claim were in-turn appropriated to 'others,' including black men. The white public, specifically the media, portrayed Johnson in an unfavorable light in order to preserve this hierarchical perception. Manliness was societally created and enforced through several mechanisms: segregation, education, lynching and other societal pressures. These mechanisms acted both preventatively and punitively, to intimidate into conforming and to eliminate those who did not conform through ostracism or death. It is an inevitable result that the combination of this mundane daily pressure combined with violent terroristic outbursts of violence by whites would lead to internalization by blacks. Robert E. Park, a sociologist who taught with Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute attributed docility and aggression on a gradient of black to white. To Park, those with solely black blood were the most subdued and those with mixed blood were more ambitious.[11]

The mutual exclusivity of manliness and blackness was pervasive and even internalized by some black Americans. One black newspaper, *The Broad Ax* displayed a degree of this self-loathing in its 1889 depiction of

9Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 12-3.

10 Bederman, Manliness and Civilization, 38.

11 W.E.B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Signet Classics, 1995), 45.

black voters. It also used these stereotypes as an evocative call to action for black voters: "The Negro vote ... is not the most ignorant vote ... but it is a vote that seems lacking in pride and manliness. ... [T]he members of our race cannot expect the whites to refrain from spelling Negro with a double 'g' until we ourselves set the example."[12] A strategy of nonthreatening political advocacy reflected not only an emasculation of black males but also a subversive element carried over from the forced politeness of slavery--in many ways, the racial climate post Reconstruction maintained many of the same racial paradigms which had evolved over the course of slavery in the United States. It is unreasonable, perhaps, to identify retroactively a massive shift in thinking throughout a span of twenty years post-slavery with a several hundred year precedent and its various permutations in place. The form of subjugation which followed slavery was segregation enforced by Jim Crow laws, theoretically backed by the ideas of Social Darwinism and self-worth as dictated by race.[13] Whites employed social pseudoscience to reinforce their dominance, and assigned characteristics of unintelligence, docility, and impulsivity to the black population, then reserving qualities of dignity and strength solely for the white population.[14] Jack Johnson's formidable intellect, skill and musculature worked to re-appropriate traditionally white traits. In order to fight the white champions of his day, however, Johnson had to first deal with conceptions of prizefighting and race.

More than brains and muscles, prizefighting tested one's "primitive masculinity." Implications of superiority, conquest, and masculinity are inherent parts of boxing. The body of the boxer became a much admired spectacle during the mid and late nineteenth century as sports gained larger acceptance among the white middle class. Fights among black and white boxers for racial superiority drew larger crowds and more money than typical segregated fights which may have not had such a provocative storyline attached. The added attention and pressure of white supremacy were such that the risk was not worth it for many white fighters.[15] Prizefighting began to increase in popularity as definitions of masculinity expanded to include a dichotomous relationship between "civilized" behavior and simmering "indigenous savagery" waiting to boil over.[16] As this perception of male nature began to take root, prizefighting became a test of manliness in its natural state. The legacy of Victorian civilization, in which urges should be repressed, was seen as a weakening, effeminizing project, to many American

12 Randy Roberts, Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes (New York: The Free Press, 1983), 26.
13 The Anaconda Standard, October 6, 1889, 7.
14 Ibid 7
15 The Broad Ax, December 02, 1899, 1.
16 Alexandria Gazette, April 30, 1901, 1; Gilmore, Bad Nigger!,11-2.

and British whites, and boxing was a method by which to escape the strictures of modern civilization and determine the superior man.[17]
A self-made man, Jack Johnson rose to the top of sporting superstardom through particularly American means. His race, perhaps, was the one thing separating Jack Johnson from being the exemplary American. He rose from rags to riches and he did it using his skill and will. Racial tumult, however, marred Johnson's ascendance. At a time when this popular couplet was circulating, "Kill a mule, bury another, kill a nigger, hire another", it seemed virtually impossible that a black man would be recognized as a man, much less *the* man.[18] While Johnson had a penchant for embellishment, the former portion of this quote was more truth than fiction. Born in the immediate wake of the Reconstruction era, Johnson was among the first generation of black Americans born after the formal abolishment of slavery--in theory completely free. As a consequence of fate, many of his friends growing up were white. The area which Jack Johnson grew up in, the Twelfth Ward of Galveston, Texas was among the most integrated in the state.[19] Johnson worked several miscellaneous jobs in his youth before finding himself as a janitor in a local boxing gymnasium. He would train after finishing his work, lifting weights and punching the bags.

Eventually Johnson's obsession with boxing grew to the point that he would carry around two pairs of boxing gloves and challenge members of the black community to impromptu boxing matches, his reputation grew as did his boxing acumen.[20] Johnson participated in the notorious and dubious tradition of the "battle royal" in which black youths were pitted in a fight against each other, not as a spectacle of sport but rather one of humiliation and dehumanization. After a sparring session in which Johnson quit after only one good punch was landed upon him, angry observers forced Johnson into a battle royal: "[A]fter Jack's showing with Long, everyone wanted to see him 'get his' good and plenty, so we got him into a battle royal. He went in scared to death but after five or six huskies had slammed him around he got mad and cleaned out the ring. He was the only dark spot standing when it was over."[21] Johnson's violation of the normal behavior for a boxer, which

17 James M. Jones, "I'm White and You're Not: The Value of Unraveling Ethnocentric Science," Perspectives on Psychological Science 5 (2010): 701.
18 Louis Moore, "Fine Specimens of Manhood: The Black Boxer's Body and the Avenue to Equality, Racial Advancement, and Manhood in the Nineteenth Century," MELUS 35 no. 4 (2010): 67-8.
19 William H. Wiggins Jr., "Jack Johnson as a Bad Nigger: The Folklore of His Life," The Black Scholar 2 no. 5 (1971): 37.
20Geoffrey C. Ward, Unforgivable Blackness: The Rise and Fall of Jack Johnson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 8
21Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 10.

was to take the beating in sparring and please the white spectators, enraged observers the point of bloodlust. Not only did Johnson reinforce the pre-conceived notion of the 'docile' black male, but he failed to provide a good spectacle and his perceived cowardice incensed the crowd. He rectified this *faux-pas* by bludgeoning his competitors in the ensuing battle royal and began to establish a reputation through his victory.

The clichés of manliness and aggression among white Americans at the turn of the nineteenth century had some traction within boxing. Fighters did not exist within a vacuum and understood the racial (and racist) expectations of them. White fighters at the time prided themselves on aggression, with the famous Jim Jeffries constantly moving forward, brutalizing fighters such as the celebrated Bob Fitzsimmons and knocking them out.[22]Randy Roberts points out that the top white fighters of the time white fighters knocked out their opponents at a higher percentage[23] than the comparable black fighters. Johnson, however, prided himself on defense--blocking punches and making his opponent miss before launching attacks of his own. His demeanor in the ring was characterized by cleverness and mind games:

> Man, Jack was too smart for them white fighters. He'd get them in a corner and pin their arms at the elbow joint between his thumb and index finger. Then he would smile sweetly and kiss them on the cheek. Man, this would make these fighters so mad they would forget about boxing and come out swinging wild. And that was all old Jack wanted. He'd step inside their leads and counterpunch them to death.[24]

22 "Johnson Quit Cold in First Sparring Match, But Cleaned Out Ring in Battle Royal Later," The Day Book, January 3, 1912, 10. The Anaconda Standard, October 6, 1889, 7

23"The Overthrow of Fitzsimmons," The San Francisco Call, June 10, 1899, 2; Roberts, Papa Jack, 26

24 Roberts, Papa Jack, 26; Per boxrec.com records and based upon Randy Roberts' analysis in Papa Jack, white fighters Tom Sharkey, James J. Corbett, John L. Sullivan and Jim Jeffries had an average knockout percentage of roughly 59 percent, while black fighters Jack Johnson, Sam McVea, Sam Langford, Peter Jackson and Joe Jeanette had an average knockout percentage of roughly 40 percent. While this metric cannot be exactly interpreted to indicate demeanor, it indicates in-ring priorities. Knockout Percentage is the percentage of wins by knockout which a fighter has relative to his total amount of fights. For example: a fighter has twelve wins, five by knockout, and three losses, then his knockout percentage with regards to total fights would be 33%. Jack Johnson had 69 wins, 35 by knockout, 11 losses and 11 draws (including newspaper decisions). 35 total knockouts divided by 91 total fights ~.385, or a knockout percentage of 38.5.

A knockout occurs when a fighter is knocked down by a strike and cannot stand up before the count of ten, a technical knockout (TKO) occurs when a fighter is ruled defenseless in the ring by the referee, but during the time period in question this decision was rendered more commonly when a fighter's corner, or the people they had brought with them to help them between rounds, would admit defeat.

Jack Johnson turned the illusion of superior manliness against the white fighters he faced. He would use their aggression to beat them mercilessly and taunt them. Johnson's skill was so virtuosic that he rose through the heavyweight ranks, eventually winning the Colored Heavyweight Championship from Frank Childs in 1902 and defended it successfully. Johnson was virtually penniless despite being one of the greatest fighters on the planet.[25] It was not until Johnson fought a prominent white fighter, Marvin Hart, in 1905 that his career took off. Sportswriters expected Hart, a tough fighter, to outlast Johnson and beat him in an arduous fight. Black fighters were often cited for being weak willed and perhaps Hart's toughness would exploit this. During the fight, the crowd roared for Hart as he crudely lunged at Johnson, receiving counterpunch upon counterpunch, his face swelled to show the beating. Johnson deftly avoided Hart's rushes and mocked him for his efforts. Hart landed his best punch after a flash apparatus boomed, which both fighters initially mistook as the bell to indicated the round's end, Hart realized the error and punched Johnson as Johnson returned to his corner.[26] Despite Hart having one decent albeit questionably legal punch, Johnson dominated the majority of the bout's action. Surprisingly, the judges declared Hart the victor. Sportswriter W.W. Naughton writes of the affair:

> Hart gained the good opinion of Referee Greggains by being persistently aggressive and steadfastly game. Though his face was prodded into a condition of puffiness ... he never faltered for an instant. Except when carried back by the force of blows he was constantly pressing towards his opponent. Johnson simply fought when he felt like it. ...he indifference to punishment and great pluck displayed by the white man seemed to discourage the negro. ... Johnson beyond a doubt showed that he lacks that essential fighting qualification--grit. ... If Johnson were only as stout hearted as [Hart].[27]

The Marvin Hart fight and its media coverage fostered the idea of manliness being malleable based upon the successes or failures of whites. Was the perception of manliness adaptable? When a white fighter would attack and be beaten thoroughly, as Hart was against Johnson, the standards for manliness shifted from conquest to "gameness."[28] While Hart was soundly bested in the opinions of the spectators, the sportswriters present identified the honorable qualities in Hart's ability to absorb a beating and ridiculed John-

25 Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 20.
26 Roberts, Papa Jack, 35.
27 Ibid., 38
28 W.W. Naughton, "Boxing," The Star, May 4, 1905, 4.

son. Taken straight from Naughton's account above, Johnson threw Hart backwards from the force of his strikes and left his face badly disfigured. Yet Naughton romanticized Hart's ability to take a beating valiantly, even stating that Hart's ability to be punched intimidated Johnson, who, like many black fighters of the time was believed to be lacking in 'heart'.[29] Despite these criticisms, the fight brought Johnson further into the public's eye.
Johnson continued fighting, beating legendary black fighters such as Sam Langford, Sam McVea, and Joe Jeanette, all of whom he declined to fight once he assumed the 'true' heavyweight championship. He continued his climb to the top of boxing, beating every opponent he faced from 1902 to 1908 and redrew the color line after his ultimate conquest.[30] Johnson states of his struggle to gain a championship fight: "I fought in many hard ring events. I took on every potential contender between myself and the champion. I virtually had to mow my way to Burns."[31] After crushing the popular white fighter 'Fireman' Jim Flynn in 1907, the demand for Johnson in a championship match reached its zenith. Johnson began following Burns to all of his fights, sitting at ringside and demanding a chance to win the title. He followed Burns to England and France until Burns finally commented on the subject of a fight with Johnson. Burns refused to fight Johnson for anything less than $30,000, a prohibitive sum of money and the largest purse ever for a prizefighter to that point. [32]

While Burns' demands were astronomical, the precedent of the color line was based both in racism and pragmatism. It would be convenient but inaccurate to apply the standards which erupted in the public's mind after Jack Johnson's victory to the boxers who drew the color line so staunchly. Writers of the time speculated that simply the risk was too high and the reward too low to make the best white fighters fight the best black fighters.[33]

---

29 "Gameness'' is essentially the ability to compete tenaciously in the face of adversity, used commonly when a fighter performed in a 'tough' but losing manner. Defined by OED as "[h]aving the spirit of a game-cock; full of pluck, showing 'fight'; plucky, spirited." Oxford English Dictionary Online, "game," (accessed May 5, 2014).

30 "Heart" in boxing terms signifies several things, willingness to "mix it up" or trade punches, aggression, willingness to absorb punishment, toughness, and willingness to fight through adversity. The boxing public posited that black fighters lacked this 'manly' characteristic. Defined by OED as "[t]he seat of courage; hence, Courage, spirit. Especially in to pluck up heart, gather heart, keep (up) heart, lose heart. ... The source of ardour, enthusiasm, or energy." Oxford English Dictionary Online, "heart," (accessed May 5, 2014).

31 Lost once to Joe Jeanette by way of disqualification, avenged this loss three subsequent times with one draw, had already beaten Jeanette. Cited from James B. Roberts and Alexander G. Skutt, The Boxing Register: International Boxing Hall of Fame Official Record Book (Ithaca, NY: McBooks Press, 2002), 131.

32 Johnson, Jack Johnson is a Dandy, 52.

33 Ward, Unforgivable Blackness, 108; Calculated for inflation, $30,000 in 1908 would be

Black boxers and white boxers fought one another with regularity. Johnson, however, similar to John L. Sullivan, James J. Corbett, James J. "Jim" Jefferies and several heavyweight champions after him, also towed the line of racial inequality, refusing to fight black contenders such as Joe Jeanette and Sam Langford with the championship at stake. As the market for an interracial championship fight increased, so did the willingness of Burns to fight. Burns' hesitation was likely rooted in a lack of future earning potential should he lose to Johnson and be identified as a pariah who lost his race the championship.

Journalists presumed Johnson to be a superior fighter to Burns, but the prospect of racial supremacy made the fight enticing to boxing fanatics as well as the general public even in light of the mismatch. The *St. Louis Dispatch* summarized the feeling of the time succinctly:

> Jack Johnson is a colored man, but we cannot get away from the fact that he is the greatest living exponent of the art of hit-and-get-away[.] ...[Fans] demand that [Burns] get out of his hiding and put to rest for all time the matter of fistic supremacy between him and Johnson, between the white race and the colored.[34]

Demand skyrocketed for the Johnson-Burns title fight as journalists gave Johnson the reputation of an uncrowned heavyweight champion. The demand for the match also had a racial component: the Johnson vs. Burns match would provide a clear and concise affirmation of white masculinity and dominance. Although this fight was not promoted as a racial struggle, the public interpreted it as one; in later fights, the racial component between Johnson and his white opponents would be emphasized to maximize interest and profits.[35] Promoter Hugh McIntosh managed then champion Burns and had made more than fifty thousand dollars on a brief boxing tour of Australia with him.[36] Through this tour, McIntosh raised enough money to pay Burns the necessary thirty thousand dollars and make the fight with Johnson a reality. McIntosh offered Johnson five thousand, which he begrudgingly accepted and the fight was on.[37] The prospect of an interracial title fight incensed many boxing observers, including previous heavyweight champion John L. Sullivan, who condemned Burns: "Shame on the money-mad Champion! Shame on the man who upsets good American precedents because

about $716,000 in 2014.

34 "Fighters Draw Color Line," The Sun, January 10, 1909, 10.

35 Ward, Unforgivable Blackness, 102.

36 Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 28

37 Ward, Unforgivable Blackness, 114.

there are Dollars, Dollars, Dollars, in it."[38] To the chagrin of many and the praise of few, the fighters erased the color line in boxing for the time being. Burns, despite his perceived or authentic cowardice before the fight, believed he had an advantage as a result of his race.[39] Conventional wisdom of the time stated that black fighters were not only weak of spirit but also weak of constitution, particularly if targeted with punches to the stomach. Bohun Lynch writes in his work *Knuckles and Gloves* that "[T]he African negro and his descendants in the West Indies and America were harder-headed than white men ... this is balanced by the nigger's weakness in the stomach[.] Niggers are usually children in temperament, with the children's bad points as well as their good ones. ... His insolence is appalling."[40] Physical superiorities perceived to belong to black males were qualified with physical, mental, and emotional deficiencies. Lynch presents many common arguments of the time regarding the black male, the black male as a boxer and the gradation of manliness by race. Lynch espouses a 'black insolence' that reads as a direct response to Jack Johnson's boisterousness in victory over white fighters. Lynch was not the only writer to discuss the weaknesses of the black fighter, black boxer Peter Jackson addressed the conventional wisdom: "[h]it a nigger in the stomach and you'll settle him, they say[.]"[41] It did not occur to the white observers that nobody enjoys being punched in the stomach and white men were hurt equally by punches to the stomach.[42] In fact, James J. Corbett lost the championship to Bob Fitzsimmons after beings struck to the body. Corbett later went on to assist Jim Jeffries in Jeffries' fight against Johnson.

To the public, Burns represented whiteness, perceived notions of superiority and the perfect amalgamation of aggression and civilization. In reality, he was a pudgy and clumsy fighter tasked with defeating a man who was not only tactically brilliant but five inches taller and twenty three pounds heavier, the result was predetermined to all but the most indoctrinated racists.[43] As the fight approached, tensions and hyperbole grew; the *Australian Star* predicted that "this battle may in the future be looked back upon as the first great battle of an inevitable race war".[44] The build-up to the fight, however, proved to be much more compelling than the fight itself. The crowd, pouring down racist epithets had arrived to see an execution, a

38 Roberts, Papa Jack, 56.
39 Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 27
40 Ward, Unforgivable Blackness, 114
41 Bohun Lynch, Knuckles and Gloves. (Roberts Press, 2008), 45.
42 Fred Dartnell, Seconds Out! Chats about Boxers, Their Trainers and Patrons. (New York: Brentano's Publishers, 1924), 173.
43 Roberts, Papa Jack, 62.
44 Roberts and Skutt, The Boxing Register, 70-1, 130-1.

manifestation of white superiority played out in front of them, *The Bulletin* explained that the crowd had not come to see a fight "so much as to witness a black aspirant for the championship of the world beaten to his knees and counted out".[45] The paying public demanded an execution and that is exactly what they received, only with the wrong man swinging the axe. Johnson mercilessly pounded Burns until both of his eyes were swollen shut and he had been knocked down badly. Burns staggered about the ring, frequently bull-rushing Johnson with inept swings that the black challenger easily defended. As Johnson easily avoided Burns' attacks, he laughed and mocked the champion.[46] Burns attempted to implement the conventional wisdom of the time, sneering at Johnson and attempting to attack Johnson's body with punches--both of his strategies drew hearty laughter from the challenger. Johnson intended to carry Burns into the later rounds. "Carrying" a fighter is a tactic perhaps made most notorious by Sugar Ray Robinson, in which a fighter will drag his overmatched opponent through several rounds before knocking him out to provide a better and longer spectacle for the audience. In this case Johnson was probably trying to enhance his future ticket sales as well as make a superior fight film, as films of boxing matches were popular. As Johnson carried Burns, he continued to taunt Burns, offering his stomach for Burns to punch. When Burns swatted at Johnson's midsection, Johnson laughed and invited him to do it again before retaliating with blows which staggered and badly damaged the already beaten champion.[47] In fact, Johnson made a commitment to damaging Burns' stomach with vicious punches. Burns winced and staggered around the ring from the injuries he absorbed to his abdomen; it was a symbolic beating.[48] This bludgeoning continued until the fourteenth round, when Johnson knocked Burns flat with a right hand. Policemen stormed the ring to prevent serious injury to Burns, and Johnson was proclaimed the winner. Notions of masculinity and their sentimental attachments to the white race had suffered a serious setback; a black man was now champion of the world.

The fight enraged the Australian observers. A prominent Australian writer, Randolph Bedford suggested that had the fight between Johnson and Burns been held in America, Johnson would have been shot and his murderer acquitted.[49] Bedford recapitulated the fight between Johnson and Burns mainly to espouse the values of the white man and deride his black oppo-

45 Roberts, Papa Jack, 58

46 Richard Broome, "The Australian Reaction to Jack Johnson, Black Pugilist, 1907-9" in The Best Ever Australian Sports Writing : A 200 Year Collection, ed. David Headon, (Black Inc., 2001), 538.

47 The San Francisco Call, December 26, 1908 page 13

48 Roberts, Papa Jack, 63.

49 The San Francisco Call, December 26, 1908 Page 13

nent, using language familiar to Johnson's victories over white men:

> Yet the white beauty faced the black unloveliness, forcing the fight, bearing the punishment as if it were none ... weight and reach were telling against intrepidity, intelligence and lightness ... His courage still shone in his eyes; his face was disfigured and swollen and bloodied. He was still beautiful by contrast--beautiful but to be beaten; clean sunlight fighting darkness and losing.[50]

Bedford, like Naughton before him, emphasized the bravery of the beaten white fighter, but he went one step further. Bedford represented Johnson as a force of darkness who destroyed the embodiment of pure white virtues. Bedford maintained this alternate reality despite the fact that Burns was notorious for vice and was anything but a physical specimen. Bedford emphasized Burns' gameness, aggression, and bravery while dismissing Johnson's skill as a mere size advantage. Regardless of the outcome, Johnson's opponent would come out the winner among those who viewed superior masculinity as an intrinsically white characteristic. The American press expressed less outrage at Johnson's victory, perhaps because Burns was Canadian, but a few notable writers were agitated. Among these writers was Jack London. London took Johnson's victory personally, he described the fight as a "massacre" stating that "[the fight] had all the seeming of a playful Ethiopian at loggerheads with a small and futile white man--of a grown man cuffing a naughty child ... of a funeral[.]"[51] With two notorious sentences to wrap up his recapitulation of the fight, London set simmering tensions which would later erupt: "But one thing remains, Jeffries must emerge from his alfalfa farm and remove that smile from Johnson's face. Jeff, it's up to you."[52] London believed Jim Jeffries to be the inevitable answer to the formidable riddle that was Jack Johnson. Jeffries acted as the Cincinnatus of the twentieth century, an undefeated boxer who retired to his alfalfa farm at the height of his reign as the champion because there were no more white men left to fight.[53] Rather than fight Johnson himself, Jeffries helped spearhead a search for a "white hope," a man who could defeat Johnson and restore both the heavyweight championship and its definitive proof of manly superiority to the white race.

These white hopes failed again and again, Johnson mowed through them with relative ease. As Johnson's reign at the top lengthened, so did

50 Broome, "The Australian Reaction to Jack Johnson," 540.
51 Ibid., 540
52 The San Francisco Call, December 27 1908, 33.
53 Ibid.

tensions regarding his potential undermining of the segregation in place in twentieth-century America. Newspaper contributor Jim Nasium, ridiculed the existence of the color line in the first place:

> Now that Mr. Johnson, the Texas dinge, is the champion face smasher of the world, the color line question is receiving an unusual amount of public attention. The color line was invented by John L. Sullivan ... and has ever since been largely used in the most select pugilistic circles as a subterfuge behind which a white man can hide to keep some husky colored gentleman from knocking his block off and wiping up the canvas floor of a squared circle with his remains. It is a handy little invention which costs nothing, and has probably saved many a white man's life.[54]

Nasium had used Johnson's victory as a means by which to discuss the formation and implementation of the color line, extending it to segregation as a whole. He posited that the color line was not a foundational proof of white superiority, but rather a boundary of insecurity built around preserving a false ideal of white masculine conquest. Boxing across the race line was a dangerous proposition for black boxers. Black-White fights often caused controversy. The white press often compared black fighters with animals and deemed them 'savages'. They used this rationale to explain the black boxer's victory over a white boxer; the supposed animalistic strength of the black boxer propelled them to victory, nothing more. A victory of a white boxer over a black boxer, however, proved physical and mental superiority of the white race.[55]

It is during this time between the Burns and Jeffries fights, 1908 to 1910, that Johnson's personal life became more notorious. His penchant for fast cars, fine clothing as well as his overt virility became targets for the media to portray him in the archetype of the 'disobedient black man' or 'bad nigger'. The archetype of the 'bad nigger' was one which, according to historian William H. Wiggins Jr., had four hallmark criteria which Johnson fit: "an utter disregard of death and danger; a great concentration on sexual virility; a great extravagance in buying cars, clothing etc.; and an insatiable love of having a good time."[56] The standard which the ''bad nigger'' strayed from portrayed a symbiotic relationship between master and slave which was being disrupted by disobedience. When the black male accepted his

54Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 33.

55 Jim Nasium, "Jim Nasium on Drawing the Color Line," The Pittsburgh Press, January 31, 1909, 49.

56 Farr, Black Champion, 25.

'place' as an inferior to the white man, the result was harmonious in the eyes of white culture. The alternative was a chaotic disruption of the predominant system. Whites maligned and blacks admired the "bad nigger" archetype because it was a protest against the contemporary racial system. In this case, "bad" is an early interpretation of the vernacular "bad" meaning 'good'[57], but not all black people identified with Johnson. More moderate activists believed he was an impediment to progress, as he humiliated whites, driving them further against blacks.

Johnson refused to conform to the societal pressure being placed upon him. Johnson's ambitions stretched past racial lines, and he risked his life by desiring the same treatment a white champion would receive. He wanted to have the finest items money could buy and have sexual relationships with whom he pleased. Johnson was the heavyweight champion of the world, a beacon of masculinity, and thusly a very coveted partner. He played upon the anxieties of white men, covering his penis in gauze before public sparring sessions to make it appear as if it were bigger.[58] In doing this, he took a relic of masculine superiority and attempted to deify himself. Like black lightweight champion Joe Gans before him or Joe Louis after him, the white public expected Johnson to handle success with modesty and deference to whites--especially considering that Johnson had won the title from a pudgy Canadian rather than the American titan Jeffries. Johnson had other plans. A common fable regarding Johnson exemplifies his attitude toward authority and the archetype he embodied:

> It was a hot day in Georgia when Jack Johnson drove into town. He was really flying: Zoooom! Behind his fine car was a cloud of red Georgia dust as far as the eye could see. The sheriff flagged him down and said, "Where do you think you're going, boy, speeding like that? That'll cost you $50.00!"[59] Jack Johnson never looked up; he just reached in his pocket and handed the sheriff a $100.00 bill and started to gun the motor: ruuummm, ruuummm. Just before Jack pulled off, the sheriff shouted, "don't you want your change?" And Jack replied, "Keep it, 'cause I'm coming back the same way I'm going!"Zooooooom.[60]

---

57 William H. Wiggins Jr. "Jack Johnson as a Bad Nigger: The Folklore of His Life." Black Scholar 2, no. 5 (1971): 36.
58 Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 13.
59 Ibid., 14
60 "Boy" is a diminutive racial epithet, $50.00 was a very expensive fine at the time.

Johnson saw himself as a dandy, a self-made man with aristocratic aspirations;[61] he even went so far as to title his autobiography *Jack Johnson is a Dandy*. What makes Johnson such an exceptional case study is that he used his abilities and intelligence to refute boisterously notions of white superiority.

The legend of Jim Jeffries grew dichotomously to Johnson's micro-rebellion. Johnson went on to make four defenses of his title against different 'white hope' challengers, beating three of them soundly with another fight ending in a draw. Under significant pressure from the public to return to the ring, Jim Jeffries agreed to fight Johnson, stating that "I feel obligated to the sporting public at least to make an effort to reclaim the heavyweight championship for the white race. ... I should step into the ring again and demonstrate that a white man is king of them all."[62] Shrewd promoter Tex Rickard convinced both Johnson and Jeffries of the profitability of a racially promoted match. Rickard's approach to promoting the fight fed into the simmering anxieties regarding Johnson's reign as champion; the racial collision course had been set.[63]

The clichés of docility and feeblemindedness placed upon black Americans by white society combined with the lore of Jeffries saw the white public growing increasingly confident. Rumors of Jeffries' superlative manhood grew into unattainable myths: Jeffries cured himself of pneumonia by drinking a case of whiskey, Jeffries fought on a broken leg and still knocked out a former contender, a visit to a physician ended in the doctor declaring Jeffries a superhuman specimen.[64] One author wrote of Jeffries that "[u]nder his skin of bronze the muscles rippled like the placid surface of a body of water touched by a gentle breeze."[65] Writing about Jeffries delved into myth-making, and the articles about Jeffries during the build-up to the Johnson fight read as if they were written about Hercules rather than an old, tired boxer. As Jeffries' myth grew, so did the insidiousness of media attacks on Johnson.

The romanticism of Jeffries' whiteness and the condescension and racism associated with Johnson's blackness simultaneously exploded. One newspaper writer asked, "[i]s Johnson a typical example of his race in the lack of that intangible 'something' we call heart?"[66] Arthur Ruhl wrote of Johnson, "[he] has a yellow streak, there was nothing to it, and anyway, let's

61 William H. Wiggins Jr. "Jack Johnson as a Bad Nigger: The Folklore of His Life." Black Scholar 2, no. 5 (1971): 46.
62 Oxford English Dictionary Online, "dandy," (accessed May 5, 2014).
63 "Jeffries Will Meet Johnson," LA Times, March 1, 1909, 112.
64 Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 33
65 Roberts, Papa Jack, 89
66 Farr, Black Champion, 84.

hope he kills the coon'."[67] Speculation regarding Johnson spun into hyperbolic jabs at his masculinity. Johnson had a calm demeanor during training for the fight, which the white press interpreted as a typical 'lackadaisical' characteristic of the black man. Alfred Lewis of the *San Francisco Examiner* explained: "Johnson essentially African ... feels no deeper than the moment, sees no farther than his nose ... incapable of anticipation ... Johnson is safe in his soul shallowness and lack of imagination."[68] Talk about Johnson's supposed cowardice as well as his relative disadvantages facing Jeffries quickly metastasized, subsequently transforming into more complex pseudoscientific racial analyses.

Betting on the fight followed the mythology as Jeffries opened up a strong favorite.[69] A deluge of excuses and sympathies poured out on behalf of the white public regarding Johnson's dominance over white fighters. Writers assumed that Johnson's conquests prior to the Jeffries fight were purely 'physical' victories--Johnson was bigger, Johnson was stronger, so Johnson won. Others posited that Johnson had gained the advantage over white fighters because he did not allow time for the white fighter to properly assess the situation and implement his innate white superiority. This school of thinking prized Jeffries' mental strength, and put forth the idea that Jeffries would out-maneuver Johnson mentally. Jeffries would win mentally because he was white, and conventional wisdom held that whites 'thought' better. This pseudoscientific approach was detailed in the *Current Literature* article entitled "The Psychology of the Prizefight"[70]:

> The superiority of the brain of the white man to that of the black, we are told, is undisputed by all authorities. The white man's brain is a finer intellectual instrument than is that of his black brother. Its greater complexity might be a disadvantage in an ordinary encounter. A pugilist unable to think quickly on his feet would suffer more severely, other things being equal, than would the negro in a pugilistic encounter. ... If Johnson, in addition to his fine negro physique, possesses the emotional self-control of the Caucasian, he ought ... to win. This is the black man's psychology. He fights emotionally, whereas the white man can use his brain after twenty rounds.

67Ibid., 84.

68 Arthur Ruhl in Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes by Randy Roberts, (New York: The Free Press, 1983), 102.

69 Alfred Lewis in Bad Nigger! The National Impact of Jack Johnson by Al-Tony Gilmore, (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975), 37.

70 Barak Y. Orbach, "The Johnson-Jeffries Fight and Censorship of Black Supremacy," New York University Journal of Law and Liberty 270 no. 5: 273.

This style of thinking reinforced the interconnectedness between whiteness and masculinity. The author suggests that even if Johnson were Jeffries' equal physically, the superiority of white technique and mind would allow Jeffries to win. The article uses eugenic methodologies to predict that Jeffries will last long enough against Johnson to outthink him and prove superior. This is a rhetorical 'catch-22' situation: Johnson can only win via brute strength, but he can lose through cowardice, lack of emotional control, or unintelligence. The irony of this article is immense as many of the white fighters Johnson fought prided themselves on senseless aggression and being able to take a beating while Johnson avoided punches and had a defense which many, including Jack London, described as impenetrable. [71] The article, "The Psychology of the Prizefight" is an instance of culture attempting to dictate reality, wishful thinking put forth as prophecy. Jack Johnson and his fight against Jeffries was a watershed moment in this battle between the perception of reality created and reinforced by racist cultural productions and actuality.

The Johnson-Jeffries fight announcement drew an enormous backlash from religious communities across the United States. The Presbyterian Ministerial Association of Chicago sent a letter to the President of the United States demanding that the match be cancelled, stating that if the match were allowed to take place it would be a national disgrace.[72] While many white people opposed the fight taking place, not all black people were necessarily in favor of the fight, either. E.L. Blackshear stated of the fight that "[i]f Johnson wins, the anti-negro sentiment will quickly and dangerously collect itself to strike back at any undue exhibition of rejoicing on the part of negroes."[73]John Timbrell, a white preacher, used the platform of the fight to discuss self-indulgence. Jeffries was portly when he began training for the fight and Timbrell believed his indulgence would be his downfall and that the "the big black gorilla," Johnson, would be victorious. [74] Activist and black spokesman, Reverend Reverdy Ransom responded to Timbrell's racist analysis. Ransom accused Timbrell of being an "unchristian"minister before launching into the meat of his sermon, which discussed the racialized complexion of the fight:

> "I do not believe that Jack Johnson thinks of black supremacy in relation to his contest with Jeffries. It is simply a case of one

71 Ibid., 57-8.

72 Marvin Hart, Tommy Burns, Fireman Jim Flynn and others. Cited in The Boxing Register, 131; The San Francisco Call, December 27, 1908, 33.

73 Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 34.

74 Current Opinion Vol. 48, (New York: Current Literature Publishing Company, 1910), 606.

> man meeting another. The best man wins. The darker races of mankind and the black race in particular, will keep the white race busy for the next few hundred years throughout the world in defending the interests of white supremacy."[75]

Preachers, news writers, authors, poets and musicians of all races had opinions regarding the Johnson-Jeffries fight. Some were apocalyptic, some were triumphant, but the matter still had to be settled in the ring. More than 500 correspondents and 20,000 spectators converged in Reno to watch the issue of race superiority be settled.[76] The prelude to the fight, as it did with the Burns match, once again overshadowed the action of the fight itself; Johnson annihilated and emasculated Jeffries. Jeffries looked hopeless and lost from the start as Johnson smashed him with thudding blows. Johnson jarred Jeffries' brain with straight, crisp punches. As the fight wore on, Jeffries visage began to further deteriorate. Johnson had cut Jeffries' mouth deeply, broken his nose, and let enough blood from Jeffries to nearly fully cover both men with red smears. Jeffries' cornerman, former heavyweight champion James J. Corbett, attempted to goad Johnson with racial insults. For every insult Corbett launched at Johnson from outside of the ring, Johnson would snap Jeffries' head back with punches inside it.[77] Jeffries dropped to the canvas twice en route to total defeat. In order to prevent a formal knockout, Jeffries' team conceded the match by 'throwing in the towel' as Jeffries staggered haplessly around the ring, propelled only by the force of Johnson's punches.

Jack London, among the most vocal of Jack Johnson's opponents, observed the fight. His summary of the Johnson-Jeffries encounter is among the most notorious and famous pieces on boxing. His profound resignation in acknowledging Johnson's virtuosic capabilities indicates that Johnson had conquered the conventional wisdom, however, London still raised questions regarding Johnson's ''yellow streak'' or perceived cowardice. While London concluded that "[Johnson] has not the yellow streak," London also believed that "the question of the yellow streak is not answered for all time."[78] London believed that Johnson embodied commonly accepted 'black' stereotypes, characteristics which would be his undoing: "[h]e is happy-go-lucky in temperament ... easily amused ... altogether absorbed in the present moment and therefore unmindful of the future."[79] Punch-by-punch his theory

75 Reverdy Ransom in In Our Own Words: Extraordinary Speeches of the American Century ed. Robert Torricelli and Andrew Carroll, (New York: Washington Square Press, 1999), 26.

76 Ibid., 27; Ibid., 26

77 Roberts, Papa Jack, 103

78 Roberts, Papa Jack, 105.

79 Jack London, "Jack Johnson vs. Jim Jeffries" in The Greatest Boxing Stories Ever Told: Thirty-six Incredible Tales from the Ring, ed. Jeff Silverman (Guilford: The Lyons Press,

was bloodily disproven. London's perspective on Johnson after the Jeffries encounter had shifted greatly:

> There is nothing beary or primitive about this man Johnson. He is alive and quivering, every nerve fiber in his body, and brain. Withal that it is hidden so artfully or naturally under that poise of facetious calm of his. He is a marvel of sensitiveness, sensibility, and perceptiveness. He has the perfect mechanism of mind and body. His mind works like chain lightning and his body obeys with equal swiftness[80]

Johnson had rectified his image among some prominent writers, but the racialized prelude to the fight could not be ignored. Faced with a jarring disproval of conventional wisdom, the white press backtracked, revising their stance to make the fight seem inconsequential.[81] Jeffries, a perfect specimen and a titan, became a sad, ill-prepared old man overnight. Referencing the clichés of race and masculinity espoused before the fight, *Current Literature* attributed Jeffries' loss to a 'psychic breakdown,' or an anomalous overflow of thought within his brain:

> A tremendous case of stage fright. ... His Caucasian mind, sensing this vast concentration of thought, was overwhelmed. So he blundered through the fight and lost.[I]t is a real thing to him whose mind registers it. A small mind misses it and a big mind can stand the strain.[82]

Again, Johnson cannot win despite being the victor. Jeffries was subdued by the immensity of his own mental horsepower. The racist author refuses to give Johnson credit and simply chooses to undermine Johnson's victory by leaning on eugenic rhetoric and pathetically slinking off.

> The racism prior to the Johnson-Jeffries confrontation left the white public at an impasse. A triumphant affirmation of white superiority became an anticlimactic massacre. Newspapers had created a problem, or at least enhanced it, by promoting the fight as a race war that would vindicate all whites. The public, however, created the racist architecture for the newspapers' rhetoric. Racism was not a

2002), 55; Ibid., 55.

80 Jack London in Bad Nigger! The National Impact of Jack Johnson by Al-Tony Gilmore, (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975), 37.

81 London, "Jack Johnson vs. Jim Jeffries," 56.

82 Gilmore, Bad Nigger!, 43-5.

media-created phenomenon, but rather the already-present gold mine for the hand of the media to reach into.

Ultimately, Jack Johnson proved that race is merely a superficial construct. Any meaningful differences attributed to race are superfluous, harmful, and inaccurate. The media coverage surrounding Johnson's two most important fights illustrates how works of culture reflect a society's anxieties and desires. Johnson's success in the boxing ring brought to light the cyclical nature of cultural production in creating conjecture and reinforcing it until it becomes accepted as truth. While neither racism nor its pseudoscientific backers disappeared after his victories, Johnson challenged commonly held stereotypes and exploited racial mythology in the most succinct way possible--a calm smile backed by a barrage of fists.[83]

83 "The Psychic Collapse of Jeffries" in Current Opinion Vol. 49, (New York: Current Literature Publishing Company, 1910), 130.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PRIMARY SOURCES

*Alexandria Gazett*e, April 30, 1901.

The Anaconda Standard, October 6, 1889.

The Broad Ax, December 02, 1899.

Current Opinion Vol. 49. New York: Current Literature Publishing Company, 1910.

Current Opinion Vol. 48. New York: Current Literature Publishing Company, 1910.

Dartnell, Fred. Seconds Out! Chats about Boxers, Their Trainers and *Patrons*. New York: Brentano's Publishers, 1924.

DuBois W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Signet Classics, 1995.

"Fighters Draw Color Line," *The Sun*, January 10, 1909.

"Jeffries Will Meet Johnson." *LA Times*, March 1, 1909.

"Johnson Quit Cold in First Sparring Match, But Cleaned Out Ring in Battle Royal Later." *The Day Book*, January 3, 1912.

Johnson, Jack. *Jack Johnson is a Dandy: An Autobiography.* New York: Chelsea House, 1969.
Lynch, Bohun. *Knuckles and Gloves.* Roberts Press, 2008.

Nasium, Jim. "Jim Nasium on Drawing the Color Line." *The Pittsburgh Press*, January 31, 1909.

Naughton, W.W. "Boxing." *The Star*, May 4, 1905.

"The Overthrow of Fitzsimmons." *The San Francisco Call*, June 10, 1899.

The San Francisco Call, December 26, 1908.

The San Francisco Call, December 27 1908.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Bederman, Gail. Manliness and Civilization: *A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917.*Chicago: University of ChicagoPress, 1996.

Carroll, Andrew and Torricelli, Robert. *In Our Own Words: Extraordinary Speeches of the American Century*. New York: Washington Square Press,1999.

Farr, Finnis. Black Champion: The Life and Times of Jack Johnson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964.

Gilmore, Al-Tony. Bad Nigger! The National Impact of Jack Johnson. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1975.

----- "Jack Johnson, the Man and His Times." *Journal of Popular Culture* 6, no. 3 (Spring 1972): 496-506.

----- "Jack Johnson and White Women: The National Impact." *The Journal of Negro History* 58, no. 1 (January 1973): 18-38.

Headon, David. The Best Ever Australian Sports Writing : A 200 Year *Collection.* Black Inc., 2001.

Jones, James M. "I'm White and You're Not: The Value of Unraveling Ethnocentric Science." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 5, (2010): 700-7.

Moore, Louis. "Fine Specimens of Manhood: The Black Boxer's Body and the Avenue to Equality, Racial Advancement, and Manhood in the Nineteenth Century." *MELUS* 35, no. 4 (2010): 59-84.

Orbach, Barak Y. "The Johnson-Jeffries Fight and Censorship of Black Supremacy." New York University Journal of Law and Liberty 270, no. 5:270-346 Roberts, James B. and Skutt, Alexander G. *The Boxing Register:*

International Boxing Hall of Fame Official Record Book. Ithaca, NY: McBooks Press, 2002.

Roberts, Randy. Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes. New York: The Free Press, 1983.

Silverman, Jeff. The Greatest Boxing Stories Ever Told: Thirty-six *Incredible Tales from the Ring*. Guilford: The Lyons Press, 2002.

Ward, Geoffrey C. Unforgivable Blackness: The Rise and Fall of Jack *Johnson.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.

Wiggins, William H., Jr..”Jack Johnson as a Bad Nigger: The Folklore of His Life.” *Black Scholar* 2, no.5 (1971): 34-46.

Living a Hmong Us: The Cultural Disconnect Between Hmong Marriage Rituals in Laos and the United States

By Mieke Nicole Lisuk
CSUS, 2015

Abstract
The Hmong marriage ritual focused on the unification of families, not the desires of individuals. Male clan elders arranged most marriages that often included kidnapping and rape. With resettlement in the United States after the Vietnam War, western culture and education permeated the structure of Hmong culture. Hmong women, once in the United States, started adapting to their new society and rejected the traditional forced marriages, and instead, opted to pursue education thus changing the structure of gender roles and marriage traditions throughout the Hmong community. This paper discusses the dynamic conflict between old and new traditions within the Hmong community in the United States.

Editor's Note.
Ms. Lisuk presented this paper, "Living a Hmong Us: The Cultural Disconnect Between Hmong Marriage Rituals in Laos and the United States," at the 2015 Thinking Gender conference at the University of California, Los Angeles.

About the Author

Mieke Lisuk is a classified graduate student in the History Department at California State University, Sacramento where previously she received a Bachelor of Arts degree in art history and studio art. Her graduate work focuses on the history of public health and sanitation, European colonialism, and on the experiences of South East Asian immigrants to the United States. Mieke plans on pursuing a career in teaching upon completion of her studies.

The Hmong ritual of marriage formed on the basis of uniting two families, not the desires of the bride and groom. Hmong families were patriarchal and placed men, the most central figures in a family, at the height of importance. The Hmong male dominated hierarchy placed a female at the bottom of the social scale. A woman was to please the men in her family; first her father, and then after marriage, her husband.

Bearing children became her primary contribution to both the family and the clan. Oftentimes enacted forcefully, arranged marriages and the bride prices they commanded frequently resulted in kidnappings and rapes.

After a boy or man chose his bride, it was commonplace for him to make marriage arrangements with the elders without a woman's consent or knowledge. In other cases, a girl could be threatened with violence for not complying with a suitor's request.

Until immigration to the United States, most Hmong women did not question these age- old traditions from their male dominated society. Patriarchy had always shaped the structure of the family. Once in the United States, many Hmong women attended English language classes taught by volunteers around the country. One organization, the Indochinese Women's Project, taught "survival English" and other social skills to help women assimilate.[1] The cultural assimilation of Hmong youth to western customs and education challenged and disrupted Hmong marriage traditions. Limited English language communication by the older generation further disconnected them from the younger generation's understanding of acceptable behaviors.

Intervention of United States law also led to a change of marriage traditions. Along with western education that began in PASS schools in Thai camps, came the introduction of American customs on dating, marriage, and social relationships. The immersion of Hmong youth into the Western educational system and the understanding of the English language led some to challenge long established traditions. At its zenith during the 1970s, the sexual revolution peaked just as the first wave of Hmong refugees arrived in the United States. Along with limitless educational opportunities made possible by Title IX and feminist movements that affected all American women, within just one generation the entire social anatomy of Hmong gender roles and marriage patterns was reconstructed.[2]

TRADITIONAL HMONG MARRIAGE IN LAOS

Well into the twentieth century, Hmong marriages in Laos focused on

1 Nancy Donnelly, *The Changing Lives of Refugee Hmong Women* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 3.

2 Yer J. Thao, *The Mong Oral Tradition: Cultural Memory in the Absence of Written Language* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., Publishers, 2006), 109; Lo interview. Donnelly 33-49; Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty!, An American History,* vol. 24th ed., (New York) W. W. Norton & Company, 1026-7.

strengthening the alliances between families. Male elders held the power for negotiating the arrangement of marriage and women had little right to refuse. The most preferable marriage partner, a "cross cousin" match, marriage to the niece or nephew of a parent, strengthened familial ties. Restrictions from marrying a member of one's own clan were respected and included taboos on marriage to another Hmong with the same last name or clan name. Typically, Hmong in Laos married at between twelve and eighteen years of age. Polygamy held an accepted place within Hmong marriages in Laos; in 1968, nearly one-fifth of Hmong men had multiple wives. Because each wife required the payment of a bride price, only wealthy men had multiple wives. Several reasons existed for a man to take on multiple wives. Bearing male children ranked highest in a woman's duties within a marriage. If a woman produced no male children, a husband could marry a second, or even a third, wife. Male children held the responsibility, and still do today, for guiding the father's spirit to the after world upon his death. Without a male child, Hmong believe, a father's spirits cannot find its way back to the ancestral homeland.[3]

Some wives in Laos saw polygamy as beneficial as it brought in more hands to help with household duties and chores. First wives found a unique opportunity for authority in polygamous marriages as they held power and control over the rest of the wives. The western notion of marriage contrasts the Hmong view of polygamy. Carol Mills worked for the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Laos in 1965. She was shocked with the level of acceptance when she interviewed several Hmong woman in polygamous marriages.

When asked if they felt upset that their husband had taken another wife, one woman responded, "Oh no, it'll make my life so much easier. One of us will work in the field, one of us will watch the children, and I don't have to do both." While some Hmong women disapproved of their husbands taking multiple wives, they had no authority to reject their husband's decision.[4]

Each of the twenty Hmong clans, identified by their last names, can trace their lineage back to a single ancestor. The clan provided the foundation for all aspects of life; political, social, economic, and religious. The male elder's contribution to the clan served as the most important cornerstone of Hmong patrilineal society. Hmong tradition regarded men, like the trunks of trees, as the providers of strength, whereas women, like flowers and leaves, did not hold much value.[5] The male elders negotiated a "bride price" paid to the bride's family once a couple

3 Dia Cha, "Women in the Hmong Diaspora," in *Diversity in Diaspora: Hmong Americans in the Twenty-First Century,* ed. Mark Edward Pfeifer, Monica Chiu, and Kou Yang, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 178; Cooper and Cooper, *The Hmong* (Bangkok, Artasia Press, 1991), 26; Thao, 101; Lillian Faderman and Ghia Xiong, *I Begin My Life All Over: The Hmong and the American Immigration Experience* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 127.

4 Paul Hillmer, *A People's History of the Hmong,* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2010), 24.5

5 Cha, 178.

was paired. The bride price did not represent the purchasing of a wife, but instead helped to ensure that she would be treated well by the husband's family. If physically abused, the woman left the man and he forfeited the bride price paid. Women had some agency, and the forfeit of the bride price reflected that. The price paid also allowed the family to provide the bride with essentials to begin her new life; a few chickens, jewelry, and clothes.

These served as a reminder to the groom's family of her birth family connection and their continued support even though she now lived in their home. The marriage arrangements ensured that she would not be moved too far away from her family's village. Families deliberately married daughters to men in nearby villages to maintain clan ties.[6] Although many marriages resulted from of arrangements made between families, sometimes men took a more forceful approach. If a boy or a man liked a girl but she did not reciprocate his feelings, or if he feared his father could not pay the bride price, the boy took matters into his own hands. This approach to marriage, commonly known as "bridal abduction," "marriage by capture," or "bridal kidnapping," involved an arrangement to have the girl "kidnapped."[7] Sometimes the girl's parents knew of the impending kidnapping, other times they did not. Once kidnapped and taken to the boy's home, two men acted as messengers on the boy's behalf went to the girl's parents' home to inform them of where she had been taken.[8] The family then had little time to respond if its members wanted to prevent the marriage. If her family took no action to prevent the preceding events, the girl spent the next three days at the boy's house and formal negotiations followed.

If, however, the mother of the girl wanted to prevent the wedding she had to immediately go to the boy's house to retrieve her daughter. This exemplified the power, although very limited power, a woman held within the Hmong community. Once the union was consummated, whether through rape or consensual sex, it was too late to save her daughter and she would then marry the boy. If she stayed, she was considered "unclean" after having sex, willing or not, with the boy. Opposition to a daughter's suitor expressed the smallest slice of power a woman would ever exert. If intent on stopping the kidnapping, the mother, along with a few other women, marched over to the boy's house and forcefully retrieved her daughter. Unfortunately, just having merely stepped foot into the boy's house rendered a girl dirty. Although permitted to do this, the mother frequently failed to save her daughter because the mother was not notified of the abduction until it was too late. The mother could contest, but as a male dominated society, her power was limited.[9]

6 Cooper and Cooper, 27-29
7 Ibid., 29.
8 Fungchatou Lo, *The Promised Land: Socioeconomic Realities of the Hmong People in Urban America 1976-2000*(Bristol: Wyndham Hall Press, 2001), 160-162.
9 Faderman and Xiong. 134-135

Traditionally, once a girl had entered into a boy's family home, spent the night and had sex, she could no longer return to her own family's home. This approach to courtship ensured that the couple could marry without the initial interest by the girl or support of the families. Once the girl had stayed at the boy's house, the obligatory negotiations between the two families began for her; failure to do so resulted in a loss of face. Negotiations between the male elders of both families led to an agreed upon "bride price."[10]

Once a girl had been chosen and taken by a suitor, her family had few options. With consummation of a sexual relationship, one of the first steps of wedding negotiations, it ensured that the girl's family could not refuse.[11] Even if the girl expressed interested in the boy, she had to resist his sexual advances by crying out "no, no, no; I'm not ready."[12] A traditional Hmong saying translates to "the boy must be strong to the girl; the girl must be shy to the boy."[13] This resistance proved her virtuous status. If the boy did not act forceful his peers perceived him as weak, and if the girl did not resist she was considered licentious.[14] Within the Hmong culture, this is not regarded as rape, but the beginnings of marriage negotiations. A father held little choice but to enter into negotiations, even if he did not like the suitor, as his daughter no longer had her virginity and it would be hard to find another man willing to accept her. The father could try to set a very high bride price, but had very little negotiating power as the ritual had already begun with her staying three nights in the boy's home. Even if the girl left before the three days, it was too late, as just entering the home rendered her unclean. The kidnapping marked a girl as claimed by the man, and although the consummation solidified the union; just entering the home changed her status within the community. The chance of finding another husband proved unlikely, as the entire village knew the circumstances.[15]

The practice of arranged marriages by male elders continued after resettlement in the United States. Many Hmong communities were so tightly insulated that deeply rooted traditions, including bridal kidnapping and rape, continued without interruption from their new, western surroundings. What changed the established system of Hmong marriage was the introduction of western education that began in the refugee camps in Thailand. Many first generation girls continued the practice without protest, but the second generation, and in some cases, the younger sisters of the first generation, vehemently objected. The divide between first and

10 Cooper and Cooper, 29; Lo, *The Promised Land*, 161-162

11 Ibid

12 Myrna Oliver, "Immigrant Crimes: Cultural Defense—A Legal Tactic," *Los Angeles Times,* July 15, 1988, accessed October 4, 2014, http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/909758758/943CA

13 Katherine Bishop, "Asian Traditions at War with American Laws," *New York Times,* February 10, 1988, accessed October 4, 2014; Oliver.

14 Cooper and Cooper, 29

15 Faderman and Xiong, 134-135.

second- generation behaviors blurred and overlapped as the younger sisters saw the hardships endured by their older sisters. In some families, younger siblings learned the lessons of their older siblings; they saw them forfeit education, struggle as young parents, and endure abusive marriages.[16] The different experiences of children in the same family represent what may be regarded as two different generational experiences.

CULTURAL CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES

As thousands of Hmong refugees settled into life in the United States, the cultures and traditions they brought with them remained tightly woven into the fabric of their daily lives. As western notions of the choices afforded to women crept into their old ways, many Hmong found the harsh realities of cultural clashes too strong to ignore. Exposure to western education and customs challenged these practices. Young boys and girls received western educations that exposed them to contradictions between Hmong cultural practice and American society.

Organizations that assisted in refugee resettlement, primarily NGOs and churches, reached out to young refugees and educated them about western norms to ease their transition into American culture. In 1981, the Center for Applied Linguistics published "Young Adults in America: A Booklet for Refugees in their Late Teens." The booklet, printed in Hmong and English, helped refugees navigate adolescence in America. Covering topics from money and establishing a bank account, finding a job and getting an education, to understanding American ideas on sex, dating, marriage, and the laws that define them. The booklet also addressed the concept of living independently of your parents prior to marriage, an idea totally foreign to Hmong tradition.[17]

Historically, Hmong woman had little power to make decisions that affected their lives. Most girls married by the age of eighteen and rarely had the option of education. Male elders and the suitor's family made marriage decisions, and a woman had no choice to refuse.[18] Male dominated societies regarded women as inferior beginning at birth. After a Hmong woman gave birth, the husband buried the baby's placenta in the earth under the family's home. He buried a baby girl's placenta in the ground under the family bed. In contrast, if the child were a boy, the placenta would be buried in the most sacred spot, under the central wooden pillar that supported the whole house. A woman's body was viewed as dirty and out of balance with the world for one month after giving birth. The Hmong also regarded a woman's body as unclean during menstruation; paralleling views held by Orthodox Judaism, and many other cultures.[19] The high value placed on a male

16 Lo, interview

17 Washington D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics. "Young Adults in America: A Booklet for Refugees in their Late Teens," (1981), 8-20.

18 Faderman and Xiong, 127

19 Anne Fadiman, *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doc-*

child and the placement of his placenta under the pillar explicates the contrasts in his worth over that of a female child. The revulsion over a woman's natural body functions exemplifies the male dominance in Hmong society. Hmong women were introduced to the idea of the individual self and choice that began with exposure to western aid workers and medical providers in the refugee camps. The PASS high schools in the processing centers further introduced them to western culture and education. This signified the beginning of a long process of transition, not just to the United States as a place to live, but as a place to thrive as a Hmong. The process of cultural blending began in the camps. Upon arrival to the United States Hmong women found themselves overloaded with freedom and the option to say "no." As the younger generation became more educated and assimilated to western notions of choice, Hmong women began to regard the old courtship ways, specifically bridal kidnapping and rape, as inappropriate, archaic, and illegal according to United States law. [20] The passing of Title IX, the 1972 Congressional ban of discrimination in higher education, continued the wave of the sexual revolution and the Hmong youth recently settled in the United Stated were in the center of the action. Hmong girls, raised in poverty in Thai camps,[21] now had educational opportunities never afforded to them in Laos.

Kao Kalia Yang, born in Ban Vinai Refugee Camp in 1980, immigrated to Minnesota with her family in 1987. Yang learned about education opportunities available to her in the United States from aid workers in Ban Vinai. She now holds advanced degrees from Columbia University and helps other immigrants learn English. She is just one of thousands of Hmong women who seized every educational opportunity offer to them in their new homeland.[22]

Western education began the demise of the acceptance of Hmong bridal kidnappings. Of the 300,000 Hmong who processed through refugee camps, less than one percent of women could read or write.[23] Rarely did a Hmong woman in Laos receive an education; only the most elite families could afford to educate their daughters. In the United States, the older generation of refugee women had difficulty becoming self-reliant, while their younger, western educated daughters challenged the core belief that they were destined to be passive and compliant creatures.[24] Many youngwomen pressed their parents for the opportunity to go to

tors, and the Collision of Two Cultures (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997), 5; Faderman and Xiong, 125.

20 Faderman and Xiong, 128; Spencer Sherman, "Lost Tribe of the Central Valley," *San Francisco Chronicle,* September 15, 1985, accessed October 4, 2014, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/iw- search/we/InfoWeb?p_product=NewsBank&p_theme=aggregated5&p_action=doc&p_docid= 0EB4ED4061759CD1&p_docnum=1&p_queryname=5; Lynelln D. Long, *Ban Vinai: The Refugee Camp* (New York: Columbia University Press), 78-80.

21 Foner, 1026

22 Yang, 1-3, 91-2, 123

23 Cha, 171.

24 Faderman and Xiong, 129.

college. They saw the advantages of an education and wanted to delay marriage. Younger girls in Hmong families saw the struggle of their older sisters who had entered into marriage at a young age.

Seeing the challenges of young couples instilled the idea that life had more to offer than just marriage. Hmong girls did not just delay marriage, but viewed it much differently than their mothers did.[25] They saw education as holding more value and marriage as an interruption to academic opportunities. They saw their American counterparts finish high school and go to college. By 1986, only seven percent of Hmong in the United States said they still supported polygamy, compared with more than one-third in Laos as exposure to western education challenged old world traditions.[26]

Although many younger generation Hmong assimilated quickly to the western idea of courtship, others found it difficult to grasp. Once regarded as tradition, most Hmong now saw bridal kidnapping and rape in the western point of view, as a crime under United States law. However, some generations of Hmong men and boys lived in such tightly insulated ethnic enclaves that they had no true understanding of how different United States culture varied from Hmong culture in Laos. By contrast, through mainstream western education, many Hmong girls and boys eagerly adapted to western customs of dating, clothing, and socializing. This reduced the acceptance of bridal kidnapping or forced marriage amongst the younger generation.

Older generation Hmong resisted the idea of a formal education. A "good girl" for first generation Hmong meant going on very few outings and she always took her mother with her, even on dates. A good girl did only what pleased her parents. Ideally, she dropped out of school to marry and have babies by the age of seventeen. Only fifty percent of first generation Hmong girls graduated from high school. To do so meant challenging the focus of her existence—having children.[27]

The younger generation of girls, especially the younger sisters, challenged this. As the first generation of girls became mothers, the definition of a good girl shifted from a subservient and obedient wife, to an educated and independent woman. The connection between American high schools in Thai processing centers and the emersion into American culture in mainstream American cannot be overlooked. While there may have been a lag in one generation, by the second generation a huge shift had occurred.[28]

26 William H. Meredith and George P. Rowe, "Changes in Hmong Refugee Marital
27 Cha, 171-172; Bic Ngo, "Contesting 'Culture:' The Perspectives of Hmong Amrican Attitudes in America," in *The Hmong in Transition,* ed. Glenn L. Hendricks, Bruce T. Downing, and Amos S. Deinard, (Staten Island: Center for Migration Studies, 1986), 127. Female Students on Early Marriage," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly,* vol. 33 no. 2 (June 2002): 171. Accessed November 2, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3196172.
28 Kathy Morrissey Coulson and Paula Cookson Melhorn, eds. *Living in Two Worlds: The Hmong Women's Project Fitchburg Massachusetts* (Ashburnham: The Hmong Women's Project, 2000), 48.

Education and an understanding of American laws and customs allowed for many Hmong girls to resist marriages they would have been forced into if still in Laos. Nineteen-year-old "Ploa" had come from a well to do family in Laos and received an education there and in France before resettling to Seattle in 1979. Kidnapped in a bridal abduction in 1980, her suitor held her under Hmong tradition, which included rape, for three days in hopes of initiating marriage negotiations. He viewed the experience as the beginning of their traditional Hmong engagement whereas she regarded it as the western definition of kidnapping and rape. After three days, Ploa returned to her family's home where the elders of both parties began negotiations for the bridal price. The girl adamantly refused to marry the boy, stating that she had known him since childhood in Laos and never liked him. Her parents pushed for her to comply as her refusal would cause a deep rift between the two families. She still refused and threatened to go to the police and charge the boy with rape if they continued to push her into the union. The charge may have led to the boy's family's deportation. This halted the wedding negotiations and she fled to the East Coast and married another Hmong man of her choosing. Close geographic ties held great importance within Hmong clans and Ploa's abandonment left her family shattered. In Laos, the furthest a girl would have moved was the next village over. For a girl to move across the country to avoid marriage and leave her family was unheard of in Laos. This signified not only her rejection of the forced marriage but also independence. In Laos, she would have never been permitted to protest, let alone leave, a marriage negotiation. Her father accepted blame for Ploa's unacceptable behavior, as he lacked control over his daughter. A permanent strain remained between Ploa's family and the boy's family.

The boy who kidnapped Ploa may have had genuine intentions, but because of the restrictions and expected behaviors of Hmong during courtship, he was unable to know whether Ploa's expressed genuine rejections. Traditionally, Ploa had to resist his kidnapping and sexual advances towards her. Any good Hmong girl would have been adamant in her objections to preserve her virtue. In turn, he had to act forceful in his pursuit of her. Approaching the courtship with a traditional mindset, he disregarded Ploa's objection as playing the role of a good Hmong girl. Ploa experienced rape as defined under United States law and her western viewpoint. She protested during the incident but due to a cultural miscommunication, he thought his actions commenced wedding negotiations.[29]

Another case of rape within the American-Hmong community involved a fourteen-year- old girl, Joua, and a nineteen-year-old boy, Poa. Their mothers knew each other from Laos, but the children had never met until they began attending high school together in the United States. One day, Poa offered Joua a ride home

29 Donnelly, 142-144.

along with one of her older male cousins. The presence of the male cousin made it appropriate for her to accept the ride. No good Hmong girl should have been in the presence of a non-relative male. Poa dropped off the cousin first, and then he drove Joua to a remote location where he raped her. She escaped from him, and the police picked her up as they noticed her torn clothing. They took her to the hospital where she had an examination for sexual assault and confirmed to authorities that she had been raped. The police arrested Poa and charged him with sexual assault.[30]

Several conflicts emerged between the families of Joua and Poa. Within Hmong culture, rape is dealt with as an internal matter. In Laos, the village leader held responsibility for settling conflicts.[31] In Laos, the rapist's family would offer financial compensation to the girl's family along with an apology. The girl's family accepted the money as a substitute for the bride price for their daughter, as she no longer held her virtue, and it would be hard to find a man willing to marry her after a rape. In this case, Poa's family refused to offer the money; they claimed that since Joua had involved the police she had rejected long established Hmong practices and they did not have to obligate as she broke tradition. Joua's parents regarded their daughter as a victim of violent rape in the western definition; Poa never intended on pursuing their daughter as a bride. This was an act of sexual assault. Fearing prosecution, Poa now claimed that he had not raped Joua at all; he simply tried to commence marriage negotiations. After more than a year of legal proceedings, a judge sentenced Poa to eighteen months of probation.

Both Joua and Poa had been in the United States for four years at the time of the incident and lived within tightly bound Hmong families where none of their parents, or any of the elders, read or spoke English. However, they both attended public high schools where American social norms clearly despaired with Hmong courtship ways. Surrounded by traditional Hmong values and an aggressive male American society, Poa became what anthropologist Dr. Beth L. Goldstein referred to as "culturally disoriented." Unclear as to what defined inappropriate behavior, he anticipated validation from his American peers, not legal punishment.[32]

Joua was Americanized after four years in the United States. She had placed a high value on herself based upon her good performance in school and her physical appearance reflected that of a typical 1980s American teenage girl. She received contradictory responses from her American rape counselors and her Hmong male elders. The counselors validated her anger and fears over the incident. In sharp

30 Beth L. Goldstein, "Resolving Sexual Assault: Hmong and the American Legal System," in *The Hmong in Transition,* ed. Glenn L. Hendricks, Bruce T. Downing, and Amos S. Deinard, (Staten Island: Center for Migration Studies, 1986), 135-137.

31 Robert Montemayor, "A Man for all His People: Chief of Lao-Hmongs Overwhelmed by Duty," *Los Angeles Times,* November 30, 1980, accessed October 4, 2014, http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/162973800/49F794F7B77D4C3DPQ/1?accountid=10358.

32 Goldstein, 135-140.

contrast, the male elders blamed her for causing a rift between the two families. They blamed her for failing to control her anger and for involving the American legal system in what they viewed as a private matter that should have been settled among the elders. Just like marriage that strengthens and unites families and clans, they also viewed rape as a problem between not just the victim and the perpetrator, but as between the two families. The individual's experience, no matter how traumatic, affected the community as a whole.[33] Rape reform laws in the mid-1970s focused on validation of the victim. Rape crisis centers provided services to victims and worked as advocates to help them through the legal process, many of these centers offered bilingual language services to help all victims. Additionally, rape [34] centers launched campaigns to bring awareness to the issue of rape.

The aforementioned cases occurred at a time when the issue of rape received a great deal of public awareness. The sexual revolution, lifting of limitations for education, and the public's awareness of the anti-rape movement dovetailed with the arrival of the Hmong into American society. The cases of Ploa and Joua exemplify how changes with American culture directly affected Hmong women and culture and challenged gender roles. Young women refused to comply with situations that they did not agree with. Just one-generation prior in Laos, women had no ability to object.

CULTURAL DEFENSE AS A LEGAL TACTIC

The case of Joua and Poa exemplify what the American legal system regarded as a "cultural defense," behaviors or attitudes widely accepted within one culture that drastically conflicted with American laws and social ideals. The "cultural defense," or as called by attorneys, "cultural evidence," was rarely used and considered a far-reaching defense strategy.[35] Alameda County Assistant Public Defender Michael Ogul explained, "Problems for the attorney raising the cultural defense . . . include proving that the defendant's explanation is a valid belief or custom in the culture where he grew up and proving that the defendant did believe or practice the custom."[36] Cultural defense argued that a person raised in a foreign culture could not be held responsible for his/her behavior because of its acceptance in their country or culture of origin.

Even if the behavior is in extreme violation of United States law, a person was not held accountable. The tactic of cultural defense rarely led to acquittal, the best

33 ibid139-141.

34 Maria Bevacqua, *Rape on the Public Agenda: Feminism and the Politics of Sexual Assault* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 90,101,108-9.

35 Oliver; Alison Dundes Renteln, *The Cultural Defense,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://books.google.com/books?id=zyWr3dSXUrIC&pg=PA127&lpg=PA127&dq=kon g+moua+rape&-source=bl&ots=EhfDVkxoMc&sig=5DqW0VbhPqkIMmPNRmzInNvLGc 8&hl=en&sa=X&ei=01hRV-JX0KsvogSP5oL4BA&ved=0CCAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=kong%20moua%20rape&f=-false.126-127.

36 Ibid

possible outcome usually resulted in a reduced sentence. Crimes defended under the cultural defense tactic typically included special circumstances and the person charged, although technically guilty, may not have fully understood the severity of the crime committed. Classifying one's defense as cultural defense did not excuse the behavior, it merely acknowledged that their perspective may be unlike American cultural norms that other factors needed consideration.

The actions of Kong Moua and his defense team exemplify cultural defense in American legal proceedings. In 1986, twenty-one-year- old Moua made his first attempt to kidnap eighteen- year-old Xieng Xiong, the girl he hoped to marry. During this attempt, her parents refused to allow her to leave the house. Shortly thereafter, Moua and two friends drove to Fresno Community College in search of Xiong, and made a second attempt to kidnap her. Moua and his friends found Xiong at work in the student finance office and took her to Moua's station wagon where they forced her into the vehicle. They took her to Moua's cousin's house and followed the rituals of a traditional Hmong bridal abduction, which included raping Xiong. Xiong's American friends, and college classmates, saw the incident and called the police.[37] A few days later, the police discovered Xiong at Moua's home and asked her if she wanted to leave. She declined, claimed Moua as her husband, and stated that she wanted to stay with him. A few days later she returned home and filed kidnapping and rape charges against Moua. The prosecutor faced a dilemma; if he took the case to trial by jury they would not understand the inconsistencies in both parties actions and statements and Moua would face a harsh sentence for what he saw as a "mistake." Ultimately, the judge dropped the rape and kidnapping charges and Moua pled guilty to a lesser charge of false imprisonment. He served a ninety-day sentence and paid a fine of $1000, with $900 paid to Xiong as reparation.

This case serves as an example of the cultural disconnect between marriage rituals in Laos and in the United States. Xiong and her family regarded the incident as rape and kidnapping. They did not want their daughter to marry Moua and rejected all his previous advances towards her. They saw nothing in the case that resembled what they defined as courtship. In sharp contrast, Moua's family considered Xiong as a willing participant in a centuries-old practice of courtship. They genuinely believed that she wanted to marry their son and supported his actions.[38]

Young Hmong women changed how they regarded marriage once in the United States, and so did their parents. Early exposure to American education and customs in refugee camps introduced all generations of Hmong to western ideas of courtship, like dating that allowed a woman to choose her spouse, a decision previously made by her male elders. Although multiple generations of Hmong

37 Ibid

38 Oliver. 126-7.

immigrated to the United States, sharp contrasts remained between younger and older people.

Xiong attended college and this exposure to education connected to her opposition to old-world kidnapping traditions. With Hmong culture requiring even a willing girl to protest by saying "no," how could Moua understand Xiong's objections? If he had responded to her protests, his peers would have seen him as "not brave enough" and "weak."[39] The Hmong marriage protocol prevented clear consent from occurring. These cultural requirements made it impossible for him, or any other Hmong man, to decipher actual objections from willing acceptance of the advances.[40] The introduction of American norms overlapped with old- world Hmong traditions with disastrous results.

The most effective way of dealing with cases involving cultural misunderstandings was through education and highly publicized court cases. Michael R. Yamaki, a third-generation Japanese-American criminal defense attorney, said that he encountered too many cases where the male perpetrators had no idea that they had committed a crime until they had been arrested and charged. They asked him, "What is the problem here?

How can they put me in jail for this?" Yamaki explained "[a]s they start going to court and start getting carted off to jail . . . it gets the word out." The hope was that if a few cases were publicized, that the entire community would see what behavior was considered unacceptable.[41] Education through refugee assistance programs and community support groups found an important, and permanent, place within the new Hmong culture in the United States. Younger generations delicately blend homeland traditions with western culture, creating a new approach to honoring their ancestral traditions. Some reports inaccurately claimed that Indochinese refugees adapted to American culture at remarkable rates; the statements were baseless and exaggerated.[42] In 1980, Vu Ker, president of the Lao- Hmong community in San Diego said that in reality less than 2% of Hmong possessed the tools to adjust to American culture. His duties paralleled those of a village chief in Laos. As told to Los Angeles Times staff writer Robert Montemayor, Ker explained "[i]t is hard to change entire lives . . . our cultures are so different."[43]

In the four decades since the first wave of Hmong refugees arrived in the United States, much has changed in regards to ideas on marriage and education. Many

39 Alan Dershowitz, "'Marriage by Capture' Runs Into Laws of Rape," *Los Angeles Times,* June 14, 1985, accessed October 4, 2014, http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/154259308/61D733 51E41D4 A68PQ/1?accountid=10358.

40 Oliver, 128.

41 Ibid

42 Spencer Sherman, "Lost Tribe of the Central Valley," *San Francisco Chronicle,* September 15, 1985, accessed October 4,2014. http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/iwsearch/we/InfoWeb?p_product=Ne wsBank&p_theme=aggregated5&p_action=doc&p_docid=0EB4ED4061759C-D1&p_d ocnum=1&p_queryname=5.

43 Montemayor

first-generation Hmong women are college educated and independent from the domination of male elders. Many find their western goals and aspirations wholly supported by their mothers. Chong Lo, a twenty seven-year-old college graduate, explained that her mother found the old traditions of marriage and misogyny to be unacceptable. Her mother told her that she no longer feels tethered to her father for support and stated, "if your dad don't want me I don't care." She feels that because her children received education and now have successful careers that they can take care of her. This signals a shift in not only the younger generation, but also in the older generation of women. Lo and her mother expressed independence the same way that Ploa, Joua, and Xiong did; they rejected long standing male dominated Hmong social norms for new, American versions that better suited their lives. Lo emphasized that she and her friends were "brought up to love ourselves more" than their mothers. Lo explained that although bridal kidnappings are no longer accepted in the United States, getting married is in a way like being kidnapped. When you marry, you leave your birth family for your husband's family, so in a way, you are being kidnapped.[44] Her view on marriage is a hybrid of old-world traditions complimented by her upbringing in western society. American education that began decades ago in Thai refugee camps gave women independence unknown in Laos.

In a November 2014 survey of seven Hmong women enrolled at California State University, Sacramento, all but one student said that their parents wanted college prioritized over marriage. With education as their priority, some even regarded marriage as "not necessary." Only one student expressed that her mother worried that she would never get married and that her mother said she would forgo receiving a dowry just to ensure her finding a husband. This student, the only one born in Thailand as opposed to California, was slightly older than the other women interviewed. This outlier represents how much the views on marriage and education have changed in a short period of time. The six other interviewees, born in the mid-1990s in California, not only had parental support in receiving higher educations, but also said their parents also discouraged them from marrying too young.[45]

The legacy of traditional Hmong marriage changed and evolved as they endured vast political and geographic changes. The changes that occurred after resettlement in the United States were just part of the continuous journey of the Hmong. Although many old traditions were lost, new traditions emerged that continued to support the diversity and complexity of the Hmong as they strived and thrived in the United States. Marriage rituals changed, but through education, the next generations will have awareness of their legacy. Where education led to the

44 Lo, interview

45 Anonymous, Interviewed by the author, 2014 Hmong New Year Festival, Sacramento, November 27, 2014.

demise of marriage traditions, it is also with education that the Hmong will continue as a unique and critical part of American history and culture. Education closed the door on some old traditions, but opened up so many more.

Bibliography
Primary Sources

Acuna, Armando. "A Kindred Heart for Refugee Women." Los Angeles Times. November 5, 1990. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com/docview/_281239360?accountid=10358.

Allam, Hannah. "Woman Pleads Guilty to Killing Husband: Case Led to Scrutiny of Polygamy Within Hmong Culture." Saint Paul Pioneer Press. June 6, 2003. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.lib. csus.edu/hottopics/lnacademi c/.

Anonymous. Interviews by the author at the 2014 Hmong New Year Festival at Cal Expo.Sacramento, CA. November 27, 2014.

Arax, Mark. "The Child Brides of California: In the Central Valley, Hmong Men Continue the Tradition of Marrying Girls as Young as 12 or 13. Most of Them Quickly Become Welfare Mothers. But Some Women are Balking." Los Angeles Times. May 4, 1993. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://articles.latimes.com/1993-05- 04/news/mn- 31160_1_hmong-girl.

Arax, Mark. "Many Refugees Work While Getting Welfare." Los Angeles Times. February 9, 1987. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus. edu/hnplatimes/docview/810462118/A42B4E15A3EC4742PQ/1?a ccountid=10358.

Arnett, Peter. "10.5 Million Homeless Span Globe. Refugees—A 'Fourth World of Misery." Los Angeles Times. April 29, 1979. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib. csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/158847422/421BACB368634E2EPQ/1?accountid=10358.

Arnett, Peter. "Victims of War: Laotians Languish in Camps." Los Angeles Times. May 16, 1979. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com. proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/ 158864298/B6D45B5 4A15C4A69PQ/5?accountid=10358.

Associated Press. "2 Laotians Face Trial in 'Bridal' Abduction." Los Angeles Times. October 28, 1979. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/159058522/EEEFD6F43482454EPQ/1?accountid= 10358.

Beech, Keys. "Laotians Flee as Vietnam Tightens Grip." Los Angeles Times. December 8, 1979. Accessed October 25, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib. csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/162613803/9931E76DBBF645B6PQ/1?accountid=10358.

Beyette, Beverly. "Agency Softens Clash of Cultures." Los Angeles Times. December 15, 1985.Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/ hnplatimes/docview/154506733/E8C91420CDAD4B38PQ/1?acco untid=10358.

Bishop, Katherine. "Asian Tradition at War with American Laws." New York Times. February 10, 1988. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu /hnpnewyorktimesindex/ docview/110597990/2EC691792AD04785PQ/1?accountid=103 58. uss, Fran Leeper ed. Forged Under the Sun/Forjada Bajo el Sol: The Life of Maria Elena Lucas. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993

California Assembly Bill AJR 36. Human Rights: Hmong Population.Dave Jones, chair. Chartered September 19, 2008. Accessed October 5, 2014. http:// www. leginfo.ca.gov/pub/07-08/statute/ch_0101- 0150/ch_145_ st_2008_ ajr_36.

California Department of Social Services. Total Refugee Arrivals to California. By Country of Origin. Federal Fiscal Years 1983 through 2013. (October 1, 1982 through September 30, 2013). Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www. cdss.ca.gov/refugeeprogram/res/pdf/Arrivals/TotalArrivalsCountryofOrigin byYear.p df.

Center for Applied Linguistics. "Young Adults in America: A Booklet for Refugees in their Late Teens." Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1981.

Chang, Kou and Sheila Pinkel. Kou Chang's Story: The Journey of a Laotian Hmong Refugee Family. Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1993.

Cockerham, William. "From the Hills of Laos to Streets of Providence,R.I. The Hmong Take to Pushing Brooms in Struggle for Survival." Los Angeles Times. December 19, 1982.Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search. proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/ hnplatimes/docview/153346892/3FAF3B D471E34BE0PQ/8?accou ntid=10358.

Coulson, Kathy Morrissey and Paula Cookson Melhorn, eds. Living in Two Worlds: The Hmong Women's Project, Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Ashburn ham: The Hmong Women's Project, 2000.

Cummings, Judith. "Indochinese Women Find Life in America Fraught with Barriers." New York Times. November 1, 1984. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnpnewyorktimesin dex/docview/122419166/D3 2354F530D8490 APQ/1?accountid=10358.

Delgado-Gaitan, Concha. Literacy for Empowerment: The Role of Parents in Children's Education. New York: The Falmer Group, 1990.

Dershowitz, Alan. "'Marriage by Capture' Runs into the Laws of Rape." Los Angeles Times. June 14, 1985. Accessed October 5, 2014. http:// search.proquest.com.proxy.lib. csus.edu/hnplatimes/ docview/154259308/ C7B91EA0197449F0PQ/ 1?accountid=10358.

Dodson, Marcida. "New Year Among the Hmong: Laotian Refugees Bend Old and New Into Celebration." Los Angeles Times. January 1, 1981. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hn platimes/docview/ 152700887/BB957AE 973A546F5PQ/1?accoun tid=10358.

Dublin, Thomas ed. Immigrant Voices: New Lives in America 1771-1986. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Esper, George. "'He is American, He is My Son' A Father Who Cares Continues to Search." Los Angeles Times. April 30, 1989. Accessed November 23, 2014. http://search. proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnpla times/docview/1150091533/ 9613F81AE3E145E7 PQ/1?accountid=10358.

Faderman, Lillian and Ghia Xiong. I Begin My Life All Over: The Hmong and the American Immigrant Experience. Boston: Beacon Press, 1998.

Golab, Caroline. Immigrant Destinations. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977.Gurnon, Emily. "St. Paul Man in Hot Water for Wedding 14-year-old in Hmong Ceremony."Saint Paul Pioneer Press. October 15, 2009. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hottopics/ lnacademi c/.

Harvey, Kay. "Walking in Two Worlds; Young Hmong Women, Raised in the Middle Ground." Saint Paul Pioneer Press. November 22, 1998. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.lib.csus. edu/hottopics/ lnacademi c/.

Jagodzinski, Anne and James Kegel. The Hmong and their Stories: D.C. Everest Area Schools: A Community Project. Weston: D.C. Everest Public Schools Publications, 2001.

King, Peter H. "Legacy of Vietnam War. Transplanted Hmong: Adjustment in Fresno." Los Angeles Times. April 7, 1985. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search. proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/ docview/154249137/1 BBDE61EBA144114 PQ/2?ac countid=10358.

Kiatoukaysi, Travis. "We Fought with America in the Vietnam War, but Most Americans Don't Know About Us." Project Ava. April 29, 2014. Accessed November 23, 2014. http://www.projectava.org/we-fought-with-america-in-the- vietnam-war-but-most- americans-dont-know-about-us/.

Kinsman, Susan E. "Refugees—A New World Problem." Los Angeles Times. July 11, 1982.Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib. csus.edu/ hnplatimes/docview/153174167/F27C9E46055149A7PQ/1?accoun tid=10358.

La Ganga, Maria L. "New Way of Life Rips Traditions." Los Angeles Times. June 26, 1983.Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib. csus.edu/ hnplatimes/docview/153506143/BDA49E159AE04C53PQ/1?accou ntid=10358.

Lee, Joann Faung Jean. Asian American Experiences in the United States: Oral Histories of First to Fourth Generation Americans from China, the Philippines, Japan, India, the Pacific Islands, Vietnam and Cambodia. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1991.

Lo, Chong. Interview by author. November 17, 2014. Sacramento, CA. Lo, Fung chatou T. The Promised Land: Socioeconomic Realities of the Hmong People in Urban America (1976-2000). Bristol: Wyndham Hall Press, 2001.

Montemayor, Robert. “A Man for All His People. Chief of Lao-Hmongs Over whelmed by Duty.” Los Angeles Times. November 30, 1980. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/ 162973800/A151B473 1EF64C3DPQ/1?accountid=10358.

Morrison, Gayle L. The Sky is Falling: An Oral History of the CIA’s Evacuation of the Hmong from Laos. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1999.

Moua, Chai Charles. Roars of Traditional Leaders: Mong (Miao) American Cultural Practices in a Conventional Society. Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 2012.

O’Connor, Karen. Dan Thuy’s New Life in America. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 1992.

Oliver, Myrna. “Immigrant Crimes: Cultural Defense—A Legal Tactic.” Los Angeles Times. July 15, 1988. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib. csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/909687726/490DCD5BB01546B0P Q/1?accountid=10358.

Rohde, Marie. “Husband Charged as Wife Says She was Sold into Marriage at 12.” Saint Paul Pioneer Press. March 25, 2009. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hottopics/lnacademi c/.

Sherman, Spencer. “Lost Tribe of the Central Valley.” San Francisco Chronicle. September 15, 1985. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.lib. csus.edu/iwsearch/we/InfoWeb?p_product=News Bank&p_theme=a ggregated5&p_action=doc&p_docid=0EB4ED 4061759CD1&p_docnum=1&p_queryname=5.

Simons, Lewis M. “Ex-Mercenaries for CIA Fighting Laotian Regime.” Los Angeles Times. October 20, 1975. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib. csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/157883984/57283AA6D050450EPQ/ 1?accountid=10358.

Smith, Aetna. “Parent Trap: In Ramsey County, the Highest Teen Birth Rate is Found in the Hmong Community, Experts Seek a Solution.” Saint Paul Pioneer Press. April 23, 2003. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www.lexis nexis.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hottopics/lnacademi c/.Stanek, Murial. We Came from Vietnam. Niles: Albert Whitman & Company, 1985.

State of California Department of Finance. Refugee Immigration to California, 1990-1994, A Summary in Tables. Sacramento, California, 1996. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/immigration- migration/refugee/1990-94/documents/REFSUM.PDF.

Thao, Yer J. The Mong Oral Tradition: Cultural Memory in the Absence of Written Language. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2006.

United Press International. “Meo Hill People: Laotian Tribal Customs Hinder Medical Efforts.” Los Angeles Times. November 22, 1979. Accessed October 25, 2014. http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/ 162676524/BA24AE8 740654F07PQ/1?accountid=10358.

U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Indochinese Refugees. Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. Ninety-sixth Congress. First Session. April 5, 25; May 22;

and June 13, 1979. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979.
Vang, Chia Youyee. Hmong America: Reconstructing Community in Diaspora. Urbana: University of California Press, 2010.
Weiner, Tim. "Many Laotians in U.S. Find Their Hopes Betrayed." New York Times. December 27, 1997. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://search.proquest.com. proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnpnewyorktimesindex/docview/109673199/5B 833C58AA40477DPQ/1?accountid=10358.
Yang, Kao Kalia. The Latehomecomer: A Hmong Family Memoir. Minneapolis: Coffee House Press, 2008.
Yang, Kou. "The American Experience of the Hmong: A Historical Review." Diversity in Diaspora: Hmong Americans in the Twenty- First Century. Edited by Mark Edward Pfeifer, Monica Chiu, and Kou Yang. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.

Secondary Sources

Anderson, Amalia, Taya Moxley-Goldsmith, and Patrick Ostergren. "Community, Conflict, and Consensus: Responses to the Proposed Hmong Marriage Legislation." Legal Scholarship for Equal Justice. December 18, 2002. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www.lsej.org/documents/118871hmong marriage.pdf.
Bevacqua, Maria. Rape on the Public Agenda: Feminism and the Politics of Sexual Assault. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000.
Cha, Ya Po. An Introduction to Hmong Culture. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010.
Cohan, John Alan. "Honor Killings and the Cultural Defense." California Western International Law Journal 40, no. 2 (2010). Accessed October 5, 2014.http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cwilj/vol40/iss2/2.
Cooper, Robert and Nanthapa Cooper. The Hmong. Bangkok: Artasia Press, 1991.
Cooper, Robert. "Rape: Perceptions and Processes of Hmong Customary Law" in Hmong/Miao in Asia. Edited by Nicholas Tapp, Gary Yia Lee, Christian Culas, and Jean Michaud. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004.

Culas, Christian and Jean Michaud. "A Contribution to the Study of Hmong (Miao) Migrations and History" in Hmong/Miao in Asia. Edited by Nicholas Tapp, Gary
Yia Lee, Christian Culas, and Jean Michaud. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004.
Culhane-Pera, Kathleen A., Dorothy E. Vawter, Phua Xiong, Barbara Babbitt, and Mary M. Solberg eds. Healing by Heart: Clinical and Ethical Case Stories of Hmong Families and Western Providers. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2003.

Deirdre Evans-Pritchard, and Alison Dundes Renteln. "The Interpretation and Distortion of Culture: A Hmong 'Marriage by Capture' Case in Fresno, California." Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal Fall, 1994. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hottopics/lnacademi c.

Dia, Cha. "Women in the Hmong Diaspora." in Diversity in Diaspora: Hmong Americans in the Twenty-First Century. Edited by Mark Edward Pfeifer, Monica Chiu, and Kou Yang. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.

Dinnerstein, Leonard and David M. Reimers. The World Comes to America: Immigration to the United States Since 1945. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Donnelly, Nancy D. Changing Lives of Refugee Hmong Women. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994.

Fadiman, Anne. The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two Cultures. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997.

Faruque, Cathleen Jo. Migration of the Hmong to the Midwestern United States. Lanham: University Press of America, 2002.

Foner, Eric. Give Me Liberty! An American History. Vol. 2. 4th ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014.

Goldstein, Beth L. The Hmong in Transition. Edited by Amos S. Deinard, Bruce T. Downing, and Glenn L. Hendricks. New York: Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., 1986.

Her, Vincent K. and Mary Louise Buley-Meissner. Hmong and American: From Refugee to Citizen. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012.

Hillmer, Paul. A People's History of the Hmong. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2010.

Lo, Kaying. "Across the Ocean: The Impact of Immigration on Hmong Women." Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Stout, 2002. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www2.uwstout.edu/content/lib/thesis/2002/2002lok.pdf.

Lemoine, Jacques. "Commentary: Gender-based Violence Among the (H)mong." Hmong Studies Journal. 13 (2012):1-27. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://hmongstudies.org/LemoineHSJ13.pdf.

Miyares, Ines M. The Hmong Refugee Experience in the United States. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Moore-Howard, Patricia. The Hmong: Yesterday and Today. Lansing: Museum of Michigan State University, 1982.

Mote, Sue Murphy. Hmong and American: Stories of Transition to a Strange Land. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004.

Ngo, Bic. "Contesting 'Culture:' The Perspectives of Hmong American Female Students on Early Marriage." Anthropology & Education Quarterly, vol. 33 no. 2 (June 2002): 163-188. Accessed November 2, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3196172.

Pickford, Joel. Soul Calling: A Photographic Journey Through the Hmong Diaspora. Berkeley: Heyday, 2012.

Renteln, Alison Dundes. The Cultural Defense. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. http://books.google.com/books?id=zyWr3dSX UrIC&pg=PA127&l pg=PA127&dq=kong+moua+rape& source=bl&ots=EhfDVkxoMc&sig=5DqW0VbhPqkIMmP NRmzInNvLGc 8&hl=en&sa=X&ei=01hRVJX0Ks- vogSP5oL4BA&ved=0CCAQ6A wAA#v =onepage&q=kong%20moua%20rape&f=false.

Trueba, Henry T., Lila Jacobs, and Elizabeth Kirton. Cultural Conflict and Adaptation: The Case of Hmong Children in American Society. New York: The Falmer Press, 1990.

Yellowstone:
Elite White Voices and a Nation's First Park

By D. Scott Sault
CSUS, 2015

Abstract.
This paper explores the environmental discourse surrounding the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872. The paper argues that the elite almost always white and male dominated upper-classes created an exclusive evolving cultural dialog resulting in the creation of America's first national park. Documented sources and art produced by elite white sources illustrates the elite consensus and values while excluding nearly every other race and class. As white culture mythologized the efforts of such environmental heroes as Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, and Theodore Roosevelt, the paper examines how minority communities saw their relationship with the national park as one of exclusion and alienation with America's national parks.

About the Author.

D. Scott Sault is a second year graduate student at California State University, Sacramento, with plans to graduate in Fall, 2015. His areas of interest include U.S. history, the American West, and environmental history. Scott's thesis work examines the history of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District's hydroelectric power in the Sierra Nevada mountain range. After graduation, Scott hopes to work as a lecturer in the community college system. In his free time, Scott enjoys making music, backcountry hiking, and spending time with his family.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, enormous territorial expansion across large tracts of wilderness, coupled with a voracious national appetite for Western expansion, made wilderness preservation a low priority for most Americans. Despite that general cultural attitude, by the 1860s the United States Congress recognized that some wilderness areas required protection from settlement and commercial exploitation. In 1864, Abraham Lincoln and Congress bequeathed Yosemite Valley to the state of California via the Yosemite Act. Eight years later, the founding of Yellowstone National Park in the Montana Territory represented the physical manifestation of the flourishing preservationist discourse among elite white males at a time when the country actively suppressed non-white voices. Indian wars, Jim Crow laws, Chinese exclusion, and many other forms of racial marginalization ensured that Americans of Western European ancestry dominated the evolving environmental discussion that spanned the nineteenth century. The elite, almost always white and male–connected by class, wealth, education, business, literature, and politics–formed an interconnected web of mutually influential associations that created an exclusive cultural dialog that evolved over time. To trace the evolution of environmental thought across several decades, this paper uses the term preservationist to describe early nature advocates and their ideas, though the term is more commonly associated with the modern environmental movement. During the 1860s and early 1870s, elite Americans turned their attention to select regions, starting with Yosemite in 1864 and extended their scrutiny to Yellowstone during a flurry of activity from 1869-72. While embodying a broad spectrum of philosophical, scientific, and economic values within elite circles, the racial, gender, and class exclusivity of preservationist conceptions placed Yellowstone's untamed wilderness squarely at the center of an elite white web of connection. The privileged conversation that surrounded Yellowstone knitted together changing conceptions of wilderness, growing scientific curiosity, and white-dominated institutions, including the United States Army, the Northern Pacific Railroad, and American print media. From the 1830s through Yellowstone's creation in 1872, elite white Americans continuously reimagined the philosophical, scientific, and economic value of wilderness in an ongoing discourse that established the nation's first national park as a monument to their class values, not as a monument to the nation's democratic and egalitarian values as is popularly mythologized by contemporary Americans.

In the decades preceding Yellowstone's 1872 preservation as "a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people," American conceptions of wilderness changed considerably. A legacy of the colonial era, Puritan ideas influenced American understanding of nature

well into the nineteenth century. Puritans saw wilderness as the home of the Devil, and the Puritan town and its church, served as God's sanctuary.[1] In the eyes of Puritans, savage Indians lived in the wilderness, and white, God-fearing people lived in civilization.[2] Wild lands represented physical and spiritual danger for colonial Americans.[3] By 1800, Puritan conceptions of wilderness started to give way as the physical geography of the newly formed United States changed. With the explosive territorial and economic growth in post-revolution America, wilderness represented a physical barrier to the progress of civilization; agriculture and urban expansion required land.[4] The growth of agriculture expanded the institution of slavery in the South, and the westward push of white settlements increasingly marginalized Native American populations, reinforcing structural barriers that excluded blacks and Native Americans from national discourses during the early nineteenth century. The new nation's economic system also demanded the material resources to feed its growing commercial markets, accelerating the centuries old commodification of natural resources. For most early nineteenth-century Americans, wilderness existed as a vast expanse that blended dark unknowns with enormous economic potential. Large land acquisitions, like the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and the 1848 Mexican Cession, fueled the belief among Americans that there was an unlimited supply of wilderness. Spiritual dangers and physical barriers demanded the salutary solution of civilizing conquest, and untapped economic potential called for exploiting the nation's natural bounty.[5] As national development accelerated, social problems stemming from urbanization, immigration, and industrialization challenged the notion that cities held the key to spiritual understanding.[6] Additionally, aggressive economic growth coupled with accelerating westward expansion illustrated, for some elite observers, the negative environmental consequences of human action. During the first half of the nineteenth century, voices emerged from the expansionist din that challenged long held spiritual and economic views of wilderness and nature. The public discourse surrounding the meaning and value of wilderness germinated in elite East Coast enclaves with the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson and the American Transcendentalist philosophical movement.

---

1 William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Out of the Woods: Essays in Environmental History,* eds., Char Miller and Hal Rothman (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1997), 30.

2 Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness, "30.

3I bid.

4 Roderick Nash, "The Value of Wilderness," *Environmental Review: ER* 1, no. 3 (1976): 16, accessed October 25, 2014 http://www.jstor.org/stable/3984308.

5 Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 28-33.

6 Ibid.

Educated at Harvard University, and deeply influenced by the Unitarian church, Emerson called for a reevaluation of humankind's relationship to nature at a time when American society valued prosperity and material accumulation. Emerson's beliefs about nature stood in stark contrast to the industrialized New England landscape with its textile mills and factories. As a public intellectual, Emerson challenged Cherokee removal during the 1830s, war with Mexico in the 1840s, and slavery in the 1850s, illustrating a pattern of social critique emulated by those he influenced.[7] Writing from Concord, Massachusetts, Emerson questioned the aging Puritan conceptions of wilderness in his work *Nature*, published in 1836. In *Nature*, Emerson told his readers, "In the woods is perpetual youth….In the woods, we return to reason and faith."[8] The wilderness, for Emerson, is rejuvenating and spiritually fulfilling, which some might find comforting in a rapidly industrializing nation. Far from fearing the natural world, Emerson asserted that humans could get closer to God in nature in the woods.[9] One mastered life only by understanding nature,according to Emerson.[10] Not only were Emerson's words aesthetically pleasing, his conception of nature illustrated the previously unrecognized spiritual value of undeveloped lands for the reader. Emerson's writings alluded to new possibilities in the human relationship with nature, an attractive idea for Eastern elite white readers looking for relief from the deleterious effects of poverty and immigration on urban society.[11] In *Nature*, Emerson suggested an idea that took decades to come to fruition in the minds of the public: "In wilderness, I find something more dear and connate than in the streets and villages."[12] Emerson saw the potential for the improvement of humans in wilderness, and situated the largest spiritual threats within civilization.[13] Emerson did not call for environmental preservation, an idea requiring decades to evolve, but he imbued the natural world with spiritual value, making it worthy of protection.

While the 1820s and 1830s saw the creation of many new philosophical, religious, and social movements, Emerson's philosophy subsequently influenced a generation of literary voices. Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Margret Fuller, and John Muir all built upon ideas introduced by Emerson's Transcendentalist movement. Emer-

---

7 Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Nature," in *The Portable Emerson*, eds, Carl Bode and Malcolm Cowley (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), *xviii*.
8 Emerson, "Nature," in *The Portable Emerson*, 10.
9 James McIntosh, *Thoreau as Romantic Naturalist: His Shifting Stance towards Nature* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1974), 28.
10 McIntosh, *Thoreau as Romantic Naturalist*, 28.
11 Nash, *Wilderness in the American Mind*, 86.
12 Emerson, "Nature," in *The Portable Emerson*, 11.
13 Ibid.

son, and those he influenced, justified new conceptions of nature based on problems they saw in their society, but other observers developed their ideas based on the problems they observed in the wilderness.

During the early 1830s, artist George Catlin documented the environmental price of American expansion through his well-received paintings of Native Americans and the landscapes they inhabited.[14] Catlin's memoir of his travels in the West, published in 1844 as a book titled *The Indians of North America*, added his personal observations to the popular images depicted in his art, but his ideas reached the reading public far earlier than 1844 as he notes, "a considerable part of the following letters were written and published in the New York papers, as early as 1832 and 1833."[15] Lamenting the pull of Eastern markets that destroyed Indian communities by paying for buffalo hides with whisky, Catlin observed, "Hundreds and thousands [of bison] were strewed upon the plains…contiguous, and in sight, were the feeble smokes of wigwams and villages, where the skins were dragged, and dressed for the white man's luxury! Where they were all sold for whisky, and the poor Indian lay drunk, and were crying. I cast my eyes to the towns and cities of the East."[16] The expansion of market capitalism commoditized buffalo, Western land, and Indian labor in a degenerative cycle that destroyed tribes and ravaged nature's bounty. Catlin lamented that nature appeared "destined to fall before the deadly axe and desolating hand of cultivating man."[17] In the West, Catlin saw a new kind of value in wilderness that strengthened white civilization's virtue by preventing the extermination of the Native Americans and the buffalo, an idea antedating the creation of wilderness preserves and Indian reservations. In that spirit, Catlin called for, "some great protecting policy of the government," so Americans could enjoy "a nation's park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their natural beauty."[18] But Catlin had specific Americans in mind, conceiving the park to be a, "thrilling specimen for America to preserve and hold up to the view of her refined citizens and the world, in future ages."[19] While deeply empathetic towards the plight of Indians onhumanitarian grounds, Catlin's concern at the loss of Native Americans and their wild Western lands reflected his elite white perspective. At a time when Ralph Waldo Emerson's philosophy on nature challenged Americans to reimagine their rela-

---

14 Nash, "The Value of Wilderness," 16.

15 George Catlin, *The North American Indians*, Vol. 1, (North Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2000), 2, accessed November 2, 2014, ProQuest Ebrary. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/csus/reader.action?docID=10001943.

16 Catlin, *The North American Indians*, 292.

17 Ibid., 293.

18 Ibid., 295.

19 Ibid.

tionship with wilderness, George Catlin's oil portraits and sketches of struggling Indian tribes and vanishing buffalo herds suggested to other Americans that some lands, animals, and people merited protection. Ultimately, Catlin's paintings and travel memoirs catered to elite consumers, directing his call for a nation's park at those with the political power to preserve wilderness.

During the 1850s, prominent individuals from the business community entered the environmental discourse among elite-white Americans. Publishing luminary, founder and editor of the *New York Tribune*, and ironically, proponent of Western expansion, Horace Greeley was among the many elite white voices that expressed concern about the environmental toll of national development. In his collection of letters, titled *Glances at Europe*, written during his 1851 tour of the continent, Greeley cautioned Americans, "Friends at home, I charge you to spare, preserve and cherish some portion of your primitive forests; for when these are cut away I apprehend they will not easily be replaced. A second growth of trees is better than none; but it cannot rival the unconscious magnificence and stately grace of the Red Man's lost hunting grounds, at least for many generations."[20] His exposure to European deforestation inspired him to call for "some portions of these fast falling monuments of other days ought to be rescued by public forecast from the pioneer's, the woodman's merciless axe, and preserved for the admiration and enjoyment of future ages."[21] Greeley recognized that environmental preservation might require government action, an idea that spread in the years prior to the establishment of Yellowstone National Park. Greeley, the devout abolitionist and Republican politician, cultivated many connections among the country's elite, including Emerson, Thoreau, and Abraham Lincoln. As editor of the *New York Tribune*, Greeley actively engaged in national opinion making. Greeley befriended the Transcendentalist movement and worked closely with Thoreau to find publications for Thoreau's writings.[22] Greeley, writing to Thoreau in 1848, informed him, "I hope to receive payment for your glorious account of 'Ktaddn [sic] and the Maine Woods,' which Greeley subsequently "sold to the *Union Magazine*" on behalf of Thoreau.[23] The powerful Greeley's personal and pro-

---

20 Horace Greeley, *Glances at Europe: in a series of letters from Great Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, etc., during the summer of 1851. Including notices of the Great Exhibition, or World's Fair*, (New York: Dewitt & Davenport, 1851), 39, accessed October 26, 2014, Internet Archive, Library of Congress.
21 Greeley, *Glances at Europe*, 39.
22 Horace Greeley to Henry David Thoreau, New York, February 5, 1847, in *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau*, eds., Walter Harding and Carl Bode (New York: New York University Press1958), 174.
23 Horace Greeley to Henry David Thoreau, October 28, 1848, in *The Correspondence of Thoreau*, 231

fessional relationship with both Emerson and Thoreau illustrates the close web of elite association that permeated the national discourse on nature. Throughout his reign at the *New York Tribune*, Greeley used the platform to publish many articles on behalf of wilderness preservation, including articles by naturalist John Muir. Muir's articles "Yosemite Glaciers," "Yosemite Spring," and "Yosemite Winter" appeared in Greely's *New York Tribune* in the early 1870s. By the 1860s, the *New York Tribune* boasted a circulation of 200,000subscribers, much of it outside of New York City, and served as an important outlet for Greely's opinions on national politics and reform movements.[24] Greeley, Emerson, and Thoreau all shared their abolitionist beliefs and their opposition to war with Mexico in 1848 with the public, but elite whites held almost exclusive access to public forums at a time when the nation enslaved blacks, expelled Mexicans from their own territory, and waged war against Native Americans in the West. Some elite whites recognized the structural barriers that excluded racial minorities from participating culturally and politically in shaping the nation, but despite that recognition, the discussion surrounding the value of wilderness continued without significant input from racial minorities or women.

Environmental historians consider Henry David Thoreau the fulcrum on which the philosophical discourse concerning the environment tipped in favor of preservation. Artistically and spiritually influenced by his patron Emerson, and professionally guided by men like Horace Greeley, Thoreau called directly for a new American relationship with the natural world. In his essay "Walking," delivered as a series of lectures in the early 1850s and published posthumously by his family in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1862, Thoreau declared, "I wish to speak a word for nature, for absolute freedom and wildness."[25] He advocated, as one Thoreau scholar observes, "that wild nature is worthy of the same respect, devotion, energy, and time that taming the land or other 'trammeling' occupations demand," elevating nature in partnership with civilization.[26] Thoreau's assertions transformed wilderness from a commodity to be consumed by the nation into a personal resource for the spiritual benefit of individuals. Wilderness for Thoreau provided a refuge from human threats to liberty, and according to Thoreau, "Man and his affairs, church and state and school, trade and commerce, and manufactures and agriculture even politics, the most alarming of all – I am pleased

24 "About New-York daily tribune. (New-York [N.Y.]) 1842-1866," Chronicling America, Historical American Newspapers. Washington, DC: Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030213/.
25 Henry David Thorough, "Walking," *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1862, accessed October 15, 2014, Project Gutenberg, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1022/1022-h/1022-h.htm.
26 Donald Worster, "Thoreau and the American Passion for Wilderness," *The Concord Saunterer*, New Series 10 (2002): 9.

to see how little space they occupy in the landscape."[27] Thoreau's skepticism of traditional male spheres, including religion, politics, and business, exemplified his concern with the confining nature of Antebellum conceptions of masculinity.[28] Additionally, Thoreau's writing reflected disillusionment with his society as an increasingly competitive commercial system overtook people's lives, the political system pursued war with Mexico, and the slavery question remained unresolved.[29] Civilization needed wilderness to struggle against and to "produce a certain roughness of character," a quality "important to our intellectual and moral growth."[30] At a time when moral reform resonated with many elites, Thoreau's reconceiving of the moral value of wilderness utilized language familiar to many elites. In Thoreau's philosophy, civilization requires wilderness, and it is valuable because it is necessary; a conceptual transformation that made the future preservation of Yellowstone possible and desirable in the minds of elite white Americans. Thoreau's seminal work *Walden*, first released in 1854, applied his philosophy to the woods outside Concord, Massachusetts. At Walden Pond, on land owned by Emerson, Thoreau practiced material and social independence, nature observation and environmental balance, spiritual inquiry and personal growth, positioning himself physically and philosophically between wilderness and civilization.[31] As a writer, Thoreau reaffirmed the masculine qualities assigned by his society to the independent man while rejecting his society's stifling adherence to traditionally masculine institutions, and he did so by embracing a feminized form of intimate writing aimed at cultivating a personal connection with his reader.[32] Thoreau's many writings, including "Walking" and *Walden*, served as important philosophical contributions to the public discourse surrounding the human relationship with the environment. New philosophical ideas primed the reading public to endorse the physical preservation of the land in the coming decades.

The mid-century growth of American science added new voices to the emerging cultural dialog concerning the environment. Americans traditionally embraced science and technology to address labor shortages, to overcome environmental barriers, and to increase commercial production.[33]

---

27 Thoreau, "Walking," 5.

28 Milette Shamir, "The Manliest Relations to Men": Thoreau on Privacy, Intimacy, and Writing," In Boys Don't Cry?: Rethinking Narratives of Masculinity and Emotion in the U.S. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 64-7.

29 Nash, *Wilderness in the American Mind*, 86.

30 Worster, "Thoreau and the American Passion for Wilderness," 4.

31 Nash, *Wilderness in the American Mind*, 89-90.

32 Shamir, "The Manliest Relations to Men," 66-8.

33 Thomas. R. Cox, "Americans and Their Forests: Romanticism, Progress, and Science in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Forest History* 29, no. 4 (October 1985): 162-63.

Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) ignited intense interest in scientific ideas among curious Americans, inspiring new scientific scrutiny of the environment. George Perkins Marsh –who was, among other things, a lawyer, congressman, and diplomat – personified the rising scientific voice among elites. Marsh's 1864 *Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* challenged prevailing beliefs that human changes in the environment were desirable and represented progress. Inspired by his 1850 tenure as Vermont's fish commissioner, Marsh noted effects of deforestation on local fisheries as fish populations plummeted.[34] In *Man and Nature*, Marsh examined deforestation in New England and the Mediterranean, arguing that human action can severely damage critical watersheds.

Building upon Catlin's observations about the buffalo thirty years before, March wrote, "Man pursues his victims with reckless destructiveness; and while the sacrifice of life by the lower animals is limited by the cravings of appetite, he unsparingly persecutes, even to extirpation, thousands of organic forms which he cannot consume."[35] If interested Americans had not believed Catlin's observations in the 1830s, they would have surely seen the merit of Marsh's warning by the 1860s given the sad history of the once vast buffalo herds. Both critiquing his contemporary industrial society and also presaging future environmental crises, Marsh argued, "the destructive agency of man becomes more and more energetic and unsparing as he advances in civilization, until the impoverishment, with which his exhaustion of the resources of the soil is threatening him, at last awakens him to the necessity of preserving what is left."[36] *Man and Nature*, published by Charles Scribner, received praise from scholars at Princeton and Harvard Universities, and over the next ten years the work achieved international acclaim, achievements that likely exposed many white elites to his ideas.[37] In the 1860s and 1870s, Marsh's work gave critics of the country's ravenous resource consumption a scientific foundation on which to stand as they engaged in the burgeoning national environmental discourse. Marsh's stark words entered the national arena through the educated scientific community and provided new intellectual arguments for readers who might have resisted philosophical or spiritual arguments for preservation. Not all advocates for nature drew their beliefs about wilderness preserva-

---

34 Cox, "Americans and Their Forests," 163.

35 George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature: Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1865), 37, accessed October 26, 2014, Internet Archive, Library of Congress, https://archive.org/details/manandnatureorp00marsgoog.

36 Marsh, *Man and Nature*, 37.

37 David Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh: Profit of Conservation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 300-3. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/csus/reader.action?docID=10438025.

tion from purely philosophical or scientific arguments. The natural features of California's Yosemite Valley inspired visions of tourism in many early observers. The 1864 Yosemite Grant Act set the precedent for wilderness preservation eight years before the creation of Yellowstone National Park. Alluding to the future power of tourism, the language of the Yosemite grant specifically called for the land to "be held for public use, resort, and recreation."[38] Additionally, the act made specific provisions for land leases within the park and for road construction, indicating an expectation of future tourism.[39] Yosemite's first commissioner, the famed designer of New York's Central Park, Frederick Law Olmsted, argued in his *Yosemite and the Mariposa Grove: A Preliminary Report, 1865*, that Congress preserved the Yosemite wilderness on behalf of the people as a whole, not just the wealthy. To expand access to the park, Olmsted's report asserted that Yosemite needed carriage roads, cabins, and trails to reduce the costs of travel and accommodations.[40] Olmsted observed, "as long as present arrangements continue, it will remain, practically, the property of the rich."[41] While deeply committed to the physical preservation of Yosemite's resources, the enormous economic potential of tourism was not lost on Olmsted. His egalitarian commitment to Yosemite as a public space for the benefit of all classes, while idealistically laudable, obscured the likelihood that elite white politicians and business interests stood to benefit the most. Optimistically he observed "that when it shall become more accessible the Yosemite will prove [to be] a source of wealth to the whole community, not only of California but to the United States, there can be no doubt."[42]

Economic justifications for nature preservation in government reports assuredly caught the eye of regional politicians and railroad executives. For many nascent preservationists, their favorite shade of green in nature looked suspiciously like money. Journalist and editor of the *Springfield Republican*, Samuel Bowles, represented a new breed of elite Eastern tourist who participated in the preservationist discussion motivated by personal fulfillment. Bowles published his journals documenting his 1865 travels across the West accompanied by Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Bowles's travel book, *Across the Continent: A*

---

38 U.S. Congress. *An Act Authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the "Yo-Semite Valley," and of the land Embracing the "Mariposa Big Tree Grove,"* in *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*, ed. Lary M. Dilsaver (Lanham, New York: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997),

39 *Yosemite Land Grant*, in *America's National Park System*, 11.

40 Frederick Law Olmsted, *Yosemite and the Mariposa Grove: A Preliminary Report, 1865* (Yosemite National Park: Yosemite Association, 1993), 24.

41 Olmsted, *Yosemite and the Mariposa* Grove, 25.

42 Ibid., 11.

Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States, documented a wide array of experiences. Upon reaching Yosemite Valley, Bowles concurred with Olmsted's assessment about both Yosemite's beauty and inaccessibility. Entering Yosemite by mountain trail, Bowles noted, "every hour a joy, every hour a fatigue, full of soreness and dirt and merriment; eager for the end, but enjoying every moment of the novel experience, every long mile of the rare road."[43] Bowles's writings mirror the spiritual rhetoric first expressed by Emerson and Thoreau years before. Even for a man of wealth, like Bowles, visiting Yosemite was an expensive and physically trying experience. Ironically, Bowles illustrates the elite nature of early park tourism, noting, "We had Law Olmsted…Mr. Ashburner of the Geological Survey Corps; Boston lawyers; San Francisco journalists; wit, grace, beauty," and he adds, his party "included five ladies."[44] While Bowles laments the rigors of wilderness tourism, upon seeing the natural wonders of Yosemite, he informed his readers that, "the great rock scenery of the Yosemite, which invariably carries the spectator up to the Infinite Creator and Father of All, they do stand for all that has been claimed for them in wonderful greatness and majestic beauty."[45]

Bowles's writings embodied the spiritual legacy of Thoreau, but he accessed wilderness through his social status and his wealth. Unlike Emerson and Thoreau, Bowles believed in Manifest Destiny, and the forced relocation of Native Americans to reservations, illustrating the tangled ideologies that elite tourists brought into the preservationist discourse.[46] Economic opportunity, adventurism, national political fragmentation, and a desire for national expansion drew Eastern elites, like Bowles, into the Western wilderness during the 1860s. White elites arrived with diverse ideas, and a wide range of motives, but they shared class and race, which meant that the mid-century environmental dialog surrounding Yosemite and Yellowstone reflected their exclusive perspectives. Yosemite's establishment in 1864 fueled imaginations on the cusp of Yellowstone's entry into the national consciousness. As white Americans encroached upon the Yellowstone region in the center of the country, the philosophical, scientific, and economic components of elite preservationist discourse, largely conducted in the East, converged to fuel several important expeditions in the West. Native American myths, fur trapper stories, and gold prospector's rumors

43 Bowles, *Across the Continent: A Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States with Speaker Colfax* (Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles & Company, 1865), 232.
44 Bowles, *Across the Continent*, 232.
45 Ibid., 237.
46 Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 25-28.

slowly infused both notable Montana locals and Eastern elites with curiosity, drawing a new class of men towards Yellowstone's natural wonders.

As early as 1859, the U.S. Government attempted to explore and map the region. On orders from the War Department, Brevet Brigadier General W. F. Raynolds led an expedition to the Yellowstone River guided by legendary mountain man Jim Bridger. While the expedition turned back in the face of heavy snow before arriving at Yellowstone's fabled natural wonders, the report the outing generated bridged the gap between folklore and reality.[47] Raynolds' report, although not published until 1866, documented Bridger's fireside stories, noting, "Bridger in one of his recitals, described an immense boiling spring that is a perfect counterpart of the Geysers of Iceland. As he is uneducated, and had probably never heard of the existence of such natural marvels elsewhere, I have little doubt that he spoke of that which he had actually seen."[48] Faced with insurmountable obstacles, Raynolds and his expedition settled for "listening to marvelous tales of burning plains, immense lakes, and boiling springs, without being able to verify these wonders."[49] Labeling the mysterious areas beyond his grasp, "*terra incognito*," Raynolds presciently wrote, "I cannot doubt…that at no very distant day the mysteries of this region will be fully revealed," and he parted with, "I regard the valley of the upper Yellowstone as the most interesting unexplored district in our widely expanded country."[50]

Raynolds' experience illustrates how tantalizing reports from the margins of society piqued the curiosity of government officials, scientists, and notable citizens and helped to elevate Yellowstone into the national discourse. Almost ten years after Raynolds' attempted penetration of the Yellowstone Valley, motivated by similar stories, the 1869 Cook-Folsom-Peterson expedition sought to satisfy their curiosity and verify rumors. Cook, Folsom, and Peterson, all employees of the Confederate Gulch ditch company based out of Diamond City, Montana, represented a new class of citizen-explorer. Educated and skilled surveyors, the three explorers returned from their expedition with detailed journals, accurate maps, and most important of all, social credibility. Socially elite by Montana standards, the trio significantly influenced other locals with their findings; however, reaching a national audience proved more difficult. In 1870, Cook published the expedition's journals in *Western Monthly Magazine*, only after the *New York Tribune*, *Scribner's*, and *Harper's* magazines rejected his

47 Bvt. Grig. Gen. W. F. Raynolds, *Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone River* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), 10.
48 Reynolds, *Exploration of the Yellowstone River*, 10.
49 Ibid., 10.
50 Ibid., 11.

submissions because the stories in the journal did not appear credible.[51] As residents of Montana, their pull with Eastern elites was minimal and their access to the national press limited, but their local connections to other elites led directly to the Washburn-Langford-Doane Yellowstone expedition of 1870, an expedition by men much closer to the national circles of power. Nathaniel P. Langford, Collector of Internal Revenue for the Montana Territory and one-time candidate for territorial governor, bridged the social gap between Montana and the East Coast via his connections to the Northern Pacific Railroad.[52] Langford went east in 1870, meeting with Jay Cooke of the Northern Pacific Railroad during his travels. Although the specifics of their meeting remain unclear, Cooke ultimately saw enough potential for a Yellowstone expedition to sell bonds for land along the proposed Northern Pacific route, and the politically ambitious Langford saw the benefits of being the man that brought the railroad to Montana territory.[53]

Langford returned to Montana as an informal agent of the Northern Pacific, ready to join the next expedition. Simultaneously, Montana's Surveyor General H.D. Washburn, a former Civil War General for the Union, began preparations for an expedition to Yellowstone. Washburn met with David E. Folsom from the 1869 expedition, obtaining revised maps and detailed first-hand descriptions of the terrain.[54] Washburn appealed to the U.S. Army for a military escort, leading to the addition of Second Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane and five soldiers. The Washburn expedition also included many men of high social status, including, Samuel T. Hauser, an engineer by training, the president of the First National Bank of Helena, and a future Governor of the Montana Territory, and Walter Trumbull, son of U.S. Senator Lyman Trumbull.[55] Several prominent Montana merchants and attorneys joined the group, including a lawyer named Cornelius Hedges, who acted as a journalist for the *Helena Herald*. Interestingly, Langford later credited Hedges with the idea for preserving Yellowstone as a national park. The class status of the Washburn expedition played a significant role in shift-

51 Charles W. Cook, David E. Folsom, and William Peterson, Excerpt reproduced from Cook's "The Valley of the Upper Yellowstone" article published in 1922 in *Western Monthly Magazine*, in *The Valley of the Yellowstone: An Exploration of the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River in the Year 1869*, ed. Aubrey L. Haines (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 45.
52 Aubrey L. Haines, *Yellowstone National Park: Its Exploration and Establishment* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1974), 56-63.
53 Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of our First National Park*, vol. 1, rev. ed., (Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming: The Yellowstone Association for Natural Science, History, & Education, Inc. in cooperation with the University Press of Colorado, 1997), 105.
54 Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, 103.
55 Ibid., 109.

ing Yellowstone into the national dialog. The 1870 expedition confirmed many of the observations made by the Cook-Folsom- Peterson expedition, but now General H. D. Washburn and Lieutenant Doane's official government report to the War Department added credibility to the descriptions of Yellowstone's natural wonders. Additionally, the month-long disappearance of Truman C. Everts during the expedition provided popular culture with a harrowing story, subsequently published in 1871 as, "Thirty-Seven Days of Peril," in *Scribner's Monthly*. Despite his near-death experience during the expedition, Everts ended his account with, "In the course of events the time is not far distant when the wonders of the Yellowstone will be made accessible to all lovers of sublimity, grandeur, and novelty in natural scenery, and its majestic waters become the abode of civilization and refinement."[56]

Trumball, Gillette, Langford, and Washburn all penned articles for a wide array of publications, including the *Helena Herald*, *Scribner's*, *Overland Monthly*, and the *New York Times*.[57] Upon receiving a copy of Washburn's official report, the *New York Times* editorialized, "We have said that this record reads like a fairy tale, and by this time readers will have agreed with us. Its official character, however, may be added to the evidence of that simplicity of style already commended as earnest of the trustworthiness of the narrative. Rarely do descriptions of nature come to our hands so unaffectedly expressed, and yet so gilded with true romance."[58] Washburn's report garnered the attention of government officials and the reading public. Periodical magazines and newspapers brought wilderness themed articles and images directly to readers, subsequently fueling public curiosity and reinforcing the national character of the growing preservationist debate. Langford's article, "The Wonders of the Yellowstone," published by the New York based *Scribner's Monthly*, made the expedition's exploits accessible to elite periodical consumers.

Publishing in *Scribner's Monthly* meant direct access to educated readers in the Eastern United States who had the means to purchase expensive magazines and had access to the halls of power.[59] With its focus on travel, fiction, philosophy, science, and poetry, one scholar notes that, "like other periodicals of the day, *Scribner's Monthly* quite clearly depicted a world in which educated, propertied Anglo-Saxon males rightfully dom-

---

56 Truman C. Everts, "Thirty-seven Days of Peril," *Scribner's Monthly*, November 1871, 17.
57 Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, 135.
58 "The Yellowstone Expedition," *New York Times*, October 14, 1870.
59 James D. Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 31.

inate."[60] Scribner's published sympathetic articles about Irish and Chinese immigrants, as well as former black slaves, but the editors never considered those groups as potential readers.[61] Prestigious magazines circulated well among society's elite, with *Harper's Magazine* claiming 130,000 subscribers in 1870.[62] In his article, Langford justified the expedition's altruistic motives and established his credibility with readers. Langford noted, "Our company, composed of some of the leading officials and citizens of Montana, felt that if the half was true, they would be amply compensated for all the troubles and hazards of the expedition."[63] In addition to detailed descriptions of Yellowstone's natural wonders, Langford's *Scribner's* article included maps, and sketches by Thomas Moran, reproduced from field drawings done by Trumbull.[64] Visual reproductions of written accounts played a crucial role in subsequent expeditions. More importantly, Langford returned to the East Coast in 1871 where Jay Cooke & Company of the Northern Pacific Railroad funded a series of speaking engagements that visited twenty cities, including Washington, D.C. and New York.[65] The *New York Times* reported Langford "delivered a very interesting lecture," and the "large hall was filled to its utmost by an appreciative audience."[66] While describing Yellowstone's landscape, Langford's lecture "frequently elicited warm applause," and when completed, "the vast assembly dispersed, highly gratified at the lecture."[67] Langford's January 1871 Lincoln Hall lecture in Washington, D.C., attended by both James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Ferdinand V. Hayden, chief of the U.S. Geological Survey of the Territories, proved pivotal for the existence of Yellowstone National Park. Langford's lecture moved F. V. Hayden to approach Congress about funding an officially sponsored expedition to the Yellowstone region on behalf of the U.S. Government.[68]

The Hayden Geological Survey of 1871 moved the preservationist discourse from the lecture halls into the halls of Congress. The 1869 Cook-Folsom-Peterson expedition inspired the 1870 Washburn-Langford-Doane expedition and those expeditions in turn inspired F. V. Hayden, and Hayden's expedition influenced Congress direct-

60 Mark J. Noonan, *Reading the Century Illustrated: American Literature and Culture, 1870-1893* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 2010), 26.
61 Hoonan, *Reading the Century*, 28-29.
62 Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920*, 31.
63 Nathaniel P. Langford, "The Wonders of the YelYellowstone," *Scribner's Monthly*, 1871.
64 Haines, *The Story of the Yellowstone*, 135-36.
65 Ibid., 137.
66 "Travels in Montana," New York Times, January 22, 1871
67 Ibid.
68 Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, 140

ly. Congressional support for the expedition was strong from the beginning with the Sundry Civil Act of 1871 funding Hayden and his large field team. Sensing the commercial possibilities that development in the Yellowstone region might provide, the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific moved personnel and equipment to the expedition staging area free of charge. Unlike previous expeditions, Hayden's team included a large contingent of scientists, including a topographer, statistician, meteorologist, mineralogist (also a doctor), botanist and zoologist. In addition, Hayden set out from the start to enhance the credibility of the expedition's findings by compiling a visual record, recruiting photographer William H. Jackson. Hayden also allowed the artist Thomas Moran, funded by *Scriber's Monthly* and the Northern Pacific Railroad, to accompany the expedition.[69] Congressional Representatives John A. Logan and Henry L. Dawes both had sons on the expedition, indicating Yellowstone's growing importance within Eastern political circles.[70]

In just a few short years, Yellowstone entered the national discourse, but skepticism about the region's true nature changed to excitement and anticipation within elite circles where the power resided to legally preserve land. The *New York Times* sensed the importance of the expedition as well, editorializing, "It is hoped that Dr. Hayden's report, which will be printed as soon as possible, will do much to satisfy the general curiosity."[71] The *New York Times* referred to previous reports as "exceedingly interesting and picturesque," but added, "those now to be furnished, on the other hand, we have a right to anticipate, will be trustworthy, exact, and comprehensive, and will thus supply much needed information about one of the most wonderful tracts on the American continent."[72] The scientific focus and government sponsorship of the expedition provided maximum credibility for anyone remaining skeptical about the stories emanating from the West, resulting in wider agreement on the value of preserving Yellowstone.

The credibility of Hayden's expedition on behalf of the U.S government not only rested on its scientific potential but also on visual representation. The skillful photography of William H. Jackson captured Yellowstone's grandeur for a curious public. Hayden's report noted, "Mr. William H. Jackson performed his duty with great zeal,

69 Ibid., 140 -142.
70 Ibid.
71"The Yellowstone Expedition," *New York Times*, September 16, 1871.
72 "The Yellowstone Expedition," *New York Times*, September 18, 1871.

and the results of his labors have been and will be of the highest value."[73] Jackson, according to Hayden's report, "obtained nearly 400 negatives of the remarkable scenery and routes, as well as the canon, falls, lakes, geysers, and hot springs of the Yellowstone Basin, and they have proved since our return, of very great value of maps and report."[74] Hayden's official report also contained valuable scientific information that Jackson's work helped to verify, and he informed readers, "Extensive collections in geology, mineralogy, botany, and all departments of natural history were made."[75] Jackson's images captured the scenic and scientific value of Yellowstone, observable to laymen and Congressman alike.[76] Hayden used Jackson's photographs during his visits with Congressmen as he lobbied for the preservation of Yellowstone as a National Park. Equally useful to Hayden's desire to represent his expedition visually were Thomas Moran's field sketches and subsequent paintings.[77] Moran's watercolors and oil paintings brought the vivid colors of Yellowstone's wilderness to new eyes. In words that hint at the powerful beauty of Yellowstone's Lower Falls and Grand Canyon, Hayden noted in his official report, "Mr. Thomas Moran, a celebrated artist, and noted for his skill as a colorist, exclaimed with a kind of regretful enthusiasm that these beautiful tints were beyond the reach of human art."[78] Forecasting the arrival of Moran's famous 1872 painting, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, Hayden wrote, "Mr. Moran is now engaged in transferring this remarkable picture to canvas, and by means of a skillful use of colors something like a conception of its beauty may be conveyed."[79] Moran first exhibited *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* at New York's Clinton Hall, with the *New York Times* opining that Moran's subject was, "treated most successfully, and with great technical power."[80]

Moran brought the mystery surrounding the Yellowstone region into a new cultural arena by transforming the Yellowstone wilderness into a

---

73 Ferdinand V. Hayden, *Preliminary report of the United States Geological survey of Montana and portions of adjacent territories; being a fifth annual report of progress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 5. accessed October 29, 2014) Internet Archives, Library of Congress, https://archive.org/details/preliminaryrepor00geol.
74 Hayden, *Preliminary report of the United States Geological survey of Montana and portions of adjacent territories*, 5.
75 Ibid., 4.
76 Peter Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988): 76.
77 Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transormation of the American Landscape*, 54.
78 Hayden, *Preliminary report of the United States Geological survey of Montana and portions of adjacent territories*, 84.
79 Ibid., 84.
80 "Fine Arts," *New York Times*, May 5, 1872. 64.

work of high art. *Scribner's* editor Richard Gilder, writing to F. V. Hayden, remarked, "The Northern Central [Pacific] people, the press – the *litarati*, the artists – the rich people – will be out in force – we want to make a big strike! And we want you to answer questions and be one of the heroes of the night."[81] Moran the artist, Hayden the scientist, and Gilder the periodical editor each represent a strand in the elite web surrounding the Yellowstone discourse. In July of the same year, when Moran's work showed at Groupil Gallery on Fifth Avenue, the *New York Times* noted, "The painting has since, we hear, been purchased by the United States Government for the sum of $10,000, and is intended to be placed at the head of the grand staircase in the Senate Wing of the Capital."[82] With photographs, influencing Congressional opinion and paintings drawing gallery crowds and selling for small fortunes, visual mediums all but assured that elite citizens dominated the discussions surrounding Yellowstone's preservation. With the Yellowstone wilderness explored, mapped, documented, photographed, and painted by elite white men, the political act that created Yellowstone National Park on March 1, 1872 represented the final elite voice in the preservationist chorus as U.S. politicians voted to preserve the region.

While Congress passed the legislation for the people of the United States, post-Civil War structural racism and class barriers meant that Yellowstone's preservation happened at the behest of elite white males to meet their own economic, scientific, and cultural interests. The Yellowstone Act of 1872 declared the Yellowstone wilderness, "reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people," but the legislation did not address the Native Americans then living within the established boundaries.[83] For most elite Americans, Shoshone, Crow, Sheep Eater, and Bannock Indians who lived in the Yellowstone region did not constitute "the people."

As national attention turned west in the post-Civil War era, Native Americans violently resisted white encroachment, making self-preservation a priority over alien white conceptions of wilderness preservation. Many white preservationists saw potentially hostile Native Americans as a threat to tourism, while others saw their human presence as unbecoming to a vision

---

81 Gilder to Hayden, April 27, 1872, in *Thomas Moran: Surveying the American West* by Joni Louise Kinsey (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992),
82"Fine Arts," New York Times, July 28, 1872.
83 *An Act to Set Part a Certain Tract of Land Lying Near the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park*, in *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*, ed. Lary M. Dilsaver (Lanham, New York: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997), 28.

of unspoiled wilderness.[84] Ironically, as elite American's became more comfortable romanticizing wilderness and the American West, those same elites embraced less charitable depictions of Native Americans, calling for their incarceration on reservations.[85] Horace Greeley, famed editor and wilderness preservation proponent, wrote in 1869, "the poetic Indian - the Indian of Cooper and Longfellow - is only visible to the poet's eye. To the prosaic observer, the average Indian of the woods and prairies is a being that does little credit to human nature - a slave of appetite and sloths, never emancipated from the tyranny of one animal passion save by the more ravenous demands of another."[86] Greeley exemplifies the elite voice that sought to exclude non-white voices while simultaneously harboring charitable feelings towards nature and wilderness. The voice of the Native American within the preservationist debate, if one existed at all, sounded more like war cries and gunfire to elite whites as native people violently resisted the confiscation of their land. In addition to the racial barriers guarding entry into the national preservationist discussion, class also dictated participation. With the stroke of the pen, the establishment of Yellowstone National Park made criminals out of poor local whites who subsisted on hunting, trapping, timber cutting, and prospecting. Legally transformed into poachers and thieves, many poor Montana locals greeted the creation of the park with hostility while affluent Montana citizens and Eastern elites celebrated the new park.[87]

While lauded as a victory for American democracy by elite citizens, wilderness preservation contained all of the usual conflict and violence associated with uneven power-relations. Yellowstone National Park's creation in 1872 existed to serve elite white individual, business and national interests. Thomas Moran's painting, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, embodies the elite discourse surrounding the establishment of Yellowstone National Park. His painting captured the spiritual wonder that Emerson and Thoreau saw in nature and Langford and Hayden experienced in Yellowstone's wilderness. The painting hinted at the scientific potential of newly documented natural wonders. Moran, as an agent of the Northern Pacific Railroad and *Scribner's Monthly*, captured on canvas the economic potential of Yellowstone's beauty. Moran's colorful depiction of sublime wilderness illustrated for elite citizens with the means and the will to travel that Yellowstone's wilderness waited to reward people cultivated enough to appreciate its grandeur.

And finally, the painting's purchase by the U.S. government and

84 Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 59.
85 Ibid, 4-5.
86 Horace Greely, *An Overland Journey: From New York to San Francisco, in Summer of 1859* (New York: Alfred A, Knopf, 1964), 119.
87 Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 121-22.

its placement in the Capitol served as official recognition by the governing class that Yellowstone's value transcended individual preservationist motives and was indeed worthy of preservation for all "the people" of elite status. While *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* captures the roar of the Lower Falls and embodies the elite values that brought Yellowstone National Park into existence, the painting also represents the cultural silence of the continent's non-white, female, and poor occupants who found themselves structurally excluded from national decision-making in the middle of the nineteenth century. The elite white voice, amplified by education, wealth, fame, family connections, political relationships, social mobility, and access to power, created a web of connection that linked ideas, people, and institutions, subsequently creating America's first national park as a cultural product of an extended and exclusive preservationist discourse.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bowles, Samuel. *Across the Continent: A Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States with Speaker Colfax*. Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles & Company, 1865.

—. "The Pacific Railroad: Open." *Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art, and Politics*, June, 1869.

Bunnell, Lafayette H. "The Date of the Discovery of Yosemite." *Century Magazine* 40, September, 1890.

—. *Discovery of Yosemite and the Indian Wars of 1851 which led to that Event*. Los Angeles:G.W. Gerlicher, 1911.

Catlin, George. *The North American Indians*. Vol. 1. North Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2000. Accessed November 2, 2014. ProQuest Ebrary. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/csus/reader.action?docID=10001943

Cook, Charles W., David E. Folsom, and William Peterson. *The Valley of the Upper Yellowstone: An Exploration of the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River in the Year 1869*, edited by Aubrey L. Haines. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

"Depredations in Wyoming Territory : Cavalry in Pursuit of Savages, Return of Surveying Expedition, Apprehending Attack." *New York Times*, September 11, 1872. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9B05EFDF1F38EF34BC4852DFBF668389669FDE.

Eccleston, Robert. *The Mariposa Indian War, 1850 – 1851: Diaries of Robert Eccleston: The California Gold Rush, Yosemite, and the High Sierra*. Edited by C. Gregory Crampton. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1957.

Editorial. "Fine Arts." *New York Times*, May 5, 1872. Editorial. "Fine Arts." *New York Times*, July 28, 1872.

Editorial. "The People and the National Parks." *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 26, 1882. Editorial. "Travels in Montana," *New York Times*, January 22, 1871.

Editorial. "The Yellowstone Park Bill." *New York Times*, February 29, 1872. Accessed October 4, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9801E6DE1E38EF34BC4151DFB4668389669FDE.

Editorial. "The Yellowstone Expedition," *New York Times*, September 16, 1871. Editorial. "The Yellowstone Expedition," *New York Times*, September 18, 1871. Editorial. "The Yellowstone Expedition," *New York Times*, October 14, 1870.

Editorial. "The Yellowstone Park." *New York Times*, March 12, 1873. Ac-

cessed October 5, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9A04E2D9133EEE34BC4A51DFB766838A669FDE.
Editorial. "The Yosemite in Congress." *New York Times*, February 14, 1870. Access October 4, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9803E6D91039EF34BC4051DFB566838F669FDE.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Portable Emerson.* Edited by Carl Bode and Malcolm Cowley. New York: Penguin Books, 1981.
—. "Thoreau." *Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art, and Politics*, August 1862. Everts, Truman C. "Thirty-Seven Days of Peril." *Scribner's Monthly*, November 1871. Accessed October 26, 2014. Making of America, Cornell Digital Archives. http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer- idx?c=scmo&cc=scmo&idno=scmo0003-1&node=scmo0003- 1%3A2&view=image&seq=23&size=100.
"The Far West." *New York Times*, August 31, 1873. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9505E2D61330EF34BC4950DFBE668388669FDE.
"Forty-Third Congress." *New York Times*, March 28, 1874. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9803E6D91039EF34BC4051DFB566838F669FDE.
"General Stanley's Expedition." *New York Times*, June 30, 1873. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9801E4D61330EF34BC4850DFB0668388669FDE.
Gilder to Hayden, April 27, 1872. In *Thomas Moran: Surveying the American West* by Joni Louise Kinsey. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
Greeley, Horace. *Glances at Europe: in a series of letters from Great Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, etc., during the summer of 1851. Including notices of the Great Exhibition, or World's Fair*. New York: Dewitt & Davenport, 1851. Accessed October 26, 2014, Internet Archive, Library of Congress. https://archive.org/details/glancesateuropei00gree.
—. *An Overland Journey: From New York to San Francisco, in Summer of 1859*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.
Harding, Walter and Carl Bode, eds. *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau*. New York: New York University Press, 1958.
Hayden, F. V. *Geological Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, 1859-60*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869. 5. Accessed October 29, 2014. Internet Archives, Library of Congress, https://archive.org/details/preliminaryrepor00geol.
—. *Preliminary report of the United States Geological survey of Montana*

and portions of adjacent territories; being a fifth annual report of progress. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872. Accessed October 29, 2014. Internet Archives, Library of Congress. https://archive.org/details/preliminaryrepor00geol.

—. "The Wonders of the West: II: More about Yellowstone." *Scribner's Monthly*, February 1872.

Jackson, William Henry. *The Diaries of William Henry Jackson: Frontier Photographer*. The Far West and Rockies Series, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

Jay Cooke and Co. *The Northern Pacific Land Grant and the Future Business of the Road*. Philadelphia: Jay Cooke and Company, 1870.

Johnson, Robert Underwood. "The Guest of the Evening." *Harper's New Monthly Review*, August 1888.

—. "Open Letters: Yosemite Valley, Letters from Visitors." *Century Magazine*, January 1890.

—. *Remembered Yesterdays*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1923.

Jones, William A. *Report upon the Reconnaissance of Northwestern Wyoming, including Yellowstone National Park, made in the Summer of 1873*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875. CSUS Library, microfilm.

Langford, N. P. "The Wonders of Yellowstone." *Scribner's Monthly*, June 1971.

Letter to the editor. "The Yosemite Valley." *New York Times*, February 18, 1870. Accessed October 4, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9B0CE2D7173BE63BBC4052DFB466838B669FDE.

Ludlow, William. *Report of a Reconnaissance from Carroll, Montana Territory, on the Upper Missouri to the Yellowstone National Park, and Return, the Summer of 1875*.

Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876. CSUS Library, microfilm.

Marsh, George Perkins. *Man and Nature: Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1865. Accessed October 26, 2014. Internet Archive, Library of Congress, https://archive.org/details/manandnatureorp00marsgoog.

Merril, Marlene Deahl, ed. *Yellowstone and the Great West: Journals, Letters, and Images from the 1871 Hayden Expedition*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1999.

"Mr. Moran's 'Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone' – Other New Pictures." *New York Times*, July 28, 1872. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://que-

ry.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9904E2DB1E38EF34B-C4051DFB1668389669FDE.
Muir, John. "The American Forests." *Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Science, Art, and Politics*, August 1897.
—. "Features of the Proposed Yosemite National Park." *Century Magazine*, September 1890.
—. "Living Glaciers of California." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, November 1875.
—. *The Mountains of California*. New York: Century Company, 1903.
—. *My First Summer in the Sierra*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911.
—. "The Treasures of Yosemite." *Century Magazine*, August 1890.
—. "Wild Wool." *Overland Monthly*, April 1875.
—. "Yosemite Glaciers." *New York Tribune*, December 5, 1871.
—. "Yosemite in Spring." *New York Tribune*, December 5, 1872.
—. "Yosemite in Winter." *New York Tribune*, May 7, 1872.
Olmsted, Frederick Law. *Yosemite and the Mariposa Grove: A Preliminary Report, 1865*.Yosemite National Park, CA: Yosemite Association, 1993.
Parkman, Francis. "The Forests and the Census." *Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art, and Politics*, June 1885.
Powell, John Wesley. "Institutions for the Arid Lands." *In American Environmentalism: The Formative Period, 1860 – 1915*, edited by Donald Worster, 61-72. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.,1973.
"Railroad Statistics: The Yellowstone National Park." *New York Times*, November 29, 1873.Accessed October 5, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9803E2D71F38E333A2575AC2A9679D-946290D7CF.
Raynolds, Bvt. Grig. Gen. W. F. *Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone River*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1868.
Roberts, Milner W. "Dakota: Letter from Chief Engineer Roberts: Railroad Traffic: Character of the Dakota Lands: Indian Matters." *New York Times*, August 13, 1872. Accessed October 4, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9A06E7D81E38EF34BC4B52DF-BE668389669FDE.
Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Strenuous Life*. New York: Century Company, 1900.
—. *The Winning of the West*. Vol. 4. New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1899.
"Severe Battle Reported with Indians in Yellowstone Valley: Attack on Members of the Northern Pacific Railway Survey." *New York Times*, September 10, 1872. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://query.nytimes.

com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9B05EFDF1F38EF34BC4852D-FBF668389669FDE.
Sweitzer, A. B. "The Yellowstone Party of Citizens Attacked: Frequent Skirmishes." *New York Times*, May 8, 1874. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9907E1DE1F-3FE03BBC4053DFB366838F669FDE.
Thoreau, Henry David. "Autumnal Tints." *Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art, and Politics*, June 1862.
—. "Walking." *Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art, and* Politics, June 1862. Accessed October 15, 2014, Project Gutenberg, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1022/1022- h/1022-h.htm.
"Travels in Montana." *New York Times*, June 22, 1871. Accessed October 4, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9A04E2D9133EEE34BC4A51DFB766838A669FDE.
Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986.
U.S. Congress. *An Act Authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the "Yo-Semite Valley," and of the land Embracing the "Mariposa Big Tree Grove."* In *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*. Edited by Lary M. Dilsaver. Lanham, New York: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1994.
U.S. Congress. *An Act to Set Part a Certain Tract of Land Lying Near the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park*. In *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*, ed. Lary M. Dilsaver. Lanham, New York: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1994.
Whitman, Walt. "Song of the Redwood-Tree." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, February 1874.
Wisely, J. L. "The Yosemite Valley, California." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May 1866. "The Wonders of the Yellowstone Valley." *New York Times*, February 1, 1874. Accessed October 5, 2014. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9A0CE0DA173BEF34B-C4953DFB466838F669FDE "The Yellowstone Expedition." *New York Times*, July 17, 1873. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive- free/pdf?res=9B04E4D61539EF34BC4F52DFB1668388669FDE (accessed October 5, 2014).

Secondary Sources

Anderson, Nancy K. and Linda S. Ferber. *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise*. New York: Hudson Hill Press, 1991.
Barringer, Mark Daniel. *Selling Yellowstone: Capitalism and the*

Construction of Nature. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.
Blodgett, Peter J. "The Realm of Wonder: Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855-1916." *California History* 69, no. 2 (Summer, 1993): 118-133.
Brinkley, David. *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America*. New York: Harper Collins, 2009.
Chambers, Frank. *Hayden and his Men: being a selection of 108 photographs by William Henry Jackson of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of The Territories for the years 1870-1878*. Dillsburg, PA: Francis Paul Geoscience Literature, 1988.
Cox, Thomas R. "Americans and Their Forests: Romanticism, Progress, and Science in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Forest History* 29, no. 4 (October 1985): 156-168.
Cronon, William. "The Trouble with Wilderness; or getting back to the Wrong Nature." In *Out of the Woods: Essays in Environmental History*, edited by Char Miller and Hal Rothman, 28-50. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1997.
De Leon, Arnoldo. *Racial Frontiers: Africans, Chinese, and Mexicans in Western America, 1848-1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.
DeLuca, Kevin and Anne Demo. "Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carlton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness." *Environmental History* 6, no. 4 (October, 2001): 541-60.
Demers, Stanford E. *The Tourist in Yosemite, 1855-1985*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991.
Deverell, William. *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Rail Road, 1850-1910*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
Fox, Stephen. *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1981.
Gilliam, Ann, ed. *Voices of the Earth: A Treasury of Sierra Club Bulletin*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1979.
Haines Aubrey L. *The Yellowstone Story: A History of our First National Park*. Vols. 1 and 2. Revised Ed. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1997.
—. *Yellowstone National Park: Its Exploration and Establishment*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1971.
Hampton, H. Duane. *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved our National Parks*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971.
Hine, Robert V. and John Mack Faragher. *Frontiers: A Short History of the American West*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Howe, M. A. DeWolf. *The Atlantic Monthly and Its Makers*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1919.
Huntley, Jen A. *The Making of Yosemite: James Hutching's and the Origin of America's Most Popular National Park*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011.
Hyde, Anne F. "From Stagecoach to Packard Twin Six: Yosemite and the Changing Face of Tourism, 1880-1930." *California History* 69, no.2 (Summer 1990): 154-69.
Jackson, W. Turrentine. "The Cook-Folsom Exploration of the Upper Yellowstone, 1869." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (June 1941): 307-22. Accessed October 4, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40486472.
—. "The Creation of Yellowstone National Park." In "The National Park Issue." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Summer 1957. Accessed October 4, 2014. http://jstor.org/stable/4516172.
—. "Governmental Exploration of the Upper Yellowstone, 1871." *Pacific Historical Review* 11, no. 2 (June 1942): 187-99. Accessed October 4, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3633768.
Jacoby, Karl. *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
Jones, Holoway R. *John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite*. San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1965.
Kinsey, Joni Louise. *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
Klyza, Christopher McGrory. "The United States Army, Natural Resources, and Political Development in the Nineteenth Century." *Polity* 35 (Autumn 2002): 1-28.
Kramer, Howard D. "The Scientist in the West, 1870-1880." *Pacific Historical Review* 12, no. 3 (September 1942): 239-51. Accessed October 4, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3633047.
Limerick, Patricia. *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1987.
Lindsay, Brendan C. *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846 – 1872*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2012.
Lubetkin, John M. *Jay Cooke's Gamble: The Northern Pacific, the Sioux and the Panic of 1873*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.
McIntosh, James. *Thoreau as Romantic Naturalist: His Shifting Stance toward Nature*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.
McKidden, Bill, ed. *American Earth: Environmental Writing since Thoreau*.

New York: Library Classics of the United States, 2008.
Meyerson, Harvey. *Nature's Army: When Soldiers Fought for Yosemite*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2001.
Mickelson, Sig. *The Northern Pacific Railroad and the Selling of the West: a Nineteenth- Century Public Relations Venture*. Sioux Falls: Center for Western Studies, 1993.
Nash, Roderick. "The Value of Wilderness." *Environmental Review: ER* 1, no. 3 (1976): 16. Accessed October 25, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3984308.
Nash, Roderick Frazier. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. 4th ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
Noonan, Mark J. *Reading the Century Illustrated Magazine: American Literature and Culture, 1870 – 1893*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 2010.
Norris, James D. *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.
Posada, Barbara M. and Robert McColley, eds. *Refracting America: Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Environment in American History to 1877*. New York: Brandywine Press, 1993.
Runte, Alfred. *Trains of Discovery: Western Railroads and the National Parks*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1984.
—. *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Schullery, Paul, and Lee Whittlesey. *Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National*
Park. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
Shamir, Milette. "The Manliest Relations to Men," Thoreau on Privacy, Intimacy, and Writing." In *Boys Don't Cry?: Rethinking Narratives of Masculinity and Emotion in the U.S.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
Spence, Mark David. *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
Spence, Mark. "Dispossessing the Wilderness: Yosemite Indians and the National Park Ideal, 1864 – 1930." *Pacific Historical Review* 65, no. 1 (Feb. 1996): 27-59.
Utley, Robert M. *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846 – 1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.
Warren, Louis S. "The Nature of Conquest: Indians, Americans, and Environmental History." In *Companion to American Indian History*, edited by Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, 287-306. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002.

Home to Hospital:
The Shift from Midwifery to Medicine

By Nora Walker
CSUS, 2015

Abstract
The paper discusses transition around the fin de siècle from the use of a midwife at childbirth to that of a male medical doctor in a hospital environment setting. An examination of three key milestones discloses the benefits and detriments that assisted the shift to professionalized care--medical tools, pain relief, and advances in medical science. These elements encouraged women to turn to hospitals and doctors.

About the Author

Nora Walker is a former graduate student at California State University, Sacramento. She is a member of Phi Alpha Theta and graduated in Fall 2014. She received her Bachelor of Arts in history from California State University, Sacramento in May 2012. Nora primarily studied U.S Women's history and modern U.S history. Her passion for history originates from learning that her Grandfather served in WWII. At eight years old, Nora found it fascinating that she knew someone who participated in a historical event. She hopes to inspire that kind of passion and fascination in students after she graduates.

Bearing children is the most fundamental element of womanhood. However, this fundamental element has been twisted and transformed for the convenience of male doctors. Childbirth is a defining moment in a woman's life, an event to which women, across race and culture, can relate. Every mother has a birth story that she shares with other mothers. "Childbirth symbolizes this historical and cultural definition of women's essence: the bearing of children has represented women's most valued work."[1] Childbirth and pregnancy can be a very happy and fulfilling time in a woman's life. Close friends and family spent the last nine months waiting for this day. In present day, when a woman goes into labor, she is checked into a hospital and follows the advice of the doctor which may or may not be what she wants. The only previous experience this modern day woman has with childbirth is what she sees in movies or television. This new mother has virtually no power in this situation.

The professionalization of obstetric medicine introduced invasive technology that resulted in women losing control of the birthing process and environment. Prior to the professionalization and specialization of medicine, childbirth focused solely on one woman. When a woman went into labor, the husband called the midwife along with several female friends and family members. The social and psychological aspect of childbirth should not be discounted. "The event of birth presented an important, perhaps the primary, occasion for female solidarity. Women could help in practical ways at birth, but they attended also, it may be supposed, because they sought to hearten the expectant woman, to share their own knowledge and experiences of birth, and to prepare themselves for their own future deliveries."[2]

Very few, if any, American midwives had any formal medical training. From the late seventeenth century to the early to mid-eighteenth century the United States did not have any medical schools. Even if these schools existed, such institutions barred female attendance. New York and Virginia were the only places that offered midwives training or regulated their practice. In these two colonies, midwives were required to obtain a license that bound them to help women regardless of station, to record the births of bastard children, and barred them from administering any drug or herb that produced a miscarriage.[3] Some women past their childbearing years or nearing the end of their child bearing years became midwives later on in their lives. They had born many children and had successful

1 Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed:Childbearing in America 1750-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 3.
2 Richard W. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-In: A Hisory of Childbirth in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 4.
3Ibid., 7.

births themselves. Although they lacked any formal training, the midwives who served their community were highly respected and their work and popularity spoke for itself through the many successful live births the women attended. "The importance of midwives to the social order is shown in the fact that several New England towns provided a house or lot rent free to a midwife..."[4] The word itself, midwife, is from Old English and means with woman. In Jamaica, Japan, France, Ancient Greece, and Ireland the word midwife is often synonymous with grandmother.[5] This illustrates the value that these women held in their communities; they were seen as revered elders. Midwives left very few records behind; most records historians have are associated with court or church documents.

Only a few names have transcended time because their communities "memorialized" them. Midwives, such as Rebecca Fuller of Boston, Ruth Barnaby of Boston, Elizabeth Phillips of Boston, and Martha Ballard of Hallowell, Maine are a few of the documented midwives.[6] Martha Ballard's diary provides precious insight into the life of a colonial midwife. She lived in Hallowell, Maine, and served the women and children in that rural community and the area surrounding it. In the years between 1785 and 1812, Martha Ballard delivered 816 children, with only a handful of deaths.[7] Certainly, the births of her own nine children readied her for the occupation that she assumed at the end of her reproductive years. Many times families called on midwives for health related issues that did not pertain to labor or childbirth; these instances usually concerned female health issues. Ulrich states that Martha Ballard offered more than only midwifery services, "In twentieth-century terms, she was simultaneously a midwife, nurse, physician, mortician, pharmacist, and attentive wife."[8] Martha Ballard's diary is a very rare source for historians. Not many records written by women have survived, and most do not equal the level of detail that Martha Ballard's diary exhibits. Ulrich uses Ballard's diary to examine the day-to-day lives of women, to learn more about midwifery, and to look at how women at this time interacted in society. Ballard's diary provides a typical example of what kind of births and other health related services midwives provided as well as insight to daily colonial life.

Midwives in the United States did not attend any kind

---

4 Ibid,. 8.
5 Tina Cassidy, *Birth: The Surprising History of How We Are Born* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006) 29.
6 Richard W. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-In: A Hisory of Childbirth in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 8.
7 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwive's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on her Diary, 1785-1812* (NewYork: Random House, 1991), 5.
8 Ibid., 40.

of formal training, as Ballard's diary indicates, but they did use what modern medicine considers folk medicine. Midwives had their own methods of delivering children.

While the modern woman's idea of childbirth involves hospitals, IV drips, pain killers, and being hooked up to countless machines, not to mention the sterile environment, midwives in colonial America would let nature take its course. The women created a very warm room by bringing in extra blankets and starting a fire. They believed that the laboring woman should drink and eat if able in order to preserve her strength. The midwife guided the woman through the process: deliver the child, clean the child, cut the umbilical cord, and take care of the afterbirth.[9] A midwife might rub oils or butter on the vagina or birth canal to ease stretching during childbirth. Alcohol offered the only pain relief. "If labor progressed slowly, midwives could prescribe remedies of dubious efficacy, such as drinks of cinnamon water, swallows' nests dissolved in water, or application of a magnet or horseshoe to the genitals to draw the child out."[10] At this time, neither midwives nor doctors had found a way to reduce the pain associated with childbirth or any way to speed up the process; it would be years until the discovery of a viable pain relief option. Midwives and the other women provided a warm and comfortable environment so the laboring woman would be at ease. The other women comforted the expectant mother because they knew what she was going through and offered sound advice, encouraged her, and did not become embarrassed by any physical reaction that occurred during labor, nor did the laboring woman worry about modesty. "There was no standard posture for giving birth, but apparently few women lay flat in bed. Some squatted on a midwife's stool, a low chair with an open seat. Others knelt on a pallet, sat on another woman's lap, or stood supported by two friends."[11]

Depending on the midwife and community, the style of the birthing chairs or stools varied from region to region. A common style had a sloped low back; this allowed a woman to assist the laboring woman from behind, or massage her back to ease the muscles during contractions. The seat varied from a horseshoe shape or a very narrow rectangular shaped seat. Many birthing chairs also had some kind of handle so the woman could help support herself or grasp something during labor pains. "All were designed to allow the laboring woman to sit rather than to support herself in a squatting position. The height of the seat on both stools and chairs made it possible for the delivering woman to brace her feet against the ground during contractions while still

9 Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society: 1650-1850* (New York: New York University Press, 1985), 26.
10 Ibid., 26.
11 Ibid., 26.

allowing the attendant to have access to the birth canal."[12] When professionalized medicine entered the birthing room, the freedom of movement and a woman's choice disappeared. Once women invited doctors into the birthing room, doctors forced midwives out of the childbirth process.

A modern woman views childbirth much differently than a colonial woman. Modern women approach childbirth without fear. While there is always a risk that something could go wrong, the rate of maternal death is very low compared to colonial times. Childbirth is also no longer an event that brings women together in such solidarity, whereas colonial women viewed childbirth with anticipation and just a hint of fear because the possibility of death loomed near. Before the widespread availability of birth control, women viewed childbirth as a fact of life. "At the beginning of the nineteenth century, white American women bore an average of more than seven live children. This implies considerably more than seven pregnancies, because many terminated in miscarriage or stillbirths...Pregnancy, birth, and postpartum recovery occupied a significant portion of most women's adult lives, and motherhood defined a major part of their identity."[13]

Historian Judith Walzer Leavitt uses the example of Mary Vial Holyoke to show how childbirth played such a pivotal role for women at this time. During the first twenty-three years of her marriage, Mary Vial Holyoke was either pregnant, nursing, or recovering from childbirth. Only three of her twelve children reached adulthood.[14] This shows just how important the role of midwife was to the women in their community. She supported the women during their most trying times. One midwife could deliver a generation of children for the whole community. For many women, she served not just as someone who helped to guide her through her labor, but also a woman who was a friend and confidant.

In the late eighteenth century, doctors began to professionalize medicine. New medical schools opened in the United States, and many practices from Europe crossed the Atlantic and made their mark on New England communities. "Men trained in medicine began to study and practice midwifery in increasing numbers, and as they moved into this field they pushed women out, arguing that childbirth was a dangerous and delicate process requiring the expert assistance of a physician. At the same time, they denied women access to the for-

---

12Amanda Carson Banks, *Birth Chairs, Midwives, and Medicine* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999),6.
13 Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed:Childbearing in America 1750-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 14.
14 Ibid., 15.

mal training in obstetrics, claiming it as their badge of expertise."[15]

America's medical history began in Europe, particularly England and France. These two countries led the way in education and new technology. In England and France, doctors started to specialize in obstetrics. "The French, and later the English, used accoucheur, a derivation of the verb 'to give birth,' a title linguistically problematic because men don't give birth, women do...Yet it was an English doctor, in 1828, who suggested 'obstetrician' the Latin root of which means 'to stand before' or, as with the word obstruction, 'in the way'."[16]

Early doctors, from the very start, trained and believed differently than midwives. Men who trained in medicine went to Europe to go to school. No medical school existed in America until the founding of the medical college at the University of Pennsylvania in 1765.[17] Male doctors were book trained; very rarely did they have hands-on experience. This meant that doctors could graduate from medical school and not participate in a live birth or see a woman's genitalia until the first time he was called to help with a birth. By comparison midwives never received formal training. They passed their methods on to their replacements through hands on experience. Midwives typically did not interfere with the birthing process unless something went wrong, whereas doctors felt compelled to use the 'tools of the trade' at every birth. Doctors believed that they needed to make it easier on the mother giving birth; this meant using a device to try to deliver the baby faster or seemingly pain free. One man, Ambroise Pare, was known as the father of modern surgery in France. He taught a midwifery class at the Hotel Dieu in Paris. In this class, he taught two revolutionary birthing techniques as well as what became his legacy. The first was a new method of delivering the baby. This method involved manipulating the baby's position so that the child would be delivered feet first. This was believed to be best because the doctor attending the birth could grab the baby by the feet and pull. This method was also believed to be easier on the mother, although it used the inaccurate theory that a woman's pelvis separates during birth. Pare's second technique attempted to preserve the modesty of his patients. He taught that doctors should never look at the genitalia of the woman they examined. The woman remained fully clothed while the doctor blindly examined her, meaning that he only used his hands to examine the patient as it would be

15 Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society: 1650-1850* (New York: New York University Press, 1985), 29.
16 Tina Cassidy, *Birth: The Surprising History of How We Are Born* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), 131
17 Francis R. Packard, *History of Medicine in the United States, Volume 2* (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1963), 1125.

completely unacceptable for a doctor to visually examine his patient. Beyond these two techniques, the greatest legacy Pare left behind was the technique of women lying on their backs in bed while giving birth. This only served to make the attending doctors' job easier, not the mothers.[18]

Almost all doctors until 1775 learned their skill through apprenticeship. The first medical school in the colonies was founded in 1765. Since most men in early colonial America could not afford to attend medical school in Europe, they instead apprenticed anywhere from two to seven years. In a few cases, this proved to be an excellent form of education. The apprentices learned from their elders and gained hands-on experience. The vast majority of other apprentices spent much more time as assistants and errand boys instead of learning the profession. The majority of men the apprentices learned from lacked formal medical training. Therefore, the doctors perpetuated ignorance and possessed no more education than the midwives, yet the midwives were more knowledgeable in midwifery than the doctors at this time.[19]

William Shippen, Jr. was the first American doctor to teach classes on midwifery in the United States. William Shippen, Sr., a well-known and successful doctor in colonial Philadelphia, helped found the Pennsylvania hospital in 1753. William Shippen, Jr. apprenticed with his father for four years at the beginning of his medical training. The younger Shippen was of the generation who began to study abroad and attended medical school in Europe. He graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1761, one of the leading medical schools of his time. After Shippen returned to the United States, he started giving lectures on midwifery, the first lecture of its kind.[20] In these classes, Shippen taught "anatomy, fetal circulation, nutrition, and the use of instruments. He practiced on mannequins and poor patients before wealthy women began to call on him and his colleagues for emergencies."[21] Shortly after the founding of the Pennsylvania medical college in Philadelphia, King College (now Columbia University) and Harvard founded their own medical colleges and doctors started teaching and taking courses that specialized in midwifery none of these schools or courses were open to women. This gave the implication to pa-

---

18 Tina Cassidy, *Birth: The Surprising History of How We Are Born* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), 132.

19 Jane B. Donegan, *Women & Men Midwives: Medicine, Morality, and Misogyny in Early America* (Conneticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), 95-96.

20 Luis Toledo-Pereyra, "William Shippen, Jr: Pioneer Revolutionary War Surgeon and Father of American Anatomy and Midwifery," *Journal of Investigative Surgery* 15, 2002: 183-184.

21 Tina Cassidy, *Birth: The Surprising History of How We Are Born,* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), 137.

tients that male doctors now had a superior knowledge over midwives.

William Shippen, Jr. is just one example of the changes that took place in the United States. Soon after him, more and more doctors started to add midwifery to their repertoire. The shift from using only midwives to strictly using doctors progressed slowly and at first, gradual. This shift mirrored the one taking place in Europe. "Decorum was observed in the colonies, and social norms still dictated that physicians be called only as a last resort to manage abnormal cases. Those few doctors who did include obstetrics in their practices had as yet no opportunities to attend routine deliveries, even among the indigent."[22] Midwives attended the majority of all births because social rules governing modesty prevented male doctors from sharing a room with a laboring woman. Midwives only summoned doctors in cases of extreme distress or when the mother required surgery. This hearkens back to Pare's belief that doctors must examine their patients fully clothed. While doctors studied midwifery rather early on, not until the early nineteenth did male doctors establish their place in the birthing room.

Doctors studied and researched midwifery as they did any other area of medicine. They researched the ways that the body worked and changed. Doctors wanted to know more about the problems that arose during labor. Doctors wanted to find a way to make labor easier and painless. The medical world did not view childbirth as a natural occurrence, but as something that science could improve upon. While trying to improve the experience, the medical community experimented with different techniques and devices. When doctors were called to assist in extremely difficult births, they brought these new devices with them. Soon, more doctors were being called to help at more births, births that midwives may not have been deemed difficult before.

The laboring woman made the choice to call the doctor. Eventually, word spread within the female community about the new devices the doctors used and their ability to perhaps make birth easier. These women belonged to the upper and middle classes as they could afford the doctors fee. "The decline of female midwifery and the concomitant growing popularity of employing the general practitioner to act as accoucheur (a male obstetrician or midwife) are directly related to the evolution of midwifery from an art to a science that began to develop in England early in the eighteenth century. Tradition, societal definitions of modesty, and the midwives all opposed man midwifery, yet it gained increasing acceptance among many

---

22 Jane B. Donegan, *Women & Men Midwives: Medicine, Morality, and Misogyny in Early America* (Conneticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), 112.

women of influence. It did so in the name of safety and implied progress."[23]

This notion of implied progress encouraged women and their families to call upon doctors for their assistance. Just like any other business, doctors gained popularity through their reputation of successful births and the new techniques they used to make a difficult birth an easier one. Medicine quickly professionalized and soon midwives and the methods they used seemed outdated and old fashioned. Doctors advertised the different tools they used to ensure a quick birth and a less painful one as well.

In early obstetrics, doctors had multiple tools at their disposal. Doctors had available to them different kinds of hooks, blunt and sharp, that they used to pull a baby down the birth canal. The doctors had sharper instruments that they used to kill a baby when the baby was stuck or stillborn. They used the tools to dismember the baby and remove it piece by piece. Such tools did more harm than good. Many doctors were not well schooled in the correct usage of these tools, and it was easy to disfigure a baby or tear the mother's delicate tissue. While medical schools started to teach their students how to use these tools, this did not ensure that all doctors using them were well versed. The most well-known and widely used tool was the forceps. In the early seventeenth century, Peter Chamberlen invented the forceps. At the time, doctors regarded their tools as their own property. Therefore, the Chamberlen family kept the invention of the forceps a secret for over a century. "The device consisted of two enlarged spoons with handles that could be inserted separately into the birth canal and then joined and locked together so that the spoons cupped the baby's head to draw it out."[24] The early eighteenth century saw the use of the forceps increase dramatically. It was no longer a guarded secret, but a widely used tool. Doctors used forceps three different ways. To use low forceps, the baby's head needed to be visible to the attending physician. High or floating forceps meant that the baby's head had not started its descent into the birth canal. Doctors used middle forceps when the baby's head was in the birth canal, but not visible. During the eighteenth century doctors used all forms of forceps, many times without regard to what might happen to the child or mother. Doctors who used the middle or high forceps increased "the possibilities of physical damage, infection in damaged tissue, hemorrhage, and a crushed fetal head."[25]

Doctors introduced forceps into the birthing room at the same time laboring women started inviting doctors in. Midwives, standing against the use of forceps, still believed that their job, and the job of anyone attending a birth, was not to interfere with nature. They believed that instruments

23 Ibid., 132.

24 Richard W. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-In: A Hisory of Childbirth in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 35.

25 Ibid., 37.

were too invasive. They argued that the best instrument to use during labor was ones hands. One midwife observed that not all doctors had the training to use these tools, "these self-constituted man midwives made out of broken barbers, tailors, or even pork butchers, for I know one myself of this last trade, who having passed half his life in stuffing sausage, is turned out intrepid physician and man midwife."[26] Midwives fought for their profession by pointing out the problems and faults of the forceps and the men who used them. Male midwives used the forceps to solidify their position in the birthing room. They used the forceps and various tools as an indicator of their skill, training, and ability. They promised women a shorter and easier birth. Doctors did not speed up labor for the sake of the laboring woman; they did so because a long labor wasted their time. One physician noted that the quicker a doctor could get through a birth, the greater the benefit to his reputation, and the quicker he could get to the next patient.[27] The introduction of forceps, and the knowledge that they represented, forever changed who helped laboring women. Jane B. Donegan in her book, *Women and Men Midwives: Medicine, Morality, and Misogyny in Early America* put it best;

> The forceps were developed and improved upon by surgeons for their exclusive use in performing surgical operations in midwifery. They did not contemplate placing them into the hands of women, who were expected to continue to call upon surgeons for help in abnormal cases. It is impossible to overstress this point. The continuing development of improved procedures and equipment therefore widened he existing disparity between the midwives and the surgeons.[28]

The forceps helped solidify the doctors' place by the mid eighteenth century. Doctors used their new technology and methods in most deliveries they attended. But did these new tools that promised quick and safer deliveries live up to their claims, or did they bring a new set of injuries and complications that did not exist until doctors began using an invasive technique?

---

26 Ibid., 40.
27 Ibid., 40.
28 Jane B. Donegan, *Women & Men Midwives: Medicine, Morality, and Misogyny in Early America* (Conneticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), 59.

The pain associated with childbirth was a factor that the medical community felt they could remedy. This went along with their goal to make childbirth easier and pain free for women. There were early experiments with chloroform and ether. The first American woman given an anesthetic during child birth was Fanny Appleton Longfellow, wife of the poet Henry Wadsworth Lonfellow, in 1847.[29] The attending physician, Nathan Cooley Keep from Boston, later wrote letters to various medical journals and papers touting how well ether worked and how it did not impede labor. The next year, in 1848, Dr. Walter Channing of Boston advocated for the use of chloroform during childbirth as a substitute to ether.[30] In 1853, Queen Victoria of England used chloroform during her eighth delivery, and soon after, many women wanted to have a painless birth just like the Queen.[31] There were many motivations behind finding a pain free method of delivery; some were religious, and others were to calm women's fears of giving birth by taking away the pain. The most invasive form of pain free delivery was the phenomenon of Twilight Sleep.

Twilight Sleep originated from Germany during the early twentieth century. Women from all over the Continent and the United States sought out the two doctors, Carl Gauss and Bernhardt Kronig, in Freidburg who performed the new method, and by 1914, major hospitals throughout Europe used Twilight Sleep. Doctors obtained Twilight Sleep using a cocktail of two different pain relief medicines: morphine or opium used in conjunction with scopolamine. Morphine and opium had been used for centuries to relieve pain and treat different medical maladies. Scopolamine was plant based and "known to be a poison capable of causing confusion, disorientation, and amnesia...Unlike ether and chloroform, which produce a state of anesthesia—that is, complete freedom from pain and total unconsciousness—Twilight Sleep offered analgesia, or partial pain relief, and amnesia."[32] Both drugs had their own dangerous side effects, but doctors believed the effects could be controlled in small doses.

Doctors administered the first dose when the laboring woman started active labor. The attending doctors then administered two tests to see if the drugs had taken effect. "Once the laboring woman was under the

---

29 Jacqueline H. Wolf, *Deliver Me from Pain:Anesthesia and Birth in America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 13.
30 William F. McCool and Sara A. Simeone, "Birth in the United States: An Overview of Trends Past and Present,"*Nursing clinics of North America* 37 (2002): 737.
31 Ibid,, 25
32 Donald Caton, *What a Blessing She Had Chloroform: The Medical and Social Response to the Pain of Childbirth from 1800 to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 133.

effects of scopolamine, the doctors put her into a specially designed cribbed to contain her sometimes violent movements."[33] In addition to the sometimes violent movements, women also thrashed about and screamed. The scopolamine enabled the body to go through the motions of childbirth and the body still felt the resulting pain, but the drug prevented the woman from remembering anything that happened, including losing control of her body. Nurses and doctors wore muffled slippers, covered the woman's eyes, and sometimes placed women in strait jackets to prevent them from hurting themselves. When it came time to deliver the child, women were strapped down to the delivery table using leather straps.[34]

A small group of wealthy American women who had traveled to Germany to give birth under the effects of Twilight Sleep campaigned to bring the new technique to the United States. In 1914, women interested in bringing Twilight Sleep to the U.S formed the National Twilight Sleep Association. The group advocated the benefits of Twilight Sleep to women. They campaigned the medical community and doctors to start using Twilight Sleep in hospitals.[35]A retired doctor wrote a letter to the editor that appeared in the *New York Times*,

> It is sincerely hoped that our American women will compel our medical brethren to give them the benefits of this great discovery and not allow themselves to be put off by the attitude the doctors are now assuming in this matter...If the burdens of childbirth had devolved on the male sex, painless childbearing would have been a fact many centuries ago, or else by this time the human race would have become extinct. Our women have patiently and uncomplainingly borne this burden as long as there seemed to be no help for it, but now that it can be escaped neglect on the part of those who can lift the load from them is criminal.[36]

---

33 Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed:Childbearing in America 1750-1950* (New York: Oxford UniversityPress, 1986), 129.
34 Jacqueline H. Wolf, *Deliver Me from Pain:Anesthesia and Birth in America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 64.
35 Ibid., 151.
36 Editorial, *New York Times,* November 28, 1914.

This doctor clearly argues for the use of Twilight Sleep using many of the same arguments that the National Twilight Sleep Association used at the time. The women who campaigned for Twilight Sleep felt that by making these demands they could have control over what kind of birth they would have. The women took responsibility for making the decision to sleep during labor. However, by sleeping during labor, they handed over the control to the doctors. Since the women could not make any decisions while under the effects of scopolamine, the medical staff decided how labor progressed. Women handed over her body to the doctors because she was unable to control herself. Unbeknownst to the women, they were bound to tables or beds, restrained using strait jackets, and their ears filled with cotton so their own screams did not wake them up. Some doctors preferred Twilight Sleep because they had absolute control at all times.[37]

The death of Francis X. Carmody quickly brought the campaign for Twilight Sleep and the National Twilight Sleep Association to an end. One of the staunchest advocates for Twilight Sleep, Carmody gave birth to her fourth child in Freidburg and returned to the United States telling women to choose Twilight Sleep. Carmody died in August of 1915 at Long Island College Hospital when she again used scopolamine to give birth to her last child. The *New York Times* ran an article on her death stating that she was the first and only American patient to die. Although, her doctors quickly pointed out that Twilight Sleep did not play a role in her death.[38] Carmody died of a postpartum hemorrhage, which is a known side effect of large doses of scopolamine.

The popularity of Twilight Sleep may have suffered from the news of Francis Carmody's death, but it did stop the use of the drug. The 1930s saw more women than ever giving birth in a hospital setting, and almost all of those women used either, an inhaled or injected form of pain relief that resulted in women delivering babies in a heavily medicated state. This continued through the 1950s and into the 1960s. Twilight Sleep was used in hospitals up to the 1970s when women finally demanded a change. Women believed Twilight Sleep gave them control over how they gave birth. Women did not know how the effects of the drug affected their bodies while under the effects. The use of Twilight Sleep was invasive because women lost all control; they lost control of their bodies and they lost control of their environment. Since pain relief required such heavy medication, doctors preferred to administer the drugs in

37 Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed:Childbearing in America 1750-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 135.

38 "Doctors Disagree on Twilight Sleep", *The New York Times,* August 24, 1915.

a setting that they could control: the hospital. “Ironically, by encouraging women to go to sleep during their deliveries and to deliver their babies in hospitals, the twilight sleep movement helped to distance women from their bodies...The twilight sleep movement helped change the definition of birthing from a natural home event, as it was in the nineteenth century, to an illness requiring hospitalization and physician attendance.”[39]

In the early nineteenth-century, maternity hospitals, also known as lying-in hospitals, existed for working class and poor women who were unable to deliver at home, or for pregnant homeless women who had nowhere to go. Because of the types of women who used hospitals, they acquired a stigma, and women preferred to give birth at home. Before doctors understood germ theory, women feared hospitals. Doctors did not understand how puerperal fever spread, and women who gave birth in hospitals had an increased chance of contracting the fever and dying. This made women very leery of hospital births, but by the early 1900s this attitude changed.[40]

At the beginning of the twentieth century less than five percent of births occurred in the hospital. By 1921, in most urban cities, between 30 and 50 percent of births took place in the hospital. Finally, by 1939, nearly 75 percent of women gave birth in the hospital. Rural areas like Appalachia and the Deep South remained the only anomalies; here midwives and general practitioners still attended home births.[41] In a relatively short period of time, a dramatic shift occurred in the location women preferred to give birth. Childbirth changed from an event that occurred at home where doctors were invited and the woman and her relatives still made the majority of decisions, to an event that occurred in a sterile environment where doctors made all the decisions and had all the control. Science had finally caught up with obstetric medicine. Once doctors understood germ theory and how to control and prevent possible illness and disease, women saw the potential for a safer and painless birth, and it lured them from their homes. The American Medical Association created a campaign that touted “surgery as a healing technique.”[42] This new technology—this new science—removed the knowledge from women.

---

39 Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed:Childbearing in America 1750-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 140.
40 Richard W. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-In: A Hisory of Childbirth in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 132-133.
41 Ibid., 133.
42 LB Richards, “Midwifery: The Second Oldest Profession,” *International Journal of Childbirth Education* 10 (June 1995)

Judith Walzer Leavitt states:

> The price of the new science was a growing separation be tween expert and layperson, between obstetrical specialists and birthing women...The knowledge gap produced when medicine became increasingly technical put the uninformed in awe of medical science. Patients seeking the newest that science had to offer were intimidated in the face of the language and surrounding 'Science,' in their minds spelled with a capital S, and they came to accept the benefits of medicine without knowing how they worked... Instead of trying to keep medical science within women's control, as women had wanted in the nineteenth and very early twentieth-century, by the 1920s and 1930s women urged one another to follow specialists' directions without necessarily understanding them.[43]

Doctors encouraged the move from home to hospital. They wanted women to seek their opinion and to hand over their care to the trained professional. In the *California State Journal of Medicine* an article states, "It rests with us to begin such a campaign of education as shall render the public afraid to undertake so serious a step as the bringing new life into the world without the advice and supervision, during the entire period of gestation, of the ablest or best trained talent obtainable."[44] Pain relief options like ether, chloroform, and Twilight Sleep also hastened the transition to hospital births. Doctors wanted to use ether and chloroform in an environment where they had control. Twilight Sleep had to be performed in a hospital because it required extensive equipment.

This shift brought on another wave of problems. Early on, doctors advertised that if women transitioned to a hospital birth, then rates of maternal and infant mortality would dramatically decrease and injuries and disease would almost be eliminated. This proved untrue. By the 1930s, the medical community had not delivered on their promises, and they knew it. In *The American Journal of Public Health* an article on the current state of obstetrics states that, "it is evident that the United State occupies an unenviable position among the civilized nations of

---

43 Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed:Childbearing in America 1750-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 174-175.

44 Henry P. Newman, "The Specialty of Obstetrics: Its Present Status; Its Possibilities and its Importance," *California State Journal of Medicine,* 17 (September 1919): 319.

the world, seventeenth in maternal and eleventh in infant mortality."[45]

Doctors searched for a way to improve their statistics they found their solution in Doctor Joseph B. DeLee. DeLee advocated for the standardization of childbirth. He described childbirth as traumatic for both the woman and child. He blamed the violence of labor for injuries the child suffered. "Birth for the infant, he said, was equivalent to having one's head squeezed in a slowly closing door...DeLee believed the repeated thrusts down the birth canal, head pounding against the rigid perineum, were in some cases responsible for brain damage, epilepsy, and cerebral palsy."[46] DeLee believed that the women suffered greatly because of the different injuries that happened, especially tearing of the perineum. "So frequent are these bad effects that I have often wondered whether Nature did not deliberately intend women to be used up in the process of reproduction in a manner analogous to that of the salmon which dies after spawning."[47] DeLee's sought to standardize the way hospitals treated labor and delivery to solve the injuries he believed the action of childbirth caused. Six steps became standard: sedating the woman when she started labor, performing an episiotomy, using forceps to deliver the child, ergot to bring on contractions, manual removal of the placenta, and stitching up the mother.[48] Within only a few years, DeLee's suggestions became commonplace and unquestioned in almost all hospitals. Doctors never questioned why women seemed to experience more tears during birth: was it just what happened during birth or was it because the position women gave birth, flat on a table with their legs in stirrups? This position made it much harder to give birth.

The shift from home birth to hospital birth changed childbirth for women in two ways: environment and control. Women made the decision to have hospital births because they thought that the hospital guaranteed a safer birth. The standardization of labor and delivery changed childbirth for generations of women. Women no longer had any control in how they gave birth for doctors there did not deviate from the plan that Doctor DeLee outlined. This kind of treatment continued until the 1970s. Once women stepped into the hospital, they handed over all of their control and decision making to the doctor and his staff. No longer did family and friends surround her there to support her during her labor. Instead, women found themselves surrounded by doctors and nurses, strapped down to a cold metal delivery table, and giving birth by themselves in a

45 Charles Edward Ziegler, "How Can We Best Solve the Midwifery Problem," *American Journal of Public Health,* 12 (June 1922): 406.
46 Margot Edwards and Mary Waldorf, *Reclaiming Birth: History and Heroines of American Childbirth Reform*, (New York: The Crossing Press, 1984), 4-5.
47 Ibid., 5.
48 Ibid., 5.

very sterile environment. The move from home to hospital was invasive because it removed the last remaining shred of control the woman had.

The Woman's movement of the 1970s called for a change. Women wanted to retake control in all aspects of their lives, including childbirth. Many women involved in the movement shared their personal stories of how they were treated when they gave birth. They had felt that loss of control and they wanted it back. Out of the Woman's movement grew the Natural Childbirth movement, and two doctors provided the ammunition. Doctor Grantly Dick-Read wrote, "that if women were terrified of childbirth, the fight or flight reflex would shut down those organs—including the uterus—that are nonessential to fighting or fleeing...he believed that if women could just 'let go' they would experience no pain."[49] Women agreed with him, they believed that they had been conditioned to fear childbirth for generations by doctors. Doctors had continuously warned women about the dangers and pain of childbirth, and women now expected a great deal of pain and were terrified. The other doctor, Fernand Lamaze, from France, agreed with Dick-Read. He believed that the pain women felt during childbirth stemmed from the fear. Lamaze developed a new breathing technique that would enable women to distract themselves from the pain.[50] Women wanted to feel and experience child birth again; they wanted to be surrounded by people who cared about them. A small amount of women started to turn to midwives as an alternative to traditional doctors. Women, like Ina May Gaskin, started to act and work as a midwife to these women. She self-published a book, *Spiritual Midwifery,* in 1975 that gave instructions on how to deliver a child. She immediately became internationally known. Women wanted to give birth at her Maternity Center located at The Farm, a hippie utopia she and her husband founded.[51]

The Natural Childbirth movement is proof that women wanted to take back control. They wanted to *experience* child birth, to feel, and not be so sedated that they cannot remember their labor and delivery. Women wanted to make informed decisions about the way they gave birth. They started to ask questions of their doctors. They wanted to have the freedom to deviate from the standardization that had been in place for over fifty years. Women wanted to be surrounded by family and friends who cared for them, and for the first time ever, they demanded that their male partners be allowed in the birthing room. Women wanted to make changes; they wanted to reverse the hundreds of years of invasive medicine that was advertised under the guise of science.

49 Tina Cassidy, *Birth: The Surprising History of How We Are Born,* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006),145.

50 Ibid., 155.

51 Jessica Mitford, *The American Way of Birth.* (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), 204.

Slowly, but consistently, doctors and the medical profession exhibited more and more control over women during childbirth. The injuries and diseases that doctors saw in their home and hospital births could likely be attributed to the invasive techniques they used. Forceps and other metal tools could cause tears, rips, and fistulas in women. Midwives very rarely encountered these kinds of injuries in natural births. Twilight Sleep and the move to hospital births resulted in women losing control of their bodies and environment. It is undeniable that medical intervention saved countless women and children. If one compared statistics of maternal and infant mortality rates of 2013 to those of 1913, the rates would probably be lower. Doctors convinced women that childbirth could be safer and painless if they entrusted their care into the hands of doctors. Through the above-mentioned research, it is clear that these invasive technologies have not been as beneficial as the medical community advertised. Today, women still face invasive techniques used by doctors and hospitals. Not all of the procedures have always been applied for the sake of women. In many instances, these procedures were used because is easier and quicker for the attending physician. It is difficult to conclude these invasive procedures as overwhelmingly beneficial for women. What can be derived from the research and the data is that women want options, they want control, and that includes turning away from the invasive procedures and returning to the techniques of traditional midwifery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

"Doctors Disagree on Twilight Sleep", *New York Times.* August 24 1915.

Ex Medicus. Letter to the editor, *New York Times.* November 28 1914.

Newman, Henry P. "The Specialty of Obstetrics: Its Present Status; Its Possibilities and its Importance." *California State Journal of Medicine*, 17 (September 1919):318-320.

Ziegler, Charles Edward. "How Can We Best Solve the Midwifery Problem." *American Journal of Public Health,* 12 (June 1922):405-413.

Secondary Sources

Banks, Amanda Carson. *Birth Chairs, Midwives, and Medicine.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999.

Cassidy, Tina. *Birth: The Surprising History of How We Are Born.* New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006.

Caton, Donald. *What a Blessing She Had Chloroform: The Medical and Social Response to the Pain of Childbirth from 1800 to the Present*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Donegan, Jane B. *Women and Men Midwives: Medicine, Morality, and Misogyny in Early America.* Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Edwards, Margot and Mary Waldorf. *Reclaiming Birth: History and Heroines of American Childbirth Reform.* New York: The Crossing Press, 1984.

Leavitt, Judith Walzer. *Brought to Bed: Childbearing in America 1750-1950.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

McCool, William and Sara A. Simeone. "Birth in the United States: an Overview of Trends Past and Present." *Nursing Clinics of North America* 37 (2002): 735-746.

Mitford, Jessica. *The American Way of Birth.* New York: Penguin Group, 1992.

Packard, Francis R. *History of Medicine in the United States, Volume 2.* New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1963.

Richards, LB. "Midwifery: The Second Oldest Profession" *International Journal of Childbirth Education* 10 (June 1995)

Scholtoen, Catherine M. *Childbearing in American Society: 1650-1850.*

Toledo-Pereyra, Luis. "William Shippen, Jr: Pioneer Revolutionary War Surgeon and Father of American Anatomy and Midwifery." *Journal of Investigative Surgery* 15 (2002): 183-184.

WORLD WAR I

INTRODUCTION

World War I was the first time where a conflagration of such magnitude impacted, literally, the entire planet. Empires disappeared: the Austria-Hungarian, the Ottoman, and the Romanoff. Countries disappeared: Croatia, Slovene, Serbia, and Austria-Hungary. New countries suddenly appeared: Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia for example. Governments disappeared while new governments arose bringing with them new political beliefs never before seen. A new "geopolitical construct," otherwise known as the "Palestinian Mandate" arose to form the groundwork by which the nation of Israel emerged in 1948 but which also laid the foundation for the ethnic and religious battleground known as the Middle East. Most horrifying, however, a new term emerged to the disparagement of mankind that shocked the world and acted as a horrific harbinger of things to come: genocide.

The Great War produced casualty statistics reaching proportions previously unbelievable. The war resulted in 37 million casualties of which 17 million were military deaths. These military deaths arose from battle but excluded deaths resulting from the U-Boat campaign and the Blockade of Germany that, together, killed an estimated 450,000 deaths. Deaths caused as a result of the war include Russian civilian and military deaths (1917-1920 only) estimated at 9 million people or the "cleansing" of Muslims in the Balkans. The most draconian of collateral deaths as a result of the war remains the Armenian Genocide where an estimated 1.5 million Armenian men, women and children died. However, the most efficient of these killing horrors was, although unplanned, the Spanish Flu pathogen: a world-wide epidemic that began in Etápes, France in 1917—at a military hospital—and spread around the world infecting 500 million people and killing an estimated 50 to 100 million (3% to 5%) of the world's population. Small wonder, then, that European nations still commemorate the end of the "War to End All Wars."

Recognizing the dynamic impact to the world and history's role, the 2015 CLIO Journal presents student essays dedicated to topical events of the First World War by acknowledging the individual sacrifices made and honoring the memory of so many millions of people who were casualties of the War to End All Wars.

Editor-In-Chief

Total War, Creative Freedom, and the Ubiquity of Violence: Tristan Tzara's *Dada Manifesto, 1918*

By Bobby Edwards
CSUS, 2015

Abstract

The paper sketches the intellectual history of epistemic reflexivity, intuition, and the unconscious at the turn of twentieth-century Europe. It then moves on to sketch the emergence of the First World War. Both of these sketches help contextualize a more detailed analysis of Dada, Zurich, with emphasis on the biography of Tristan Tzara. Finally, the paper argues that, as part of a the Dadaists' collective motive to provoke social and cultural change, Tzara's July performance of his Dada Manifesto,1918 achieved new dimensions of creative freedom and radical subjectivity thus opening new expressive channels to European culture.

About the Author

Bobby Edwards is, currently, a classified graduate student of History at California State University, Sacramento. He hopes to enter a PhD program in 2016, and afterward, to teach and write at the university level. Edward's historical interests rest in Critical Theory and Imperialism, as well as in nineteenth and early twentieth- century American and European Intellectual History. With a second Bachelor's degree in Art Studio, Bobby is also a practicing artist working in the style of socially engaged conceptual performance.

Dada in Zurich, Switzerland, spanning from 1916 to 1919, emerged from an *avant-garde* artistic lineage in Europe and was influenced heavily by Expressionism, Cubism, and Futurism. Its origins began with the artistic activities of Marcel Duchamp and Francis Picabia in New York City in the years just before the First World War. But it was not until the 1916 performances at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich that Dada became an organized group; however, "organized" might be overstating it, as the group of young expatriates and draft dodgers from Germany, Romania, and France had a variety of motives, influences, and styles underpinning their art. What the Dadaists did hold in common was that they were anti- *bourgeois*, anti-nationalists, and pacifists. What differentiated them from other schools of art was that they sought, with varying degrees of success, to reject and circumvent the aspects of European culture that had manifested the violence of the First World War. Dadaist Tristan Tzara demonstrated the creative and political effort most powerfully in the July performance of his *Dada Manifesto, 1918*, at the grand hall of the *Zunfthaus zur Meisen* in the heart of *bourgeois* Zurich. This study is a multifaceted analysis that investigates the European intellectual history preceding the First World War, elaborating on the critical observations made about intuition and the unconscious mind. It then describes the historical contexts of the war itself. The study continues by describing the emergence of Dada in Zurich and the biography of Tristan Tzara, and then analyzes Tzara's July performance of his *Dada manifesto, 1918,* in order to explore its historical meaning. Together, these analyses demonstrate that although the Dadaists in Zurich had rejected the physical violence of the First World War, Tzara's performance nevertheless embodied the violent forces of historical, social, and cultural rupture as a means to express his aesthetics of deconstruction and radical subjectivity.

To contextualize properly Dada in Zurich, it is necessary to recognize the intellectual atmosphere in Europe that preceded the group's emergence. The nineteenth century had witnessed a rising, reflective critique against the tenets of the Enlightenment. Literary writers, philosophers, and scientists began to reexamine the popular Liberal belief that individual freedom and a free society were the products of logic and reason. This critical reflection had been slowly advancing since the Industrial Revolution when anxious Romantics recognized that logic and reason could also be a threat to freedom, and thereby rejected Liberal ideals to find freedom in the subjective realm of imagination and emotion. Karl Marx had also challenged Liberal ideals when he identified the non-rational forces of the"substratum": a term he used to describe the unorganized sentiments and routine economic processes that compelled people in society.[1] Altogether, mechanistic and

1 Stuart H. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reconstruction of European Social Thought, 1890-1930* (New York: Random House, 1958), 3-16.

deterministic forces were discovered in both the rational and the non-rational mind, and modern visions of a free society were further obscured. These insights exposed the fault lines beneath the Enlightenment's structure of knowledge and mode of thought, and the naive faith in human progress—what Nietzsche had identified as a "cathedral of concepts on moving foundations, or even, one might say, on flowing water."[2] Thus, an ongoing dialog continued through the turn of the twentieth century, with positivists, on one hand, searching for a purely scientific understanding of people and society, and other artists and scholars who more carefully considered the implications of human consciousness: the relativity of human thought and the subjective perspective of the enculturated observer. This critical reflection on consciousness was the signature intellectual element at the turn of the twentieth century. In the midst of these debates, an apocalyptic mood set into the intellectual milieu of Europe, revealing growing doubts about the scientific understanding of society, utilitarian ethics, and the tenability of social institutions.[3] Stirred by the reaction against positivism in the 1890s, French philosopher Henri-Louis Bergson inquired further into the realm of the non-rational mind. Bergson developed a ground- breaking theory on intuition, which argued that mathematical categorical interpretations of reality were problematically static and did not account for movement or change over time. He believed that intuition was the mind's experiential relationship with the flux of life and elaborated on how the mental processes of intuition were extremely difficult. Bergson stated that;

> the mind has to do violence to itself, has to reverse the direction of the operation by which it habitually thinks. . . . But in this way it will attain to fluid concepts, capable of following reality in all its sensuosities and of adopting the very movement of the inward life of things.[4]

With this theory of intuition, Bergson intended to overcome the "Kantian problem of a mediated interpretation of reality," and thereby present a pathway to "absolute knowledge."[5] Expanding on Bergson's philosophical probing of the intuitive mind, Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud looked for new scientific approaches to human psychology. In his endeavor, he invented the technique of free association and created the practice of psychoanalysis. Freud's 1899 book *The Interpretation of Dreams* was a watershed moment in the popular understanding of the unconscious, and

2 Stephen Foster, ed., *Dada Spectrum: The Dialectics of Revolt* (Ann Arbor: University of Iowa Press, 1979), 55.
3 Hughes, 27-32.
4 Ibid, 117.
5 Ibid, 116 -117.

in general, his work exposed the various unconscious emotional and sexual drives that in many ways determined people's actions. The implications to society were broad. One of his insights, drawn from speculating on the prohibitions of ancient taboos, was that ethical imperatives were arbitrary social constructions rather than moral absolutes. Although these social constructions were necessary for civilized society they were also coercive in their nature, creating for people a crisis between their drives and the established moral codes.[6]

As the Balkan Wars, the Italian war in Ottoman North Africa, and the initial battles of the First World War became increasingly destructive and exaggerated by industrialization, Freud drew pessimistic conclusions about modern society from his research. In 1914, commenting on the outbreak of the First World War, Freud writes:

> Psychoanalysis has concluded . . . that the primitive, savage and evil impulses of mankind have not vanished in any individual, but continue their existence, although in a repressed state . . . and that they wait for opportunities to display their activity. . . . And now just look at what is happening in this wartime, at the cruelties and injustices for which the most civilized nations are responsible, at the different way in which they judge of their own lives, their own wrong-doings, and those of their enemies, at the general loss of clear insight."[7]

Aside from the influence of industrialization, the tension that existed in Europe's geopolitical network of nations also led to the intensity of warfare. Several crucial factors that had developed over the previous century reinforced this network. One aspect was that, because of agricultural development and modern medicine, an unprecedented population growth occurred in Europe, and the masses unified freshly with the rise of nationalism. This growth and unification emboldened Britain, France, Germany, Austria- Hungary, and Russia to not only dominate the continent and its surroundings but also project their power into Africa, India, Southeast Asia, and China during the New Imperialism. Resources drawn from these imperialist projects helped to fuel the industrial and technological ambitions of these European nations, and the capitalist market drove expansion and created profit incentives.

Furthermore, national treaties and alliances sewed together various political commitments that were buttressed by military build-up and arms races, all compelled by a perceived need of expansion over land and sea

6 Ibid, 146.
7 Ibid, 143-144.

for national prestige. In the social realm, patriarchy, urbanism, and class divided societies, and colonialism had created ethnic anxieties about the differences of other peoples.

New theories of race merged with other sciences and philosophies spreading social Darwinism, eugenics, and anti-Semitism throughout Europe and its colonies—ideals used continually as justifications for war. Finally, cultural exchange, as an effect of colonialism, enriched European cultures while simultaneously reinforcing xenophobia and jingoism. The outbreak of war in 1914 unleashed these mechanisms and sentiments into a conflagration. At first, many Europeans glorified the war and its violence in their hubris, and interpreted it with a sense of fatalism.[8] Journalists, poets, artists, and teachers, amplified by mass media, helped to create a popular enthusiasm for the war.[9] But slowly, as the war unfolded, the innocence of the spirit of the times was crushed by artillery, trench warfare, machine guns, gas, tanks, aerial bombings, civilian casualties, mass killing, and economic crises, in what would be remembered as the first "total war." Although many Europeans were excited by the war, others despised it—immediately or through experience—and the reflective critique of Western Civilization in intellectual circles and among some of the broader public took on a new immediacy. As part of this response, many modern artists believed that the arts would be the force that changed European attitudes. They also considered the limitations of existing traditions and looked for new forms and methods of expression. Thus, European modernism, especially the *avant-garde*, embodied a varied sense of revolutionary purpose.[10]

Some modern artists found refuge from the war in Zurich, Switzerland. Zurich was unique in its centrality on the continent and its neutrality in the war. It was urban and cosmopolitan, and during the war, it was overrun with expatriates, draft dodgers, and international criminals. It was notable, both before and especially during the war, as an intellectual center and for having a relatively free press. Zurich also had a thriving bohemian *café* culture, and the open exchange of ideas attracted not only artists and other intellectuals, but international spies as well.[11]

It was in wartime Zurich, 1916, where a cash-strapped and idealistic Hugo Ball sent out an advertisement calling artists to participate in the

---

8 John H. Morrow, *The Great War: An Imperial History* (New York: Routledge, 2004), xii-15.

9 Foster, 55.

10 Inez Hedges, *Languages of Revolt: Dada and Surrealist Literature and Film* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1983), xi.

11 Marius Hentea, *TaTa Dada: The Real Life and Celestial Adventures of Tristan Tzara* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014), 60.

opening of his Cabaret Voltaire, describing it as "a center for artistic entertainment and intellectual exchange."[12] The venue was run by a Dutch owner that served food and drinks which had a small stage for entertainment. The cabaret became a meeting place for painters, sculptors, students, tourists, crooks, psychiatrists, spies, and revolutionaries. Famously, the cabaret was attended by an exiled Vladimir Lenin who, living not far from the cafe, was then plotting the Russian Revolution.[13] The nature of the Cabaret Voltaire was ambiguous at first, and, true to cabaret, it had no guiding aesthetic.[14] The nightly performances included readings of contemporary French and German poets, expressionist prayers, and medieval mystical texts. There were African chants, and dances in African masks, gymnastic poems, sound poems, and simultaneous poems composed of different texts in different languages, read aloud by several people at once.[15] The audience's responses ranged from curious interest to indifference or even riotous outrage. Besides the perceived and real sense of chaos that prevailed at the cabaret, the artists proved to be of one mind about rejecting the war, and their project soon took the more focused form of an anarchic aesthetic exploration that hoped to provoke social and cultural change.

The initial members of the Cabaret Voltaire, who would soon identify themselves as Dada, were Hugo Ball, Emmy Hennings, Marcel Janco, Tristan Tzara, Richard Huelsenbeck, Walter Serner, Hans Richter, Viking Eggling, Hans Arp, and Sophie Taeuber. As independent artists, these people were painters, poets, writers, and performers. Their political beliefs were typically of a socialist or anarchic bent. Their artistic investigations attracted them to gestures such as contradiction, absurdity, fragmentation, spontaneity, simultaneity, and a gallows humor—strategies that they used to subvert traditional forms. The European exposure to a variety of foreign cultures as a consequence of colonial exchange— which had inspired previous artists such as Pablo Picasso and Paul Gauguin, for example—were also appropriated by the Dadaists as means to explore new, alternative forms of expression.[16] Chance was also used to this effect, as was a collective interest in the expressive potential of intuition and the unconscious. Other topics attracting Dadaists' attention were iconoclasm, mysticism, nihilism, sexuality, identity, and an interest in the art of the insane and children.

Besides the Dadaists' hope to earn a living, the rejection of the war and the culture that manifested it were the Cabaret Voltaire's *raisons d'etre*. Reflecting on the war, Ball wrote:

12 Ibid, 61-62.
13 Ibid, 67.
14 Ibid, 65-66.
15 Foster, 5.
16 Ibid, 123; 129.

> The slaughter increases, and they cling to the prestige of European glory. They are trying to make the impossible possible and to pass off the betrayal of man, the exploitation of the body and soul of people, and all this civilized carnage as a triumph of European intelligence.[17]

Noting the Dadaists' collective motives, Marcel Janco commented:

> We had lost confidence in our 'culture.' Everything had to be demolished. We would begin again after the *tabula rasa*. At the Cabaret Voltaire we began by shocking the *bourgeois*, demolishing his idea of art, attacking common sense, public opinion, education, institutions, museums, good taste, in short the whole prevailing order.[18]

Hans Arp also elaborated on the Dadaists' wartime strategy:

> Revolted by the butchery, we in Zurich devoted ourselves to the arts…While the guns rumbled in the distance; we sang, painted, made collages and wrote poems with all our might. We were seeking an art based on fundamentals, to cure the madness of the age, and a new order to things that would restore the balance between heaven and hell. We had a dim premonition that power-mad gangsters would one day use art itself as a way of deadening men's' minds.[19]

Their artistic responses to the extraordinary conditions of the war are part of what made Dada, Zurich, distinct from other art movements, and their attempt to escape the corruption of their culture underlined the Dadaists' principle gesture of negation. There was an embedded contradiction to this strategy, however. As much as they tried to escape European structures of knowledge and modes of thought, they were in many ways bound to them. Although the Dadaists' rhetorically denounced the artistic schools that preceded them, they nevertheless appropriated heavily and freely from them. The escape from their culture was also complicated by the fact that they had an interest in communicating to their audience in so far as effecting change was pivotal to their project. Hence, the mediation between appropriation, communication, and negation was an underlying element in their politicized art-making. The one key element that distinguished Dada, Zurich, is that they imagined their art not as a method or style, but as an

17 Ibid, 52.
18 Ibid, 52.
19 Hedges, xi.

attitude of the mind. It was the combination of these factors in the contexts of the war that made Dada, Zurich, truly revolutionary.

Although Marcel Duchamp's and Francis Picabia's artistic subversions of modern culture were pivotal influences to Dada, Zurich, and although Hugo Ball was the principal architect of the Cabaret Voltaire, Tristan Tzara became Dada's most passionate member and foremost promoter. Tzara was born by the name of Samuel Rosenstock in 1896, in Moinesti, Romania. He was from a prosperous secular Jewish family that earned its living in business. Samuel was a good student and excelled in math, music, and language. In Moinesti he saw the dramatic rise of modernity marked by new petrol street lamps and a new railway station that transported oil to foreign markets. In Samuel's youth, Moinesti transitioned from an unremarkable provincial town to a cosmopolitan center with promenades and *cafés*. In his early poetry, Samuel represented the loss of Moinesti's powerful natural landscape to modern technology as a tragedy. The *bourgeois* life experience that his family took to define its cultural and social status bothered Samuel early on in his life.[20] Musing on his piano lessons in a poem, he described the disingenuousness of the *bourgeois* soul, exhibiting an early observation of the absence of meaning in symbolic activity:

> Her soul spent,
> The night in hospital,
> During the day she gave,
> Piano lessons.[21]

The observation of the arbitrariness of meaning in artistic form would prove to be influential to his artistic interests. Samuel's identity formed initially in this environment. His secular Jewish heritage was crucial to this process. The majority, non-Jewish population of Moinesti expressed anti-Semitic sentiments that were grounded in the broader cultural battles of Romania, which was reinforced by a disproportionate successes of Jews in business and by their unreserved adoption of modernity—a cultural adjustment that the peasant, non-Jewish population felt threatened by. More specifically, Moinesti was the adopted home of Jewish refugees who had been exiled from a neighboring town by the prevailing anti- Semitic sentiments; consequently, the ethnic tensions were high. In addition, as secular Jews, Samuel's family was also alienated from the social networks of the religious Jewish community.[22]

20 Hentea, 5-14.
21 Ibid, 14.
22 Ibid, 8-14.

At age ten, Samuel went to school in the nearby town of Focsani, Romania, a more liberal city with a large Jewish presence. Almost immediately after his arrival the 1907, the Romanian Peasant Revolt, which was, in many ways, motivated by the national cultural battles, alerted Samuel's family to send him to the capital, Bucharest, to finish his schooling. In its striking class divide and mix of feudal and cosmopolitan features, Bucharest uncannily embodied the gulf between Romania's rural and urban populations. Here, Samuel's school experience included language courses in French, German, and Latin, and overall, his schooling lauded indoctrination into nationalism and other prevailing ideologies. Punishments he received from his controversial political activities at school, and the alienation from his family, left him despondent, and he began to withdraw from his schooling, adopting a more bohemian lifestyle.[23] In Bucharest, he was exposed to a more vibrant *café* culture full of artists, social groups, and political ideas. At which time that he was also introduced to revolutionary socialist press through a friend and began to develop his own poetic voice. In the following years, he edited two literary magazines that had contributors espousing modernist aesthetics and anti-nationalist beliefs. This editing experience also gave him publishing and organizational skills.[24]

A telling detail of Samuel Rosenstock's biography is his identity formation, highlighted by his creation of a pen name. His first pen name during these years, which was used in some of his first published poems, was "S. Samyro," a partial anagram of his birth name that signified his Jewish identity. Over the next few years he developed a new pen name, shifting back and forth between "Tristan Ţara," with a t-comma, and "Tristan Tzara." The pronunciation was the same but the spelling of Tzara—what would be his chosen name—emphasized the foreignness of the personage, signifying his anti-nationalist sentiments.[25]

Another defining theme of Tzara's biography was that it was driven by conflict and war. Tzara's life in Moinesti was steeped with the tensions of ethnic and cultural conflict. His move to Bucharest was driven by the 1907, Romanian Peasant Revolt, and he had also been living near the first aerial bombardments of Europe during the First Balkan War. In the larger debates in Romania about national identity, culture was especially politicized; and during the Second Balkan War and the First World War culture was mobilized in Romania for the war effort, undoubtedly shaping Tzara's views.

23 According to Hentea, Tzara had written a letter of complaint to the headmaster about a professor's anti-Semitic lectures. The letter was ignored and Tzara was reprimanded.
24 Ibid, 23-38.
25 Ibid, 41.

These events and influences were all experienced by Tzara at a young and impressionable age. By the time the First World War broke out, he was only eighteen, having just completed high school.[26] Overall, his experiences with modernity, ethnicity, culture, nationalism, and war were key factors informing Tzara's identity.

Romania's entry into the First World War in 1916 compelled Tzara to move to Zurich with his friend Marcel Janco. Together, new to the city, they casually journeyed to the Cabaret Voltaire on its opening night having noticed Hugo Ball's advertisement. Once Tzara became involved with Dada, the intimacy he developed with the rest of the Dadaists, the freedom he discovered during the wild performances at the cabaret, and his artistic, political, and intellectual imperatives helped to make Dada his central, driving passion.[27]

Despite Tzara's enthusiasm, Dada was only enduring through fits and starts. The ephemeral Cabaret Voltaire was canceled within a year and the existence of a subsequent gallery venue called the *Galerie Dada* was equally brief. A central issue was Ball's moody disillusionment with the group's purpose and his frequent withdrawals from Dada activity. As the only other Dadaist with the decisive mix of passion and organizational skills to keep the momentum going, Tzara wrote endlessly, corresponding with international journals and artists. In July 1916, he organized the first grand theater performance, the *First Dada Soiree*, and began publishing and marketing the journal *Art and Literature Review, Dada*. In July, 1918, Tzara organized the *Soiree Tristan Tzara* held at the grand hall of the *Zunfthaus zur Meisen* in the heart of Zurich. It was advertised as an evening of "'the newest direction in art' by the 'greatest poet of 'Dadaismus' ... [including] 'manifesto, antithesis thesis antiphilosophy, Dada Dada Dada Dada dadaist spontaneity Dadaist disgust LAUGHTER poem tranquility sadness diarrhea is also a feeling of war business poetic elements infernal helix economic spirit indifference national anthem.'"[28] The night attracted fewer than one hundred paying customers; however, Tzara's performance of his *Dada Manifesto, 1918,* that night has been widely accepted by scholars as a critical historical moment. The creativity of Tzara's text, the historically palpable contexts of the performance, and the riotous uproar that ensued, signified a rift in wartime Europe's cultural consciousness.

In analyzing the *Dada Manifesto, 1918*, the first aspect to consider is the manifesto form itself. Historically, manifestos emerged in twelfth-century Europe as political declarations by heads of state, religious leaders, and other public officials. Marx's 1848, *Communist Manifesto*

26 Ibid, 17: 42.
27 Ibid, 81.
28 Ibid, 107

redefined the form as a historically dramatic, political polemic. And, in 1909, the Futurist, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, appropriated the form from Marx and aestheticized it in his *Futurist Manifesto*.[29] The modern manifesto form is characteristically violent in that it serves to question a system and address crisis, and it is ultimately meant to represent a paradigm shift; correspondingly, it participates symbolically with the history of revolutionary struggle that other manifestos have represented.[30] "The manifesto is a discourse where knowledge is asserted rather than developed, . . . used by the person who utters it as a revolutionary tool representing his or her discovery ofknowledge."[31] It is particularly noteworthy here to emphasize the nature of the manifesto as a text. It does not "merely describe a history of rupture, but produces such a history, seeking to create this rupture actively through its own intervention."[32]

Tzara was familiar with Marx, and wrote openly about studying Marinetti's *Futurist Manifesto*, drawing the connections between the manifesto form, politics, and aesthetics.[33] But Tzara's aesthetics were novel in their deconstructive nature, and his composition of the *Dada Manifesto, 1918,* was unique for the same reason. Further, the performativity of text in the manifesto form was magnified byTzara's actual performance in July, 1918. Years later, Tzara articulated his thoughts on the intuitive nature of performance:

> Unlike the more academic Futurism, Expressionism, and Cubism, Dada proclaimed the negation of theory and the expression of the naked personality. Dogma, it declared, reduced art to meaninglessness, to anti-art. Dadaists wanted depictions to be human and direct, like all other authentic actions.[34]

Hence, according to Tzara, his art was a deeply personal and existential expression. Other analytical aspects to consider are the different forces involved in performance including the force of context, the force of rupture, and the force of subjectification. First, the force of context is drawn from a social, cultural, and historical nexus. These domains are further accom-

29 Galia Yanoshevsky, "Three Decades of Writing on Manifesto: The Making ofa Genre," *Poetics Today* 30, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 258; 267.

30 Ibid, 268.; Mary Ann Caws, "Manifesto-ness: An introduction," *Poetry* 193, no. 5 (February 2009): 263.

31 Yanoshevsky, 265.

32 Ibid, 266.

33 Ibid, 269-270.: Hentea, 86.

34 Marcel Duchamp, Tristan Tzara, and Dorothy Norman, "Two Conversations: Marcel Duchamp and Tristan Tzara," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 60, no. ½ (October 1985): 80.

panied by the conventional "horizon of expectations" of the audience. All of these elements are charged with the tensions of power relationships. This is the "total speech situation," as contemporary theorist Judith Butler describes. Hence, tapping into context draws from this energy.[35]

Tzara was fully aware of his historical timing, and tapping into context was an intentional strategy—one that was used by other *avant-garde* artists who intended their art to intervene with the social and cultural currents of their time. As Tzara began to perform his manifesto, he provoked the complacency of his audience and attacked their conventional knowledge when he read aloud. "Sensibility is not constructed on the basis of a word; all constructions converge on perfection which is boring, the stagnant idea of a gilded swamp, a relative human product."[36] Here, he notes the constructive nature of knowledge as well as its relativity. As he spoke, his lucid articulation and its intent on the audience was a contextual intervention. Then continuing, seeming to passively refer to himself, he provoked further, stating that "the artist, the poet rejoice at the venom of the masses condensed into a section chief of this industry, he is happy to be insulted: it is a proof of his immutability."[37] Here, Tzara demonstrated his own forethought about the audience's discomfort, and with his provocations, he strategically raised the tensions from which he drew his performative power.

The intensity of these provocations begins to shift from mere intervention into the performative force of rupture. Rupture attempts to resist and even escape from the continuity of context entirely; however, a complete escape from context is futile.[38] Such a rupture was evident during the turn-of-the-century intellectual discoveries about the implications of human consciousness: the relativity of human thought and the subjective perspective of the enculturated observer. The novelty of these thoughts reverberated throughout European culture and deeply affected popular thinking, ultimately creating an enduring cultural change. In his performance of the manifesto, Tzara focused this critical reflection onto the physical violence of the First World War:

> Philosophy is the question: from which side shall we look at life, God, the idea, or other phenomenon. Everything one

35 Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 3.: The notion that power derives from context is appropriated from Butler's examination of Pierre Bourdieu.
36 Lucy Lippard, *Dada's on Art* (Ann Arbor: Prentice Hall, 1971), 15.
37 Ibid, 19.
38 Hedges, 38-40: 59.: Butler, 45.: The notion that power derives from rupture is appropriated from Butler's examination of Jacques Derrida.

> looks at is false. I do not consider the relative result more important than the choice between cake and cherries after dinner. The system of quickly looking at the other side of a thing in order to impose your opinion indirectly is called dialectics, in other words, haggling over the spirit of fried potatoes while dancing method around it.
>
> If I cry out:
> Ideal, ideal, ideal,
> Knowledge, knowledge, knowledge, Boomboom, boomboom, boomboom,
> I have given a pretty faithful version of progress, law, [and] morality.[39]

With this statement, Tzara very directly implicates European structures of knowledge and modes of thought as being responsible for the war. Drawing from Europe's more forward-thinking intellectuals, he points to the arbitrariness of truth and to the ambiguity of morality. And in a gesture of authenticity, he references his own intuition as a means of distinguishing himself from the confines of the historical moment.

Curiously, he moves on by elaborating on the violent nature of his personal discovery of knowledge:

> I say unto you: there is no beginning and we do not tremble, we are not sentimental. We are a furious wind, tearing the dirty linen of clouds and prayers. . . . I destroy the drawers of the brain and of social organization. . . . Let each manproclaim: there is a great negative work of destruction to be accomplished. We must sweep and clean. Affirm the cleanliness of the individual after the state of madness, aggressive complete madness of a world abandoned to the hands of bandits, who rend one another and destroy the centuries.[40]

Significantly, although Tzara was a pacifist, his rhetoric is war-like. Consistent with Dadaist method, this is an aesthetic strategy evoking contradiction and absurdity as deconstructive tropes. More importantly, his personal, desperate expression alone signifies his own autonomy— his own break from context.

This leads to the last analytical aspect to consider, which is the

39 Lippard, 17.
40 Ibid, 17: 19.

performative force of subjectification. A person's active identification of the world and its meaning is reflexively the same act that constitutes subjectivity; and necessarily, this function of subjectivity is oriented in an epistemic framework.[41] Knowledge is power; subjectivity is an epistemic violence. Both are political vehicles of freedom. Fully comprehending Tzara's own belief in this idea is impossible, but he seemingly alludes to it when he described the more intuitive artists in history as "mercenaries of the spirit."[42]

Furthermore, he suggests an aggressive nature to knowledge when he states that "every spectator is a plotter if he tries to explain a word: (to know!). Safe in the cottony refuge of serpentine complications he manipulates his instincts."[43] Tzara also suggested the aggressive yet affirmative nature of subjectivity when he claims:

> Here we cast anchor into rich ground. Here we have a right to do some proclaiming, for we have known cold shudders and awakenings. hosts drunk on energy, we dig the trident into unsuspecting flesh, . . . we bleed and burn with thirst, our blood is vigor."[44]

Referring to the coercions of European culture while revering his own empowerment, he continues:

> Science says we are the servants of nature: everything is in order, make love and bash your brains in.... I am against systems, the most acceptable system is on principle not to have one. To complete oneself, to perfect oneself in one's own littleness, to fill the vessel with one's individuality, to have the courage to fight for and against thought, the mystery of bread, the sudden burst of an infernal propeller into economic lilies.[45]

Finally, in a crescendo of his aesthetics of deconstruction and radical subjectivity, he yelled toward the audience:

> Dada; of every social hierarchy and equation set up for the sake of values by our valets: Dada; every object, all objects,

41 Ibid, 2: Butler, 44: 49: 148. Butler argues that the performative process of subjectification creates an interpersonal and political force.
42 Lippard, 14.
43 Ibid, 14.
44 Ibid, 15.
45 Ibid, 18.

> sentiments, obscurities, apparitions, and the precise clash of parallel lines are weapons for the fight. . . . With the same intensity in the thicket of one's soul—pure of insects for blood well-born, and gilded with bodies of archangels. Freedom: Dada Dada Dada, a roaring tense of colors, and interlacing of opposites and of all contradictions, grotesques, inconsistencies: LIFE.[46]

Ultimately, the violent nature of Tzara's various strategies of force and empowerment are affirming, and the qualitative difference distinguishing epistemic violence from physical violence is the grounds from which Tzara made his affirmative claim. By forcefully deconstructing European structures of knowledge and modes of thought, he conversely achieved his radical subjectivity. Although the audience was mostly unaware of the implications of the performance, and the meaning of the performance to other artists and the wider public was slow to catch on, it would prove to be highly influential to future artists and intellectuals around the world. Its largest resonance in history, however, was that Tzara's performance served as a critical counterpoint to the cultural conditions that sparked the world's first major industrial war.

In conclusion, philosophers and social scientists at the turn of the twentieth-century helped establish an intellectual atmosphere in Europe that was more critically self-aware. Along with this, a general anxiety about the stability of European society was confirmed by the chaos of First World War. In this context, Tristan Tzara and the other Dadaists in Zurich played and experimented with a deadly seriousness about the meaning of their art-making. They rejected the culture that created the First World War and hoped to provoke social and cultural change. The peak of this adventure was demonstrated by Tzara's July performance of his *Dada Manifesto, 1918*, at a grand hall, and toward a *bourgeois* audience in the heart of Zurich. This was not only historically significant—through his various strategies Tzara, in the avant-garde, achieved new dimensions of creative freedom.

---

46 Ibid, 20.

Bibliography

Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of Performance*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Caws, Mary Ann. "Manifesto-ness: An Introduction." *Poetry* 193, no. 5 (February 2009): 435-437.

------. "Motion, Vision, and Coherence in the Dada Poetry of Tristan Tzara." *The French Review* 43, no. 1 (Winter 1970): 1-8.

Demos, T.J. "Circulations: In and Around Zurich Dada." *October* 105 (Summer 2003): 147-158.

Dickerman, Leah. "Dada Gambits." *October* 105 (Summer 2003): 3-12.

Duchamp, Marcel, Tristan Tzara, and Dorothy Norman. "Two Conversa tions: Marcel Duchamp and Tristan Tzara." *The Yale University Library Gazette* 60, no. ½ (October 1985): 77-80.

Foster, Stephen, ed. *Dada Dimensions*. Ann Arbor: University of Iowa Press, 1985.

------, ed. *Dada Spectrum: The Dialectics of Revolt*. Ann Arbor: Uni versity of Iowa Press, 1979.

Haider, Asad. "Tristan Tzara and the Aesthetics of the Riot." *Discoveries* 8 (Spring 2007): 11-13.

Hentea, Marius. *TaTa Dada: The Real Life and Celestial Adventures of Tristan Tzara*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014.

Hughes, Stuart H. *Consciousness and Society: The Reconstruction of Euro pean Social Thought, 1890-1930*. New York: Random House, 1958.

Hedges, Inez. *Languages of Revolt: Dada and Surrealist Literature and Film*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1983.

Kramer, Alan. *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Kristiansen, Donna M. "What is Dada?" *Educational Theatre Journal 20* (October 1968): 457-462.

Lewer, Deborah. "Hugo Ball, Iconoclasm and the Origins of Dada in Zu rich." *Oxford Art Journal* 32 (2009): 17-35.

Lippard, Lucy. *Dada's on Art*. Ann Arbor: Prentice Hall, 1971. Morro, John H. *The Great War: An Imperial History*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Watts, Harriet. *Chance: A Perspective on Dada*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980.

Wohl, Hellmut. "Tristan Tzara, Rene Gaffe and the Cabaret Voltaire." *The Burlington Magazine* 149, no. 1249 (April 2007): 262-267.

Yanoshevsky, Galia. "Three Decades of Writing on Manifesto: The Making of a Genre." *Poetics Today* 30, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 258-286.

Female Heroines, National Martyrs: The Gendering of Female Resistance During and After the First World War

By Francesca Golia
CSUS, 2015

Abstract.
Resistance by British, Belgian, and French women, living in German- occupied territories, came at tremendous personal costs. While many women gave their lives, allied governments exploited their sacrifices to sustain the war effort thus transforming personal acts of resistance into acts of martyrdom. Even after the war, governments continued the use of national-martyrs to represent the endurance of nations to help heal the wounds of an occupied population and to restore national pride. Three women's wartime experiences and memories highlight the societal contradictions and anxieties that brought upheaval of gender norms as a result of the First World War. By transforming actual resistance into government-hailed martyrdom, the essay shows the problematic nature in ascribing female resistance with traditional feminine attributes and the irony that created their fame by their "mascu-

line" acts.

About the Author:

Francesca Golia is a fourth semester classified Student in the Graduate Program of the CSUS History Department. Her study focused on Early Modern Europe with an emphasis on gender studies. She is preparing her thesis concerning the Neapolitan Republic of 1799 and the role of a revolutionary woman, Eleonora Fonseca Pimentel. Following graduation, she plans on teaching history at a local high school.

The mass mobilization throughout Europe as well as the devastating circumstances of the Great War of 1914 to 1918 incited a desire among many women to fulfill a national patriotic duty outside of their traditional maternal roles. As part of a new total war, it seemed almost natural for British, Belgian, and French women in German- occupied territories to resist enemy subjugation; however, such defiance came with tremendous costs for women who paid for resistance with their lives while their war stories were broadly manipulated for public ends.

Among female resisters, British nurse Edith Cavell has left the most lasting legacy for her selfless commitment in helping two hundred Allied soldiers escape from German-occupied Belgium. When the Germans discovered Cavell's resistance network, they put her on trial and executed her on October 12, 1915. Several other women followed in Cavell's footsteps, further radicalizing resistance activities by becoming spies. The Belgian spy, Gabrielle Petit, initially joined the Red Cross. Later, the British recruited her for intelligence and fiery, bold personality. She was captured and executed for espionage only six months after Cavell. Louise de Bettignies, from Lille, France, also worked for British intelligence and organized hundreds of people under her resistance network. The Germans found her carrying incriminating evidence, and she was sentenced to death. Her sentence was later commuted to hard labor in prison; however, after two years in prison she died from health complications in 1918.

All three of these women's lives were commemorated through lavish reburials and memorials in each of their countries of origin. The Allies as well as neutral nations extensively promoted Cavell's image in their propaganda in order to increase recruitment and maintain high morale. Cavell's story resonated more than that of other resisters because of the timing of her execution and the malleability of her story as a nurse, which, for propagandistic purposes, transformed her acts of resistance into acts of martyrdom. Aside from Cavell, the images of Petit and Bettignies as national-martyrs were used after the war to represent the endurance of nations under German-occupation in an attempt to heal the wounds of an occupied population and restore the pride of previously invaded nations.

The wartime experiences of Cavell, Petit, and Bettignies as well as their respective national memories highlight the contradiction and anxiety stemming from the upheaval of gender norms in Britain, Belgium, and France due to the First World War. The various portrayals of Cavell, Petit, and Bettignies also show the problematic nature in ascribing wartime female resisters traditional feminine attributes when the war that launched their fame had permitted them to engage in "masculine" acts.

Female Spies

The general public and military officials were often suspicious of British, Belgian, and French women who found themselves behind German enemy lines in 1914. This suspicion stemmed from the disruption of gender boundaries that originated from the blurring of masculine battle lines and female home front. The public's suspicions were made more acute by spy scares that predated the war, and were then escalated by the war's outbreak. In many cases, these suspicions were focused on women as a potential threat. At the same time, the Allied militaries' desperate need for intelligence and resistance led them to view women as viable recruits. The lines between combatants and civilians became increasingly blurred with the onset of a new type of total war, especially in occupied territories where the separation of the home front and the battlefront was nonexistent. French cultural historian, Margaret Darrow explains that a pre-existing, prewar discussion concerned with how women should contribute to a national effort was revisited and altered after the outbreak of war in 1914, resulting from mass mobilization and German occupation. The mass mobilization of men encouraged women to seek and fulfill their national patriotic duty, and sustain the ongoing war effort. While the public praised such women for their efforts to help the troops, their attempt to step outside of the domestic and maternal realm during wartime was "shot through with paradoxes."[1]

Women in occupied territories were placed on a pedestal for the suffering they had to endure, but as the war progressed and morale abated, views changed.[2] The presence of women in war-zones was seen as a hindrance to military ventures, and was considered unnatural and therefore suspicious. Darrow maintains that "by breaching the masculine world of war, they threatened to betray it."[3] Women in occupied territories became part of a "narrative of victimization" rather than one of opposition and resistance, which also proved problematic since these narratives portrayed Belgium and France as pillaged, wounded, and raped.[4] Men's failure to assume the role of protector had left women to defend them during the German invasion, causing "feelings of inadequacy in many men."[5] Darrow explains: "Focusing upon French women's bodies, violated, impregnated, abducted, seduced by Germany, and the wartime fears about the effects of the invasion and occupation foreshadowed what was to be the post-war assessment of the conse-

1 Margaret Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 87.
2 Ibid., 125.
3 Ibid., 106.
4 Ibid., 114.
5 Tammy M. Proctor, *Female Intelligence: Women and Espionage in the First World War* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 110.

quences of the First World War for France."[6] Thus, the disruption of gender roles generated anxieties that critics used to blame women for the social, economic, and political disasters of war-torn Europe.

The hostile tensions between major European powers, as well as their increased legal and police authority, fueled prewar spy paranoia in both the media and in popular literature. The outbreak of war increasingly propelled spy scares in Britain, France, Germany, and even in the United States, when it later joined the war in 1917.[7] However, spy stories became more deeply rooted in France, which had suffered defeat and occupation after the 1871 Franco-Prussian War. These events helped to popularize spy literature, which encouraged rumors of a suspicious "Lady in a Hat" to circulate prior to the outbreak of war in 1914.[8] As France found itself once again invaded by the Germans, the spy craze intensified.[9] Darrow explains that German espionage offered the perfect explanation to France's temporary defeat and invasion:

> French men had not lost on the battlefield; they were betrayed by the nefarious enemy within. And this scenario, in which German spies and sympathizers, pacifists, and "defeatists" stabbed the gallant French army in the back, cast women among the villains of choice.[10]

While the left suspected priests and the right targeted Jews, everyone could blame the female Lady in the Hat, often portrayed as a treacherous seductive courtesan-spy. The widespread spy paranoia that took hold in Europe thereby shaped, both before and during the war, France's national discourse on women's wartime roles. This set the stage for the villainization of women who stepped outside of the domestic sphere, reflecting broader social and cultural anxieties stemming from the chaos of war. By the turn of the twentieth century, many European governments had already created intelligence services as a response to the imminent threat of war, and to a lesser degree, out of fear from spies. During the crisis of July 1914, intelligence services were mobilized and the collection of information accelerated. Civilians, living among the enemy in Belgium and in Northern France, were eager to undermine their occupiers, and intelligence services took advantage of the growing resentment to quickly establish networks and entice the services of individual agents with financial compensation. From 1914 to 1918, more than 250 networks were

6 Darrow, *French Women*, 125.
7 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 26.
8 Darrow, *French Women*, 268.
9 Ibid., 271.
10 Ibid., 269.

created in German occupied territories, totaling more than 6,400 Belgian and French citizens.[11]

Not only did male citizens become involved inresistance networks, but many women did as well: the women representing a mix of nationality, age, and class. These women performed various tasks as valuable employees of intelligence services. The historian Tammy M. Proctor explains that for women civilians in occupied zones— who faced Allied accusations of sexual betrayal and intimacies with the enemy—active resistance allowed them to feel empowered and to protect themselves against rumors of collaboration.[12]

While many women in occupation zones were putting everything on the line by resisting enemy rule, the media chose not to convey their stories because of the assumption that espionage was treacherous work that should be left for men.[13] Rather, stories of wartime German atrocities, particularly against women and children, were widely publicized in Allied newspapers, illustrating the war "as a struggle between brute force and Prussian militarism, on one side, and reason, the rule of law, and the benefits of French and British civilization, on the other."[14] The media portrayal of wartime atrocities aimed to preserve traditional gender roles by victimizing women and reinforcing the need for male protection. However, each of the women's lives, though unique in its specific circumstances, demonstrates the vital and courageous contribution of female resisters during the war.

Cavell's, Petit's, and Bettignies's Acts of Resistance

Edith Cavell, born on December 4, 1865 near Norwich, England is one of the few women of the World War I era whose image has remained engrained in European collective memory, primarily due to the Allied propaganda campaign and media frenzy following her death. Prior to the war, Cavell had established contacts in Brussels during her five-year stay as a governess. After her training as a nurse in London, she decided to return to Brussels in 1907 when Dr. Antoine Depage invited her to become the director of Belgium's first training school for nurses. Although Cavell had returned to England to visit her mother in July 1914, she rushed to Brussels at once after hearing the news of war, considering it her duty to serve the invaded nation

11 Emmanuel Debruyne, "Espionage," in *1914-1918-online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson (Berlin: Freie Universitat, 2014), http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/Espionage.

12 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 76-77.

13 Ibid., 99.

14 Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France During the First World War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 51.

as a nurse. With the outbreak of war, the Germans deemed any Allied soldier found in Belgium as a spy and executed them. Cavell recognized the danger British soldiers faced when behind enemy lines and, putting her own life at risk, decided to aid those she could in their attempt to escape to neutral territory. She showed no hesitation on November 1, 1914, in aiding two British men flee the Germans.[15] An escape network quickly developed with Cavell's nursing school as the hub, which connected with larger networks based in northern France and southern Belgium.[16] Cavell's main responsibility was to lodge and hide refugees, while "guides" would pick-up and drop-off Allied soldiers *en route* to neutral Holland.[17] Cavell kept detailed accounts of names and addresses of the estimated two hundred men she helped smuggle out of Belgium.[18] As a precaution, Cavell wrote all of her documentation in code; however, during one of the routine inspections of the hospital, the Germans found her records, which were later used as incriminating evidence during her trial.

The Germans arrested Cavell on August 5, 1915, and placed her in solitary confinement at Saint Gilles Prison. Immediately following her arrest, Cavell confessed to her involvement in the escape organization. While awaiting her trial, Cavell closely read a copy of Thomas A. Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ*, revealing her strong Anglican beliefs.[19] Ten weeks later, on October 7, 1915, Cavell and thirty-five other defendants—thirteen of them women—were brought to trial before the Tribunal of the Imperial German Council of War. Four days later Cavell and five other resisters were sentenced to death. A sympathetic German Lutheran pastor, Paul Le Seur, arranged for Reverend Stirling Gahan, an English chaplain whom Cavell knew, to visit her cell.[20] Cavell conveyed to Gahan her famous words, "I know now that patriotism is not enough. It is not enough to love one's own people: one must love all men, and hate none."[21] At dawn on October 12, 1915, Cavell was taken to the firing range with another member of the escape network, Philippe Baucq, an architect who was caught distributing copies of the resistance paper, *La Libre Belgique*. Cavell was tied to a pole and blindfolded, and spoke her last words to Le Seur stating: "My conscience is quiet. I die for God and my country."[22]

15 Kathryn J. Atwood, *Women Heroes of World War I: 16 Remarkable Resisters, Soldiers, Spies, and Medics* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2014), 26.
16 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 101.
17 Katie Pickles, *Transnational Outrage: The Death and Commemoration of Edith Cavell* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 27
18 Ibid., 21.
19 Ibid., 26.
20 Atwood, *Women Heroes*, 30.
21 Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 40.
22 Ibid., 41.

The three other resisters, the Comtesse Jeanne de Belleville, a French school teacher named Louise Thuliez, and Louis Severin, a chemist, had their sentences commuted after the international outcry sparked by Cavell's execution.[23] While Cavell came to represent the suffering of all women under German occupation, two other resisters and spy-martyrs, Belgium's Gabrielle Petit and France's Louise de Bettignies, were not recognized as national heroines until after the war.[24]

Gabrielle Petit was born in Tournai, Belgium, in 1893, and was placed in a Catholic orphanage at age nine after the death of her mother. At age fifteen, she decided to leave for Brussels and worked as a governess, a shop assistant, and a waitress at a tavern while boarding with various families. During this instable period in her life, Petit fell in love with Maurice Gobert, a sergeant in the light infantry, and the two became engaged.[25] When war broke out, Petit learned that her *fiancé* had been wounded at Liege in 1914 and decided to help him cross the border into Holland to rejoin his regiment. In the process, Petit conveyed valuable information to British Intelligence that she had gathered during her trip. British Intelligence officials were impressed and offered her a position as a spy. Her work began in the summer of 1915 and, disguised under various false identities, the British Secret Service assigned Petit to observe local areas, record information on troop movements, and obtain technical information.[26] After Petit's arrest in February 1916, the Germans interrogated for a month but she did not disclose any names and went to trial on March 2, 1916. The same military prosecutor who had requested the death penalty for Cavell condemned Petit to death.

Although the Germans were eager to use Petit as an example to deter any defiance in German-occupied territories, she was not executed immediately, since the Germans sought to prevent the same outrage generated after Cavell's execution. Petit refused to sign an appeal to demonstrate her denunciation of German justice and after Moritz von Bissing, the governor general of occupied Belgium, refused to commute her sentence, the matter was referred to the Imperial Military Court in Berlin. The Kaiser himself upheld the condemnation due to Petit's "superior intelligence," "energetic" activity, and "extremely insolent" behavior at her trial.[27] The Germans were successful in preventing her conviction from turning into a scandal since

23 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 102.

24 Ibid., 116.

25 Atwood, *Women Heroes*, 55.

26 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 116.

27 Sophie De Schaepdrijver, "Gabrielle Petit" in *1914-1918-online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson (Berlin: Freie Universitat, 2014), http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/ article/Gabrielle_Petit.

Petit was a lower-class orphan with few contacts. The trial was held behind closed doors without a pardon campaign on her behalf. Petit's defiance did not waver prior to her execution, rather her final heroic act of refusing to wear a blindfold and her last words of "Vive la Belgique! Vive le…" as she was shot, became part of her lasting legacy.[28] Petit's execution on April 1, 1916, largely went unnoticed, and it was not until May 1919 with her state funeral and reburial that Petit was recognized as Belgium's national heroine.

Similar to Petit, Louise de Bettignies became a national heroine, but not until after the war. Bettignies was born in 1880 near Lille, France, to a manufacturing family that had fallen on hard times. She could speak French, Italian, German, and English and attended Girton College in Oxford, England. Prior to the war, Bettignies was hired as a governess in Italy and Poland due to her valuable language skills and upstanding reputation. She even received an offer from Archduke Franz Ferdinand to become governess to his children, but she refused because she would have had to give up her French citizenship.[29]

Bettignies was living at home when war began and she immediately volunteered as a courier for the Red Cross taking letters to unoccupied France.[30] Both French and British intelligence asked her to work for them; but, ultimately she chose to work for the British Secret Service because they paid her a salary. In a war that expected middle and upper-class women to volunteer their service, she wanted to be treated as a professional. She received training in London, and her service formally began in February 1915 until her arrest and the breakup of her network in October 1915.[31] Bettignies worked under the alias Alice Dubois and established the "Alice Network" with two-hundred agents passing along valuable information such as military emplacements and troop movement. She ran many personal risks, such as traveling to Britain fifteen to twenty times.[32] After her arrest in 1915, she was sentenced to death, but her sentence was commuted to hard labor, and she was sent to Siegburg Prison in Germany. In prison, Bettignies cited the Hague Convention and led a strike refusing to assemble munitions parts for the Germans.[33] Unlike the executed martyrs, Bettignies suffered a slow death from illness and poor medical care and she eventually died on September 27, 1918. Bettignies received several honors posthumously and her body was returned to her hometown of St. Amand for an impressive state funeral in March 1920.[34]

28 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 116.
29 Ibid., 116-117.
30 Darrow, *French Women*, 281.
31 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 117.
32 Ibid., 119.
33 Ibid., 120.
34 Darrow, *French Women*, 280.

Cavell's Image as Wartime Propaganda and her Postwar Commemoration

Two different images of Cavell emerged after her death: the first, largely shaped by the wartime propaganda, showed Cavell as an innocent nurse and martyr, victim of German atrocities, while the second image prevalent in postwar memorials depicted her as a mature, patriotic, and dignified woman.[35] Wartime allied propaganda portrayed Cavell as a devoted nurse, pious Christian, and innocent youth. Newspapers, postcards, and posters all transformed Cavell into the traditional idealized British woman rather than focusing on her professionalism, defiance, and courage. In stories of her martyrdom, Cavell was often depicted wearing her nurse's uniform to emphasize her unfaltering dedication to humanity, although she wore a dark blue dress and coat at her trial.[36] Central to her image was her purity as an unmarried woman and, paradoxically, her maternal instincts as a nurse.[37] Her martyrdom was equated to that of Joan of Arc, and her image as a nurse echoed popular British images of the earlier famous nurse, Florence Nightingale.

Although Cavell was forty-nine years old at the time of her execution, she was made to appear much younger, leaving an impression of innocence and vulnerability, making her death even more poignant.[38] Cavell's depiction as a childless, virginal-mother figure, rather than as a mature and independent single woman with a professional career, came to represent all the victims of German atrocities in occupied territories, and allowed her image to transcend class and national barriers.[39]

After her death, the media circulated various tales of her execution: that she had fainted when being led to the post; that German officers then shot her in the head while she lay unconscious; and that an officer in the firing squad was killed for refusing to shoot—none of which were true.[40] Cavell's image became distorted to promote patriarchal warfare, grounded in man's fight for the protection of one's country and family. She was transformed from an active resister to a passive pawn, often shown in posters and postcards as kneeling, praying, or collapsed on the ground, providing a powerful allegory of femininity for women in occupied territories

35 Anne-Marie Claire Hughes, "War, Gender and National Mourning: The Significance of the Death and Commemoration of Edith Cavell in Britain," *European Review of History 12,* no. 3 (November 2005): 428.

36 Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 30.

37 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 106.

38 Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 32.

39 Julie Wheelwright, *The Fatal Lover: Mata Hari and the Myth of Women in Espionage* (London: Collins and Brown, 1993),123.

40 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 107.

that helped motivate men to enlist and avenge her death.[41]

The Germans did not foresee the immense international uproar that the execution of a female resister would generate, and they exasperated matters by refusing to return her body to Britain. The Germans intended to use Cavell's execution as a deterrent against further resistance in Brussels and emphasized their view of women being equal before the law in order to quell the moral outcries of executing a woman.[42] The German government's chief medical officer in Brussels, Dr. Benn, who witnessed the execution stated: "She went to death with a poise and a bearing which is impossible to forget. She had, however, acted as a man towards the Germans and deserved to be punished as a man."[43] However, Allied powers firmly disagreed and used Cavell's execution as propaganda that emphasized German atrocities. The British assumed a moral high- ground claiming never to have executed female resisters; though, they were not opposed to handing guilty women over to other countries such as France, which had shot two nurses in 1915 for similar offenses as Cavell's, and between 1914 and 1918, had executed at least eleven women for espionage.[44]

Depictions of Cavell as an innocent martyr proved to be quite useful for the Allies as propaganda not only to emphasize German atrocities but also to increase recruitment. The story of her "brutal" death at the hands of the "Huns" played into perceptions of women as the weaker sex in need of men's protection. The focus on her martyrdom and the desire for men to avenge her death doubled the number of volunteer recruits in Britain and promoted the cause for conscription, which was instituted three months after her execution.[45] The media considered Cavell's death as one of the greatest atrocity stories of the Great War and compared it to the sinking of the *Lusitania*, both of which had considerable influence in America joining the war in 1917.[46] The British press "presented her story in such a way as to capture the public imagination and fuel the masculine desire for vengeance on the battlefield."[47] British officials went to great lengths to maintain this image of Cavell and avoided any unfavorable elements of her story from being publicized, such as the possibility that she might have betrayed people in her network that were also arrested.[48] The Allied propaganda campaign exploited Cavell's image and emphasized her martyrdom and self-sacrifice to increase recruitment and evoke animosity towards the enemy.

41Ibid., 106.
42 Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 50.
43 Cited in Wheelwright, *The Fatal Lover*, 122.
44 Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 52.
45 Ibid., 68.
46 Ibid., 76.
47 Hughes, "War, Gender and National Mourning," 433.
48 Ibid., 439.

Cavell's wartime propaganda image as a young innocent martyr changed significantly in her memorialization after the war, although traditional gender constructs were still important in creating her legacy. Her fellow countrymen mourned her loss as a British Red Cross nurse rather than a civilian casualty; therefore, exhumation of her body and reburial in Britain represented the British soldiers prevented by law from repatriation thus acting as aid in the bereavement process.

She became "a 'surrogate' for the suffering and mourning of over a million men who, like Cavell, had 'done their duty."[49] Cavell received many posthumous honors, and on March 17, 1919, a large ceremony was held with King George V and Queen Mary of England, as well as King Albert I of Belgium, all of whom were in attendance when Cavell's body was removed from the grave that the Germans had allotted her at the shooting range where she had been executed. The exhumation was the first ceremony to be held over the span of three days to commemorate Cavell. The next stop was her funeral held at Westminster Abbey, which clearly marked Cavell as a prominent British figure.[50] The last ceremony and second part of her funeral was held near her hometown of Norwich, which became her final resting place. Although "the Allies had failed to save Cavell from death, they could at least re-claim her corpse from the control of the enemy, symbolically repossessing British womanhood, and claiming her ultimate resting place."[51] After the war, Cavell's image started to transform, emphasizing her devotion to nursing and patriotic self-sacrifice, which the public could relate to and begin the healing process. However, the description of her as a young, innocent, devout, and pious Christian was still used to depict her legacy at many of the memorial services.[52]

After the war was over, public officials transformed Cavell's image from that of a passive, female victim of German barbarism to a symbol of the triumph of the English spirit and the victory of its army. The most famous memorial to Cavell—constructed by Sir George Frampton and unveiled on March 17, 1920, in Saint Martin's Place, adjacent to Trafalgar Square in London—set the precedent for later monuments.[53]

Controversy erupted regarding the message and form of the monument, which depicted Cavell closer to her true likeness and notably more matronly. She also appeared proud of her sacrificial acts that led to her martyrdom since she was portrayed standing upright demanding respect from the viewer. The conservative elements depicted on the monument, such as

49 Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 88.
50 Ibid., 113.
51 Ibid., 88.
52 Ibid., 114.
53 Ibid., 121.

the cross and statue of mother and child at the top with the patriotic inscription of "For King and Country," reinforced the pre-war gender roles.[54] The statue expressed many postwar anxieties and signaled "that women's improved status was still within patriarchal confines."[55]

Another important memorial to Cavell was created by Henry Pegram and situated outside of the Norwich Cathedral. It reaffirmed both conservative and progressive interpretations. At the bottom is the inscription: "Edith Cavell nurse patriot and martyr." It also portrays a soldier reaching up to Cavell's bust in a gesture of peace and reverence. The monument suggests that both the soldier and Cavell were part of the war although physically separated; therefore, "it captures the mixed message of women as equal citizens, yet also as different from men."[56] These two most famous monuments built to commemorate Cavell include contradictory images that reveal the social anxieties and uncertainties of women's roles in postwar Europe.

The Postwar Commemoration of Petit and Bettignies

After the war, French and Belgian diplomats sought ways to commemorate the suffering of an occupied population and used the images of Petit and Bettignies to reestablish the honor and supremacy of their nations after occupation. A memorial built in Brussels in 1923 shows Petit in a bold stance with her chin held high, emphasizing her youth, defiance, and patriotic martyrdom. While "drawn into espionage at the age of 20 for her *fiancé*, a Belgian soldier, Petit could not be portrayed as a saintly, virginal, innocent martyr in the way in which some accounts portrayed Cavell."[57] Rather, her depiction as an independent powerful woman was possible in the Belgian postwar climate because her revolutionary acts of resistance and infallible courage came to symbolize not women's wartime activism but Belgians' triumph over their German oppressors. Proctor explains the significance of the memorial and states: "a tribute to all Belgian women in the war, the memorial stands as a powerful symbol of the Belgian nation itself, uncringing and defiant after the torture and humiliation of occupation by the enemy."[58]

As a national heroine, Petit also reflected the Belgian population's attempt to comprehend the horrific events under German occupation. The public expressed its fascination with Petit in poetry and literature as well as in music and a movie, providing a means to comprehend the issues of

54 Ibid., 121-122.

55 Hughes, "War, Gender and National Mourning," 430.

56 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 116.

57 Schaepdrijver, "Gabrielle Petit," http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/Gabrielle Petit.

58 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 120.

occupation and its legacy.[59] Belgians remembered Petit for her willingness to suffer and die—rather than spy—for her country, reinforcing the idea that men fought wars to save women from victimhood; therefore, maintaining the belief that warfare was men's work.[60]

Similar to Petit, Louise de Bettignies was also portrayed after the war as a defiant brave woman, although her memorial conveyed more traditional gender roles. The French found it difficult to accept Bettignies as a female spy because of the negative association of female enemy spies in spy literature. The French sought instead to acknowledge Bettignies's brave sacrifice in order to pay homage to the women who suffered under German occupation. Also, France was only partly occupied and therefore did not use the image of Bettignies as extensively as Belgium did that of Petit in order to redeem itself.

Bettignies's status as a national heroine grew with the unveiling of a memorial in her honor in Lille in 1927.[61] The statue depicts a kneeling French soldier kissing the tied wrists of a young woman who stands heroically above him, gazing away. An inscription below states: "To Louise de Bettignies and to all the heroic women of the Invaded Country, A Grateful France, 1914-1918."[62] In the text, her active resistance was compared to the circumstances of all women in the invaded regions, regardless of their personal actions, thereby devaluing her heroic acts and placing them into a greater category of victimhood. In the iconography, the soldier offers Bettignies his benediction, storing the male figure to a rightful place of authority. On one side of the inscription is a bas-relief showing Bettignies guiding men to the border, and on the other side is another bas-relief depicting the execution of Cavell.[63] The latter is an effort to attach her story to Cavell's more familiar and traditional story of female behavior. Bettignies is not shown taking part in espionage activities, rather she is illustrated as helping men escape to the order: the same act for which Cavell was executed. While Bettignies was a powerful symbol for France and viewed as the "Northern Joan of Arc," her legacy stood in the shadows of Cavell's martyrdom since Bettignies was not executed and died in prison.[64]

The postwar memorials commemorating Petit and Bettignies varied from those of Cavell largely due to their subjects' involvement in espionage, which also explain why, despite the memorials, the French and Belgian women's stories quickly faded from public memory. Although portrayed

59 Darrow, *French Women*, 282.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., 127.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid., 284.
64 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 115.

as victims, all three women--unmarried, alone, and unprotected during the German-occupation-- shed their feminine frailty and became spies.[65] While Cavell encapsulated the perfect martyr who could represent any woman victim of German atrocities, Petit's and Bettignies' espionage work "was something they had to explain—away."[66] In fact, after the war several of Bettignies' relatives and former colleagues attempted to promote her status as a heroine and martyr, rather than as a suspicious spy-courtesan: the image that the popular French literature had engrained in society. "Nonetheless, her story did not 'take."[67]

In contrast, Cavell's image as an innocent nurse rather than a spy, allowed many to recognize her martyrdom as legitimate, and she was commemorated on a larger scale. Unlike Petit and Bettignies, "the story of Miss Cavell, the martyr, had found a secure place in popular memories of the First World War."[68]

Not only did the image of Cavell as a nurse affect the development of her legacy, but the timing of her death so early in the war allowed the Allied propaganda campaign to exploit further her image for their own purposes. The wartime propaganda campaign set Cavell apart from other female resisters because Cavell's image was solidly cast within the boundaries traditional gender roles, making her an acceptable role model for all women. The British government, through its widespread propaganda, had also "created an expectation among the wider British public that Cavell should be commemorated on a grand scale."[69] Her reputation spread internationally as well, resulting in the postwar naming of Canadian mountains, bridges, and nursing schools, as well as the creation of poetry and films, in her honor. Cavell stood out for receiving the most memorials constructed for a non-allegorical woman after World War I.[70]

While the Belgian and French publics also revered Petit and Bettignies for their brave acts through literature, poetry, and films, it was for the same purpose of depicting the women as defiant and brave national-martyrs who personified the nation's victimization and ultimate victory. Their memorialization allowed communities at the local and national levels to join together in their collective grief in order to come to terms with the horrific events of occupation and rebuild their nations. The stories told about these women were ways in which the French and Belgian publics "sought to

---

65 Darrow, *French Women*, 284
66 Ibid., 281.
67 Ibid., 280.
68 Hughes, "War, Gender and National Mourning," 439.
69 Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 5.
70 Darrow, *French Women*, 315.

understand and explain the experience of the war."[71] Once the process of mourning had taken place and some time had passed, the legacies of the female spy-martyrs faded from public memory. In the end, Petit and Bettignies became "more valuable to rebuilding nation-states as martyrs than as heroic resisters."[72] Therefore, Petit and Bettignies have largely been forgotten today, while Cavell— transformed into the archetypical and innocent female victim—has secured a legacy.

Postwar Gender Roles

The postwar monuments commemorating Cavell, Petit, and Bettignies reveal the dichotomy within European society regarding acceptable women's roles in the aftermath of the First World War. The mixed messages of traditional gender constructs and female patriotic defiance in the postwar memorials of Cavell, Petit, and Bettignies show their countries' "attempt to negotiate change with continuity, [and] to reconcile old and new worlds."[73] The memorialization of individual women after the war "served to reinforce the prevailing gender order, while simultaneously offering a stronger position for women in society, as long as it was contained within traditional understandings of women's place."[74]

While the war created a void for women to fill, it also masculinized women and blurred gender lines, resulting in a postwar society eager to reinstate traditional gender roles to appease masculine anxieties. While the proper wife and mother sustained the war effort, "a woman's rejection of domesticity and motherhood frustrated a veteran's manhood and belittled the meaning of his war sacrifices."[75] Therefore, any gains that women may have made outside of the domestic sphere in support of the war effort quickly faded with the armistice. Critics scrutinized women for almost any behavior outside of the acceptable norm of motherhood, including their fashion and their public smoking and drinking.[76] In their quest for normalcy, governments sought to herd women back into their prewar roles.[77] Margaret and Patrice Higonnet used the metaphor of the "Double Helix" to argue that, although women made some progress during wartime by moving into mas-

71 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 121.

72 Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917-1927* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 216.

73 Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 126.

74 Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes, 214.*

75 Susan R. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War* (London: Pearson Education, 2002), 61-62.

76 Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 121.

77 Margaret and Patrice Higonnet, "The Double Helix" in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel and Margaret Collins (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 35.

culine occupations, it was only because men had taken a simultaneous step forward into the highly dangerous and high status role of wartime combatants.[78]

Darrow similarly argues that "women don't 'advance' by their wartime access to previously masculine jobs because men have already moved into the super-masculine job of war itself."[79] When men returned from war, many women returned to their prewar roles and occupations. In the end, the First World War did not drastically alter the position of women, rather "the war became a defense of traditional gender arrangements that brought women under increasing scrutiny."[80] The war provided women a range of new opportunities and additional freedoms regarding employment and citizenship rights; although, "the changes due to the war were limited, objectively and subjectively, by the preservation and even reinforcement of traditional sex roles and by a complex symbolic system that gave economic, social, and cultural priority to soldiers at the front."[81]

The multiple responsibilities that women assumed during the First World War disrupted the traditional gender roles of Britain, Belgium, and France; and those disruptions led nationalist critics to blame women for the social, economic, and political disasters that followed the war. In the end, despite popular historical claims suggesting otherwise, massive mobilization did not lead to a postwar transformation of masculinity and femininity. The First World War is ironically remembered as the trench-fighter's story; thus, separating, complicating, and subordinating the experience of women. In a paradoxical effort to maintain traditional gender roles, national memory masculinized women's wartime contributions as they stepped outside the domestic realm and threatened the conventional order. The result was a widespread backlash and an emphasis on the importance of the domestic role of motherhood. Hence, it is not surprising that the predominant theme for postwar commemoration of women was through the allegorical portrayal of the "grieving mother."[82] Depictions of individual women were rare. Cavell represents an uncommon exception by receiving the most postwar memorials due to the flexibility of her image and its ability to fit into traditional female roles.[83] When the images of these three women blurred and the reflections of national memory distorted their contribution through the passage of time, their stories were forgotten.

78 Darrow, *French Women*, 8.

79 Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 61.

80 Françoise Thébaud, "The Great War and the Triumph of Sexual Division" in *A History of Women: Toward a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 5, ed. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994), 43.

81 Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 227.

82 Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 5.

83 Ibid

Bibliography

Debruyne, Emmanuel. "Espionage." In *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, edited by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer and Bill Nasson. Berlin: Freie Universitat Berlin, 2014. Last modified October 5, 2014. http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/Espionage. Accessed November 19, 2014.

Higonnet, Margaret and Higonnet, Patrice. "The Double Helix." In *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, edited by Margaret Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel and Margaret Collins Weitz, 31-47. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Hughes, Anne-Marie Claire. "War, Gender and National Mourning: The Significance of the Death and Commemoration of Edith Cavell in Britain." *European Review Of History* 12, no. 3 (November 2005): 425-444.

McPhail, Helen. *The Long Silence: Civilian Life under the German Occupation of Northern France, 1914-1918*. London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1999.

Pickles, Katie. *Transnational Outrage: The Death and Commemoration of Edith Cavell*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Proctor, Tammy M. *Female Intelligence: Women and Espionage in the First World War*. New York: New York University Press, 2003.

Roberts, Mary Louise. *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917-1927*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Schaepdrijver, Sophie De. "Gabrielle Petit." In In *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, edited by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer and Bill Nasson. Berlin: Freie Universitat Berlin, 2014. Last modified October 8, 2014. http://encyclopedia.1914 - 1918-online.net/article/Gabrielle Petit. Accessed November 20, 2014.

Speck, Catherine. "Edith Cavell: Martyr or Patriot." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art* 2, no. 1 (2001): 83-98.

Sohn, Anne-Marie. "Between the Wars in France and England." In *A History of Women: Toward a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 5, edited by Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, 92-119. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994.

Thébaud, Françoise. “The Great War and the Triumph of Sexual Division.” In *A History of Women: Toward a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 5, edited by Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, 21-75. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994.

Wheelwright, Julie. *The Fatal Lover: Mata Hari and the Myth of Women in Espionage*. London: Collins and Brown, 1993.

Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Heroic Masculinity Or Shattered Manhood? British Soldier-Poets And Gendered Understandings Of The Great War

By Tori Horton
CSUS, 2015

Abstract:
Poetry of British soldiers Rupert Brooke and Wilfred Owen exemplify the range of gendered understandings discovered by experiences of the Great War: from Brooke's celebration of the brave and heroic soldier to Owen's shockingly realistic and honest portrayal of shattered manhood. These soldier-poets, through different types of war experience, reflect the changing values of manhood in British culture and how many traditional ideals lie buried in the trenches after the Great War. Despite recent historiography that emphasizes cultural continuities during and after the First World War, this paper examines representations of masculinity and the transition from Brooke to Owen that displays the war as a shattering moment of transition from traditionalist social values and aesthetics to modernist beliefs.

About the Author:

Tori Horton presented this paper at the Student Research Symposium held at CSUS in March 2015, the Festival of the Arts in April 2015, and the Western Association of Women Historians conference in May 2015.She is a fourth semester of the Classified Graduate in the CSUS History Department Master's Program. Her focus rests in Early Modern Europe, specifically France and gender studies of the French Revolution. Horton's thesis topic looks at the role of female French revolutionaries of the French Revolution and in Dickens' "A Tale of Two Cities". Horton plans on working as a professor at the community college level and applying to PhD programs.

World War I was an explosive and destructive four-year-long conflict that left a resounding impression on art and culture in Europe in the decades to follow. Most war novels and poems written after the war express despondence, disillusionment, and cynicism. However, in Great Britain, poetry written by soldiers who fought in the trenches, published both during and after the war, reflects a much wider variety of responses to and understandings of the war. This poetry resonated with an audience struggling to understand the meaning of a war that both reinforced and upended traditional gender roles. These soldier-poets confronted the expectation of the Great War as a reflection of soldiers' masculinity. Their varied depictions of the war's influence on men's bodies and spirits ultimately intertwined with their evolving beliefs regarding the war's merit and purpose. The poetry of British soldiers Rupert Brooke and Wilfred Owen exemplifies the range of gendered understandings of the war, from Brooke's celebration of the brave and heroic soldier to Owen's shockingly realistic and honest portrayal of shattered manhood.

The starkly contrasting imagery of these two poets demonstrates no singular or timeless association between masculinity and war. Both Brooke and Owen were soldiers, and they both lost their lives before the end of the war. Brooke, a strong supporter of the war effort, focused many of his poems on the beauty of men's bodies, and he celebrated the war as the testing ground for masculinity. Contrarily, Owen's modern, poetic descriptions of the war-ravaged male body and spirit became iconic postwar emblems of the futility of modern war. These soldier-poets, through different types of war experience, reflect the changing values of manhood in British culture and many traditional ideals left buried in the trenches of the Great War.

Despite recent historiography that emphasizes cultural continuities during and after the First World War, the transition from Brooke to Owen confirms that the war was a shattering moment of transition from traditionalist social values and aesthetics to modernist values, best exemplified in representations of masculinity by the British Great War soldier-poets.[1]

Traditional British Masculinity and Homoerotic Poetic Elements

To understand the gender connotations and complexities in prewar Britain, one must first dissect the ambiguities surrounding the term *masculine*. Masculine "is what men 'are'…. How men came to be 'manly' is sometimes regarded as unproblematic (it is part of men's 'nature'), or as the product of socialization."[2] Masculinity became a traditional trope, as well as a culturally

1 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

2 Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 14.

constructed ideal. In prewar Britain, these "masculine identities" included honor, bravery, athleticism, and male fraternity.[3] Prewar British masculinity in the period from the 1840s to the outbreak of the war stressed "moral courage, sexual purity, athleticism and stoicism."[4]

These masculine expectations, during wartime, changed to expectations of honor, bravery, and valor on the battlefield. Male fraternity, an old British tradition, included sports clubs and scouting clubs, like the League of Health and Strength, for example. The League organization, dating back to the nineteenth century, "attempted to bind young men together in loyalty and masculine love through competition centred [*sic*] on the male physique."[5] British masculinity leading up to the war "was one of honor and virtue and duty."[6] Victorian
ideals of masculinity remained prevalent in propaganda and culturally constructed expectations. These nineteenth-century cultural forces contributed to the public support of the war effort. When the war broke out, the military became the testing ground for masculinity: "The army is where the 'Men' are."[7] The war provided a welcome adventurous outlet for the young generation of British men to prove their strength, bravery, capability, and even virility. Male bonding in wartime came to mean an emotional, fraternal, and intimate connection in an all-male brotherhood.

Men felt a closeness and affection towards those serving next to them due to close proximity while bathing, sleeping, and fighting the elements.[8] One of the distinct features in the poetry that came from the First World War was the "unique physical tenderness, the readiness to admire openly the bodily beauty of young men, the unapologetic recognition that men may be in love with each other."[9] Some of the homoerotic elements in much of the war poetry included sports imagery and a symbolic sense of male camaraderie. The homoerotic nature of British poetry extends back to

3 Graham Dawson, "The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and the Imagining of English-British Masculinity," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routeledge, 1991), 118.

4 Michael Roper and John Tosh, "Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routeledge, 1991), 2.

5 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, 138.

6 Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 132.

7 Jakub Kazecki and Jason Lieblang, "Regression versus Progression: Fundamental Differences in German and American Posters of the First World War," in *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture*, ed. Pearl James (University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 131-132.

8 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male,* 127.

9 Paul Fussell. *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 303.

the influence of Gerard Manley Hopkins and A.E. Housman, both widely read in the early twentieth century in Britain and in which both celebrated male bodies and male fraternity.[10] The male body was both an element of homoeroticism in war poetry as well as a stark reality of the harshness of the war. The body became "the subject of both imagination and experience. Men could be able-bodied: fortified, forceful, vigorous. Yet, their bodies could also be mangled, freshly torn from the war, and competing for economic and emotional resources with civilians."[11] The motivated and lean bodies of the men enlisting soon conflicted with the pieces of men spread along the battlefield or the maimed male bodies that returned home disabled. The most obvious effect of the war on men's bodies manifested through the wounded and physically maimed or disabled, "The wartime aesthetics of the male body (and the disciplines applied to it by military and medical authorities) spread into civilian society after the war. The male body was no more than the sum of its various parts, and the dismembered man became Everyman."[12] The war disrupted Victorian prewar ideals of masculinity and the male body. The poetic images of maimed, mutilated, and dead soldiers changed the expectations of masculinity and distorted the concept of war.

Rupert Brooke and Traditionalism

Traditionalism emphasizes conventional values, moral and religious beliefs, and accepted societal norms. In the case of British masculinity, traditionalist values were Victorian in nature and acknowledged war and military service as the testing ground for manhood and virility. Early on in the war, traditionalism had an admiring audience of British readers eager for the glory of war and defense of the homeland. Supporting the traditionalist argument, Historian Jay Winter has recently asserted that World War I did not represent a major break in cultural values in Europe. Instead, he emphasizes a cultural continuity of traditionalist aesthetics through the First World War.[13] Written early in the war, Rupert Brooke's poetry exemplifies these traditional tropes.

Traditional motifs helped to show the "universality of bereavement" throughout Europe during the First World War, and while not always the most "challenging intellectually," these traditional modes offered outlets for the living to deal with their losses.[14] Traditionalism encompassed much of what modernists rejected, including romanticism, Victorian values, and sentimentality, and similarly "provided a way of

10 Ibid, 305.
11 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, 11.
12 Ibid, 16
13 Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 5.
14 Ibid, 5.

remembering which enabled the bereaved to live with their losses, and perhaps to leave them behind" in ways modernism did not.[15] WhileWinter touches on various modes of expression, he highlights the soldier- poet as exemplifying the "romantic" aspect of the war.[16] The term "romantic" in itself encompasses very traditional connotations and descriptions. The poems from the trenches, Winter argues, represented "loftier versions of civilian romance about war."[17] Rupert Brooke was born in Warwickshire in 1887 and became known for poetry written in the first year of the war. Before the war broke out, Brooke wrote poems at Cambridge and associated with a prestigious literary circle that included Virginia Woolf, William Butler Yeats, and other Georgian poets. According to many of Brooke's biographers, in 1912 the young poet suffered a kind of sexual identity crisis when he underwent rejection by multiple women and began entertaining homosexual fantasies. Though the diagnosis is unclear, many scholars argue that this crisis led to his hospitalization for a nervous breakdown.[18] When the war broke out two years later, he joined the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve and went to Belgium. He saw very little action in 1914, and it was here that he created his famous five sonnets "Nineteen Fourteen," in which he very patriotically argues that the war gave meaning to a generation that was once lost but now had a designated purpose. Brooke died at the age of twenty-seven in April 1915 of blood poisoning on his way to Gallipoli. His death at such a young age and so early in the war likened him to a beautiful sacrificial creature, often fondly referred to in the British press as the "English Adonis."[19]

Rupert Brooke embodies an ideal example of the traditional "romantic" figure. His poetry, bursting with "unabashed patriotism," found its place "in a country that was yet to feel the devastating effects of two world wars."[20] His own romantic language stressed the significance of valor and the warrior hero. His poems herald "obedient soldiers" as "*the brave*," while simultaneously insisting, "cowardice results in *dishonor*" or "not to complain is to be *manly.*"[21] The traditional soldier-poets were like prophets, able to revive the dead and act as moral motivators. They offered a window into the trenches but one that was not realist: "Far from ushering in modernism," Jay Winter insists, "the Great War reinforced romantic tendencies in poetic expression about war…. The soldier-poet was in the end a romantic

15 Ibid, 115.
16 Ibid, 221.
17 Ibid, 204.
18 "Rupert Brooke 1887-1915," *Poetry Foundation*. January 1, 2014, Accessed September 14, 2014, http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/rupert-brooke.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory,* 22-23.

figure."[22] The image of the soldier as heroic and romantic has a long history in British tradition and "representations of heroic masculinity became fused in an especially potent ideological configuration with representations of national and imperial identity. A 'real man' would now be defined as one who was prepared to fight (and, if necessary, to sacrifice his life)."[23]
Rupert Brooke offers an example of a traditional idealist writing about his experiences in the trenches. Often referred to as "a symbol of the spiritual confusion and yearning of his generation," Brooke strongly grounded himself in the significance of language and the significance of comradeship.[24] His "hopeful idealism" is apparent in his five sonnets, as he "[rejoiced] in the feeling that the war [was] a welcome relief to a generation for whom life had been empty and void of meaning."[25] After publication in the early years of the war, newspapers praised his poetry, even referring to him as a "national hero."[26] The last sonnet in thecollection, "The Soldier," was read on Easter Sunday of 1915 in St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

In Brooke's poems, soldiers experienced honor and bravery in battle, which redeemed the war experience. Most emblematic of Brooke's perspective on the war is his sonnet "Peace," published in April 1915. Written in the early part of the war, the title itself implies a peaceful celebration of war and the peaceful, restful death that would come to a soldier dying for Britain. In the poem, Brooke discusses the opportunities of war, the beauty of soldiers, and the peaceful glory to those who died fighting for Britain. By focusing on the beauty of men's bodies and spirits– some would argue to the point of homoeroticism – Brooke's poem commends the war as the testing ground for masculinity. He often references naked men swimming and transforming from dirty to clean in the war. The poet reflects the arguments at home for encouraging young boys to prove their manhood and fight for their nation: "Now, God be thanked who has matched us with his hour, / And caught our youth, and wakened us from sleeping!"[27] The poem celebrates a war that gave a purpose to a generation without a purpose. In very traditional language, Brooke praises male beauty reinvigorated by the opportunity of battle. He calls on men "to turn, as swimmers into cleanness leaping, / Glad from a world grown old and cold and weary; / Leave the sick hearts that honor could not move, / And half-men, and their dirty songs and dreary, / And all the little emptiness of love."[28] He rejoices in the fraternity and honor of heroic warfare and masculine companionship.

22 Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 221.
23 Dawson, "The Blond Bedouin," 119.
24 Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, 26.
25 "Rupert Brooke," *Poetry Foundation.*
26 Ibid.
27 Rupert Brooke, "Peace," Poetry Foundation.
28 Ibid.

These poems, published by a front line soldier during the first year of the war, received much acclaim in England. Brooke gave poetic form to the idealistic propaganda used to support the war effort, rather than detailing the horrifying experience or the mass causalities of war. The reasons for this vary, from his lack of action in the war to his traditional values on manhood. "Peace" is exemplary for its alliteration, personification, religious allusion, and symbolism. Brooke's romantic diction contrasts with the later and more modern writing of poets like Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen: "Nothing to shake the laughing heart's long peace there, / But only agony, and that has ending; / And the worst friend and enemy is but Death."[29] Where the modern poets wrote satirically about dying for one's country, Brooke passionately urged that the best ending to a soldier's battle was willful self-sacrifice for Britain and for those at home.

After the dramatic and shocking number of deaths in the First World War, the ideas of heroic manhood would no longer widely resonate by the war's end. Brooke's idealism became "foolish and naïve" and representative of prewar British mentalities; Critics Eder and Edward A. McCourt argue that he described the mood in Britain from 1910 to 1915 and "perfectly captured the mood of the moment," but was not reflective of the overall war experience.[30] Brooke's early death begs the question: If he had lived to see the Battle of the Somme, would he still have written poetry glorifying warfare and highlighting soldiers as examples of manliness and patriotism? While this question is impossible to answer, his contemporaries who lived to the end of the war found Brooke's idealism difficult to reconcile with their reality.

Wilfred Owen and Modernism

While Brooke exemplifies the ongoing appeal of traditional aesthetics early in the war, more reflective of the British war experience were those poets who fought in the trenches and wrote critical and realistic assessments of the war. One of the most well-known is Wilfred Owen, who helped to shape a new, modern social realist vision of the war. Comparing Brooke's poetry with that of Wilfred Owen reveals a clear transition from traditionalist social values to modernist visions of the war and manhood.

Modernism responded to many social changes occurring around the time of the First World War, including rapid industrialism and a turn away from traditionalist religious and Enlightenment thinking. Modernist visions of British masculinity represented a rearrangement of social norms and expectations of men reflecting upon these transformations. The outbreak of the First World War and the dramatic and universal sense of loss changed how

29 Ibid.

30 Eder and Edward A. McCourt in "Rupert Brooke," *Poetry Foundation*

people viewed traditional Victorian gender roles.

Modern warfare and the loss of millions of soldiers became a catalyst that rapidly ushered in the modern consciousness.[31] Owen is an example of the modernist vision with his realistic and dramatic depictions of the war. His poems acted as protests of the war effort, going against traditional British concepts of manhood and warfare.

Wilfred Owen was born in Shropshire in 1893, earning acclaim as a poet from the trenches in the First World War. Hesitant to enlist, it was not until September 1915 that Owen joined the Western Front. After his experience in gruesome combat and gas attacks, Owen began showing symptoms of shell shock, manifested through headaches, stammering,insomnia, and shaking.[32]

These symptoms landed him in Craig Lockhart War Hospital in Edinburgh diagnosed with neurasthenia. His physician, Dr. A. Brock, encouraged him to become the editor of the hospital's journal, *Hydra*, during his stay. At the hospital, Owen met Siegfried Sassoon and read his work, as well as that of Henri Barbusse's *Le Feu*. Prior to 1917, most of his written expression was through letters home describing the chilling scenes and conditions of trench warfare to his mother and brother. Following discharge from the hospital, he returned to the front to continue as "the voice of inarticulate boys," where he earned the Military Cross in October 1918.[33] He died in early November at twenty-five years old, only one week before the Armistice. At the time of his death, five of his poems had been published. More collections appeared posthumously, both in Edith Sitwell's anthology *Wheels* (1919), and in a collection entitled *Poems* (1920) edited by Siegfried Sassoon.[34]

At the beginning of the war, Owen felt somewhat optimistic and patriotic; that all changed once he landed in the trenches in January 1917. What he encountered at the front was worse than even a poet's imagination could have conceived. From then on, in the less than two years left to him, the emotions that dominated were horror, outrage, and pity: horror at what he saw at the front; outrage at the inability of the civilian world – especially the church – to understand what was going on; pity for the poor, dumb, helpless, good-looking boys victimized by it all.[35]

By April 1917, he had fought in many horrific battles where he saw many of his comrades blown to pieces, and wrote of the body parts surrounding him in the trenches. Owen also manipulated descriptions of the male body and spirit to challenge the legitimacy of the war effort. Owen's "technical versatility" and "complex patterns of assonance, alliteration,

31 Ibid, 52.
32 Wilfred Owen, "Dulce et Decorum Est," Poetry Foundation.
33 Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 314.
34 "Wilfred Owen," *Poetry Foundation*.
35 Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 313-314.

dissonance, consonance, and various other kinds of slant rhyme" stand out among other poets for its inventive style.[36] His most representative poem, "Dulce et Decorum Est"– Latin for "It is sweet and fitting to die for one's country" – describes a gas attack that he survived on January 12, 1916. Therein, he writes how "bent double, like old beggars under sacks, / Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge, / Till on the haunting flares we turned out backs, / And towards our distant rest began to trudge."[37] The men, depicted as bedraggled and crippled old women, shuffled from the field of battle to their resting place. Missing is the traditionalist description of heroism and valor associating with men in warfare.

There is no delusion of heroic masculinity here; the men are weak and dying, suffering from the horrifying conditions of modern warfare. In "Dulce," Owen haunts his readers with the horrors of the Great War: "If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood / Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs."[38] Written in 1917, but published posthumously in 1920, the poem serves as an example of modern protest against the domestic sphere sending their boys to war and encouraging the war effort. Owen's "literature of disenchantment" represented an "emerging sense of irony, disillusionment, and alienation among front soldiers."[39] Expertly weaving alliteration, simile, metaphors, and crisp diction, Owen manages to place the reader at the scene of the gas attack and question the zeal with which they support the war. The loss of humanity during times of war makes the war universal in that "there is no rational explanation to account for the cataclysm."[40] In the postwar period, Owen represented an example of political protest and highly regarded for his style and technique. He closes his poem with a warning, using the poetic device known as the Volta, which is a dramatic shift in tone and emotion. Owen spends the first part of his poem describing the horrors and brutality of the gas attack. He then dramatically shifts to inform the reader and warn the home front of the falsifications of the war effort: "My friend, you would not tell with such high zest / To children ardent from some desperate glory, / The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est* / *Pro patria mori.*"[41] Closing his poem with the Latin phrase, translated to "It is sweet and fitting to die for your country," Owen's satirical style contrasts Brooke's strong belief in those words. Owen capitalizes "Lie" for dramatic effect to make the word stand out among the others; the war effort, he argues, is a lie. The children believe the lie of seeking purpose and glory that leads directly to their dying

36 "Wilfred Owen," *Poetry Foundation*.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, 175.
40 "Wilfred Owen," *Poetry Foundation*.
41 Owen, "Dulce et Decorum Est."

for one's country by fighting in the trenches.

Shell shock introduced a level of perceived feminization of traumatized soldiers to the battlefield. Diagnosed with shell shock, a highly misunderstood and often misdiagnosed aspect of modern warfare, Owen was among a large number of World War One soldiers suffering from the shocks of modern technology. The increased technology of total warfare led to a new willingness to recognize and diagnose shell shock in the First World War and effeminate explanations for the mental illness. By 1918, approximately 80,000 cases of neuroses had been documented, the aftershocks of which reverberated well into the 1930s.[42] Little was understood about psychiatry during the war and shell shock did not yet have a universal prognosis.[43] Masculinity was a prized trait in World War One soldiers of all nations, and "mental collapse" was shameful.[44] Despite growing recognition of the psychological toll of fighting, soldiers diagnosed with shell shock still found themselves stereotyped as weak and unmanly. Sir Andrew Macphail, a medical officer from Canada, argued that his patients with these symptoms were experiencing a "manifestation of childishness and femininity."[45] Such feminized diagnoses resulted in shame and emasculation. The military was not immediately receptive to this illness as a legitimate affliction, especially since there was no uniform diagnosis or treatment. British society "viewed similar pre-war illnesses, such as 'hysteria,' as feminine or likened to 'degeneracy.' Some afflicted soldiers may well have questioned their manhood."[46] The most common prescription remained therapy and uninterrupted rest for a few days.

Sometimes patients received treatment such as electric shock therapy and other types of experimentations. Some returned to England, most often the worst cases, those suffering from paralysis and those who had become deaf or mute. Doctors diagnosed some with hysteria, where "the 'will' [seemed] to have lost control of the brain," as the fault of the soldier for a lack of bravery and self-control.[47] Others, like Owen, suffered withneurasthenia, a result of complete exhaustion. Between sixty-three and seventy-one percent of those treated for shell shock were then sent back to the front lines, Owen included.[48]

Representative of his own experience with the illness, Owen includes descriptions of shaking, trembling, and freezing cold in much of his poetry. One example is in his poem "Exposure": "Nor rosy dawn at last appearing

42 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, 109.
43 Tim Cook, "The Great War of the Mind," *Canada's History* 90, no. 3 (2010).
44 Ibid,
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.

/ Through the icy shade / Might mark without trembling the new-deforming / Of earth that had seemed past further storming."[49] Shell shock "remains a powerful metaphor for the futility and brutality of the Great War," as well as a stark examination of the gender expectations placed on male soldiers in England.[50] Shell shock was a highlyunrecognized and foreign aspect of modern warfare that developed with the First World War. The explanations given by the military and by doctors, both effeminate and misconstrued, led not only to emasculation and prolonged shame felt by soldiers, but also to greater misunderstanding of the illness on the home front.

Owen challenged the idea of war as a way to prove manhood by describing in detail men that were scared, hysterical, and dying gruesome deaths. His desolate poems reveal the hopeless state of humanity and his anger towards the home front for civilians' support of a war leading to the deaths of young, innocent boys. With the coming of the Modern Era in Britain, realistic assessments of the war effort and shifting gender expectations increased.

Conclusion

Both Rupert Brooke and Wilfred Owen capture something of the experience and expressions of British World War One soldier-poets. Both maintain vast differences in their portrayal of the war, which may be due to their different experiences in combat. Brooke produced poetry early on in the war and saw very little action, and though he died during the war, he did not die in combat. He maintained a romantic and traditional understanding of the war and idealistic view of Britain. Brooke knew there was a purpose for the war effort, believing his generation of British comrades had the opportunity to bring the purpose to completion. Quite differently, Owen fought in the war until the very end, dying only one week before the Armistice; in fact, his family was informed of his death
on Armistice Day.[51] Owen saw the death of many comrades and saw the core of suffering and death. His themes revolve around the very heart of modern warfare: scared, screaming, and dying young men often described as terrified of death and writhing in pain. The concept of abstract British manhood is transformed in Owen's work from a traditional and upstanding soldier, to a stripped down and weakened casualty of warfare. Owen's poetry is a reactive response to the modern technology and trench warfare ushered in with the war. By comparing both poets, the shattering influence of the horrors of World War One clearly reinforce a transition from traditional British aesthetics to the prominent cultural movement of the modern era.

49 Owen in Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 67.
50 Cook, "The Great War of the Mind."
51"Wilfred Owen," *Poetry Foundation*.

Historian Jacob Burckhardt argued that poetry "is more profound than history."[52] Poetry brings a human face and emotions to large historical events, offering a more holistic perspective of the effect of these tragedies on the human emotional state and psyche. History and cultural art forms that stem from large events, such as the First World War, are best analyzed together. The shift from traditionalism to modernity at the close of the war represents a "fusion of the 'old' and the 'new'" in that much of the modernist movement "arose out of the perceived need not to reject out of hand traditional languages about the dead, but rather to reformulate and reinvigorate older tropes."[53]

During the war, Brooke gained popularity for his patriotic support of the war effort and for his reinforcement of traditional British masculinity. However, after the dramatic suffering of the war and the overwhelming sense of loss throughout Europe, Owen came to represent the prominent view of war that is understood today. The common view that warfare is barbaric, gruesome, and often in vain, traces back to the World War One experience and its resounding cultural aftershocks. British soldier-poets Rupert Brooke and Wilfred Owen expose the transition from traditionalism to modernism through extremely different representations of masculinity. The war experience and cultural changes following the First World War are best understood through the words of those who fought and perished in Europe's muddy trenches.

52 Eksteins, *Rites of Spring,* 194.
53 Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 204.

Bibliography

Bourke, Joanna. *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Brooke, Rupert. "Peace." *Poetry Foundation*. *Poetry*, April 1915. Accessed September 14, 2014. http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poetrymagazine/poem/2277.

Cook, Tim. "The Great War of the Mind." *Canada's History* 90, no. 3 (2010).

Dawson, Graham. "The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and the Imagining of English-British Masculinity." In *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, edited by Michael Roper and John Tosh, 113-144. London: Routeledge, 1991.

Eksteins, Modris. *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000.

Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Kazecki, Jakub and Jason Lieblang. "Regression versus Progression: Fundamental Differences in German and American Posters of the First World War." In *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture*, edited by Pearl James, 111-141. University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

Owen, Wilfred. "Dulce et Decorum Est." *Poetry Foundation*. Viking Press, 1921. Accessed September 14, 2014. http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/175898.

Roper, Michael and John Tosh. "Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity." In *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, edited by Michael Roper and John Tosh, 1-24. London: Routeledge, 1991.

Roper, Michael and John Tosh, eds. *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*. London: Routeledge, 1991.

"Rupert Brooke 1887-1915." *Poetry Foundation*. January 1, 2014. Accessed September 14, 2014. http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/rupert-brooke.

"Wilfred Owen 1893-1918." *Poetry Foundation*. January 1, 2014. Accessed September 14, 2014. http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/wilfred-owen.

Winter, Jay. “Imaginings of War: Posters and the Shadow of the Lost Generation.” In *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture*, edited by Pearl James, 37-58. University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

American Battlefield Cemeteries of the First World War: A Place of Memory for the Healing of Grief and the Construction of National Unity

by Kenneth Hudson
CSUS, 2015

Abstract.
In 1923, Congress established the American Battle Monuments Commission and tasked it with constructing military cemeteries on the battlefields of Europe. The government sought a positive memorial to give solace and provide healing for the bereaved and for the country. The American Battle Monuments Commission (A.B.M.C.) constructed military cemeteries for soldiers not repatriated home. The paper examines the work of the Commission in honoring national victory and recognizing the ultimate sacrifices of American soldiers. Situated on some of the war's great battlefields, the cemeteries avoid memories of combat; instead, they honor the fallen and provide a landscape of tranquility, beauty and peace for all men regardless of rank, station, or race.

About the Author.

Kenneth Hudson is a retired naval officer attending CSU Sacramento He is currently writing his thesis, Presidential Leadership in Time of Crisis: FDR shifts the Public Discourse from Isolation to Intervention in the Second World War, 1939-1941, as an examination of the proper relationship between the President and the American people. He intends to use his education to return to the classroom as a college professor and lecturer.

President Woodrow Wilson had lofty expectations regarding goals for American participation in the First World War. He stated in the speech before Congress in which he requested a declaration of war against Germany that he sought a world that would "be made safe for democracy."[1] He also echoed H.G. Wells's words that the Great War should be the war to end all wars. President Wilson, however, did not achieve these lofty goals, and in the coming decades Americans by and large formed a more critical memory of the outcome of the war and the role the nation played in it.

This critical memory, however, has developed in direct opposition to the goals of the federal government as it sought to shape the nation's memory of the war in the years following the armistice. In 1923, Congress established the American Battle Monuments Commission and tasked it with constructing military cemeteries on the battlefields of Europe. In so doing, the United States government sought to construct a positive memory of the war that would provide solace to grieving families and also to reinforce national unity, thereby providing healing for the bereaved and for the country as a whole.

The American Experience During World War I

The great powers of Europe went to war in August of 1914. Initially, President Wilson pursued a policy of strict neutrality concerning the war, a policy that satisfied most Americans. By late 1916, Germany engaged in unrestricted submarine warfare against all merchant shipping approaching the British Isles. President Wilson protested to the German government when German U-boats attacked American merchant ships in violation of international law, but to no avail. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war, proclaiming, "We are the champions of the rights of mankind. We have no selfish ends to serve… [but] there is no other means of defending our rights."[2] Upon persuading Congress to declare war, Wilson set out to mobilize the nation.

In addition to granting a declaration of war, Congress approved the Selective Service Act of 1917, thereby expanding the ranks of the army with a sufficient number of men conscripted to engage in the fighting overseas. Conscripts accounted for nearly three-quarters of the soldiers in the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) sent to fight in France. In utilizing the draft to man the army, the President broke with long-standing tradition. In

1 Woodrow Wilson, April 2, 1917. Quoted in American Battle Monuments Commission, *American Armies and Battlefields: A History, Guide, and Reference Book*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), 13.

2 A.B.M.C., *American Armies and Battlefields*, 13.

contrast, draftees comprised only eight percent of the Union Army during the Civil War, with volunteers and state militiamen filling out the rest of the ranks. To fight in the Great War, America formed its first truly national army. This army was mobilized with men between the ages of eighteen and thirty years with very few exemptions: marriage, employment in critical war industry, and poor teeth being the chief causes for a person being passed over. Men from all classes, races, ethnic groups, and religions comprised the new National Army. It contained both native-born men and immigrants. The Army of the United States during the First World War was a representative cross- section of America.[3]

The new Nation Army represented America of the early twentieth century in another fashion as the army segregated African- Americans along similar lines as found in southern society in America. Chiefly, Army commanders relegated African-Americans into manual labor units, with only few allowed to serve in "colored" combat units. General John Pershing, Commanding General of the AEF, bowed to pressure from his subordinate commanders and excluded the eight "colored" infantry regiments from fighting alongside regiments manned by "white" Americans. The French Army, suffering from depleted ranks and employing colonial troops from Africa to fight in the trenches, was happy to have the American "colored" regiments serve in the French Army.[4]

The AEF's late entry into the war limited its exposure to the type of stalemated trench warfare experienced by the armies of Britain and France. A few divisions entered the trench lines in early 1918 for initial "bloodying" under the tutelage of seasoned British and French troops, while later arriving divisions underwent training and equipping behind the lines. The first significant combat undertaken by American troops was during the German Spring Offensive of 1918. The Germans gambled they could win the war before America could make their strength felt in France by launching the German armies on an attack across a broad front.

General Pershing committed American divisions to French Army command to meet the emergency. In one critical sector, American soldiers fought stalwartly to prevent the Germans from crossing the Marne River at Chateau-Thierry and threatening Paris. Fresh American divisions successfully fought to cut off the German advance and drive them north of the Aisne River. When the German Army expended its energy, General Pershing reformed the AEF and sent his troops to storm the fortified salient of St. Mihiel. After the American soldiers proved themselves in this first action as

3 Jennifer D. Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 2

4 Richard S. Fogarty, *Race & War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914-1918* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 4.

an independent army, Field Marshal Foch, the Allied Supreme Commander, assigned the AEF a significant sector, the Meuse- Argonne region, as America's portion of a general Allied offensive that precipitated the German request for an armistice.[5]

The armistice that took effect of November 11, 1918 concluded combat operations for the American Expeditionary Force. During eleven months of fighting, Americans suffered over eighty thousand dead; the bodies of almost thirty-five thousand of these were not returned home to America.[6] During the post-war period, Americans increasingly adopted an attitude of disillusionment concerning the meaning of the nation's participation in World War I due to continued tensions in Europe and social divisions at home.

American society continued to be divided by class, ethnicity, immigrant status, and race. Soldiers came home to a nation torn by labor unrest and racial strife. An additional source of division was the perception among many war veterans that the government, through conscription, set them apart as economic losers, having earned a dollar a day on soldier's wages while war industry workers made big wages while experiencing none of the dangers of the front line.[7] The healing of these social divisions, in addition to providing a positive interpretation of American participation in the war, became the objective of the United States government in constructing battlefield cemeteries in Europe.

Military Cemeteries: A Place for Family Healing

Congress created the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) in 1923 and tasked it with constructing eight military cemeteries in France, Belgium, and Great Britain to commemorate the thirty-four thousand killed or missing soldiers whose remains were never repatriated back to the United States.

General Pershing thought that all of the bodies should be buried together in Europe, as their graves would act "as monuments to the honor and self-sacrifice of America."[8] The American War Department, however, promised to return the bodies of soldiers who were killed overseas, and more than seventy percent of the families elected to have them repatriated. Though most of these overseas cemeteries are situated on the battlefield where these

---

5 A.B.M.C., *American Armies and Battlefields*, 25, 27, 36-37, 105-112, 167-192.

6 John J. Pershing, "Our National War Memorials in Europe," *The National Geographic Magazine*, vol. 65, no. 1 (January 1934), 1.

7 Keene, 161-163, 171-174.

8 John J. Pershing, quoted in Donald Smythe, "Honoring the Nation's Dead: General Pershing's American Battle Monuments Commission," *American History Illustrated*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (May 1981), 26.

soldiers fought and died, a visitor will find no evidence or reminder of the harsh environment or terrible destruction of industrial warfare experienced by the soldiers. The battlefield cemeteries are laid out as landscape parks with trees, scrubs, flowers, and grass chosen specifically to enhance a feeling of peace and tranquility, having been "developed into places of distinguished beauty."[9] Military cemeteries constructed along these lines originated during the Civil War. The Commission used Gettysburg National Cemetery as a model. At Gettysburg, each fallen soldier, regardless of rank or status, is buried in similar fashion in graves marked by identical headstones set in a park with trees and grass.[10] The ABMC used similar methods in their design of the cemeteries in Europe. The *New York Times* recognized the commission's efforts, proclaiming, "The fallen soldier could sleep in France as if he were in another home."[11] American battlefield cemeteries presented grave sites as a place of equality and peaceful repose.

France, Great Britain, and Germany all adopted similar standards for their military cemeteries following World War I. Each country took great pains to identify every body found on thebattlefield and to provide them a suitable grave. Unidentifiable bodies were also given individual burials, and the missing had their names recorded on a monument. This differed from previous practice in Europe, where only officers received individual commemoration while common soldiers were often buried in a mass unmarked grave. The British Imperial War Graves Commission, from whom the American Battle Monuments Commission borrowed a number of ideas, set a standard of equality of treatment concerning how the dead should be honored. General Fabian Ware, head of the British commission, felt that the shared circumstances in which these men died should be represented in the layout of the hundreds of British battlefield cemeteries. He stated the cemeteries should inspire "memory of common sacrifice made by all ranks… who fought and fell side by side… those who have given their lives are members of one family, and children of one mother." Ware concluded, therefore, that, "There shall be no distinction… between officers and men" in the manner in which they are honored.[12] The British commissiondesigned its battlefield cemeteries with uniform headstones set in rows at a close interval "which gives the appearance of a battalion on parade… facing east toward the ene-

---

9 A.B.M.C., 457.

10 Thomas W. Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War." Edited by John Gillis. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 158.

11 Cited in G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 97.

12 Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission 1917-1967* (London: Constable & Company, 1967), 32-33.

my," the uniform headstones "convey[ing] the idea of equality."[13] The design of the cemeteries also met the interests of their relatives by burying the dead in individual graves, thus providing a place where they could grieve. Equal suffering led to equal treatment for soldiers buried in Allied cemeteries.

The American Battle Monuments Commission designed cemeteries along similar lines as the British. The Commission differed from the Allies in their decision to consolidate the dead into eight cemeteries rather than bury the bodies where they were found. The Commission designed American cemeteries to be large enough to signify the scale of American participation in the war and "of sufficient grandeur and beauty that tourists would go out of their way to visit them."[14] The Commission also made a slight departure from the British example by arranging the graves to face the entrance of the cemetery, and with the interval between the graves extended so that a visitor is confronted with a visual expanse of white crosses set in rows covering a gentle slope. In keeping with the principle of equal treatment, the cemeteries represented and memorialized all soldiers in some fashion. All soldiers whose bodies could be identified had graves marked with crosses bearing their name. Crosses bearing the inscription, "Here rests in honored glory an American soldier known but to God" were placed over graves containing unidentified remains. All soldiers whose bodies were never found had their names memorialized on the walls of the chapels. In this manner the Commission insured that all the fallen soldiers received equal treatment as honored dead and had a place where their loved ones could come to grieve.[15]

The Commission also tackled the use of religious symbols in the overseas cemeteries, but had an easier task than Great Britain.
The British Army had dead soldiers of various religious backgrounds from all over the empire to consider, so the British commission kept Christian symbolism to a minimum. Each headstone would bear a symbol representing the religion of the soldier buried there. In addition, each cemetery had one cross in its center and a stone of remembrance bearing the words chosen by Rudyard Kipling from the book of Ecclesiastes: "Their name liveth for evermore."[16] In doing so, the British acted in a manner that was sensitive to the numerous religious beliefs of soldiers, whether colonial troops or soldiers from the British Isles.

The American commission, lacking the need to pay respect to so many religions, felt free to more fully utilize Christian symbols in American

---

13 Longworth, 34. David Crane, *Empires of the Dead: How One Man's Vision Led to the Creation of WWI's War Graves* (London: William Collins, 2013), 126.
14 G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War,* 98. Smythe, 28.
15 A.B.M.C., *American Armies and Battlefields*, 457-458.
16 Julie Summers, *Remembered: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission* (London: Merrell, 2007), 20-21.

cemeteries. At the insistence of General Pershing, the American commission adopted the Latin cross instead of the rounded gravestone to mark the burial place of each American soldier.[17] The choice of the Commission indicated "the degree to which many Americans… considered the United States a Christian nation."[18]

The Commission made an exception in the case of the not insignificant number of soldiers of the Jewish faith, whose graves are marked with six-pointed Stars of David.[19] Any visitor to an American battlefield cemetery would be confronted by row upon row of white marble crosses, interspersed with occasional stars, set in large fields of green grass. The Commission understood the cross as a symbol both of self-sacrifice and of the hope of resurrection, leaving at least some Britons envious of America's more overt religiosity. Lady Florence Cecil, writing to the Prince of Wales requesting that British cemeteries also use crosses to mark the graves, stated, "It is through the hope of the cross that most of us are able to carry on life from which all sunshine seems to have gone."[20] The American historian G. Kurt Piehler argues, "The cross developed into a central symbol of the American overseas cemetery."[21] American cemeteries, filled as they are with crosses, confront visitors with the twin messages of self-sacrifice and hope.

Pershing also guided the Commission to provide a place for religious contemplation in addition to the graves themselves, wanting "each cemetery to have a chapel in order to provide it with a religious atmosphere," transforming the cemeteries "from mere burial grounds to sacred sites."[22] The chapels, many of which display classic Greek architecture, speak of the gratitude of the nation as well as directing the mind of the visitor toward spiritual thoughts. A number of the chapels bear the words of Jesus found in the Gospel of John: "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish," a message of hope and comfort.[23] The chapel at St. Mihiel Military Cemetery has these words carved on the lintel over the entrance: "This chapel has been erected by the United States of America in grateful remembrance of her sons who died in the World War," the obvious interpretation being a nationaliza-

---

17 Elizabeth G. Grossman, "Architecture for a Public Client: The Monuments and Chapels of the American Battle Monuments Commission," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 43, No. 2 (May 1984), 135-136.

18 Piehler, *Remembering War*, 101.

19 Smythe, 29.

20 David Crane, *Empires of the Dead: How One Man's Vision led to the Creation of WWI's War Graves* (London: William Collins, 2013), 149.

21 Piehler, *Remembering War*, 101.

22 Smythe, 29.

23 John 10:28, quoted in American Battle Monuments Commission, *St. Mihiel American Cemetery and Memorial* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971) 7.

tion of the family loss and collectivized grief.[24]

The ABMC, using both fields of crosses and traditional chapels, intertwined the national message with the process of healing. The traditional forms with which the Commission designed the American military cemeteries were chosen to assist the grieving families. The rows of crosses and the chapels set in landscape parks encouraged families not to fixate on the violent deaths of their loved ones. Similarly, the chapel erected in the cemetery at Suresnes was inscribed with these words meant to provide comfort to the grieving, "Peaceful is their sleep in glory."[25] Traditional and religious symbols provided connections to the cultural and social relationships from which the dead soldiers had come, thus allowing the bereaved families to remember their sons as they had known them.

For Christian families, religious symbols such as the cross, in particular, provided a measure of hope that death itself, in the end, shall be conquered. The American Commission, therefore, in its choice of traditional forms provided families with an opportunity to experience healing and a viewpoint of the Great War that lessened the pain of loss. In this regard, the ABMC followed a pattern common in other forms of commemoration. As cultural historian Jay Winter argues, "traditional modes of seeing war… provide a way of remembering that enables the bereaved to live with loss…. [That] the strength of traditional modes of expressing the debt of the living to the dead allows [such forms] to mediate bereavement."[26] Healing was facilitated in these cemeteries, where the buried bodies of soldiers were thus figuratively transformed into peaceful, slumbering men.

The American government assisted families in making use of the battlefield cemeteries that the Commission constructed in France, Belgium, and Great Britain. Congress sponsored and funded a number of pilgrimages for "Gold Star" mothers to sail across the Atlantic and grieve in person at the site of their sons' graves. Sixty-seven hundred mothers participated in the pilgrimages.[27]

The term Gold Star refers to the banner bearing a gold star that families displayed in their windows to signify the loss of a son in the World War. The Gold Star mothers, after a grand reception in New York, traveled together on ocean liners and stayed in first-class hotels while in Europe. Not only were American soldiers, General Pershing included, tasked with acting as

24 A.B.M.C., *St. Mihiel*, 6.

25 A.B.M.C., *Suresnes American Cemetery* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), 6.

26 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 5, 115.

27 G. Kurt Piehler, "The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War." Edited by John Gillis. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 177.

guides at the cemeteries, French and British government officials met them to extend their gratitude. The government, on behalf of the nation, accepted the notion that mothers of war dead had a special claim on the nation for their sacrificial service. Congress therefore assisted the Gold Star mothers by providing them an opportunity to mourn their fallen sons and place flowers on their graves. Piehler argues that by assisting grieving families, Congress "tried to forge a link between the individual memories of mothers and a broader national purpose…. That the pilgrimages served to affirm that those who died for their country in Europe had fought for a noble cause."[28] The government hoped the compassionate support of grieving mothers would be interpreted by the public positively and assist in strengthening the message on unity.

Military Cemeteries: A Construction of National Unity

The utilization by the government of military cemeteries to construct national unity was not a new idea following the Great War. The idea's first and most famous expression was demonstrated at Gettysburg National Cemetery during the American Civil War. President Abraham Lincoln was asked to present some remarks at the dedication of the cemetery, remarks which became known as the Gettysburg Address. In the course of three minutes, he spoke with the intent, not to describe the battle or the heroic actions of those buried there, but to provide the nation the *meaning* of the battle in particular and the war more generally. Lincoln expressed the principles of liberty and equality around which the nation should unite. He acknowledged the work as unfinished and stated it was the duty of the living to carry on the work, to protect "government of the people, by the people and for the people."[29] It is no coincidence that the Commission chose a portion of Lincoln's address to adorn a wall of the chapel at the Suresnes cemetery, which is inscribed, "From these honored dead may we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure."[30] Lincoln called upon the American people to acknowledge that the soldiers died for a particular cause and that it was the duty of the citizenry to unite and take up that cause.

The American government sought to promote patriotism and national unity by connecting these concepts with the public's personal feelings for the fallen soldiers. People had a strong need to both express sorrow and grief and to gain understanding of the soldiers' sacrifice. John Bodnar, professor of history and memory at University of Indiana, argues "dead soldiers are a dominant object of commemoration because, like all symbols, they mediate

28 G. Kurt Piehler, 177-178; *Remembering War*, 103.

29 Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992) 37-38, 263.

30 Abraham Lincoln, quoted in A.B.M.C., *Suresnes American Cemetery*, 7.

grief."[31]

The government made efforts to continue overt stimulation of loyalty and devotion to the state and the nation undertaken during the war by the Wilson administration. The establishment of battlefield cemeteries was one component of the construction of public memory of the Great War. Bodnar argues "Citizens draw on this public expression of memory… to invest the events of the past and the lives of the lost with meaning."[32] Congress, therefore, aimed at coupling ideas of national unity to the process of national grieving.

By executing the principle of equality of treatment of the war dead, the American Battle Monuments Commission provided a "context of the democratization of memory."[33] In mobilizing anational army through conscription, the United States brought together young men from every walk of life. Representatives from all social and economic classes, natives and immigrants, and a variety of ethnic and racial groups all served under the same flag and wore the same uniform. While differences in station or status may have served as class barriers at home, in the Army these Americans were brought together to serve overseas in France. The dead from the national army were buried in cemeteries established to act as "national shrines."[34]

The graves of the fallen soldiers, assembled as if in a military unit of the national army, therefore, executed a common objective of directing how Americans should remember the soldiers and the nation itself. General George Marshall, appointed as chairman of the American Battle Monuments Commission during the 1950s and sent to Europe to construct additional military cemeteries following World War II, spoke of the purpose of the battlefield cemeteries of both wars when he stated that those buried there are "in a higher sense, the sons of every free man…; [that] American war cemeteries abroad are of international importance….

Each stands as a perpetual reminder of the sacrifices the United States made in the common cause."[35] If the public perceived thatthese soldiers, as their battlefield representatives, died for a common cause, it would reinforce national unity. Only African-Americans continued to experience segregation on the battlefield as significant as they did back home. The Commission, however, executed without exception the policy of equal treatment and honor. General Pershing insisted, over many objections, that African-American soldiers be buried alongside their "white" compatriots,

31 John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) 84.

32 Bodnar, 245.

33 Laqueur, 159; and Bodnar, 85.

34 John J. Pershing, quoted in Smythe, 28.

35 George C. Marshall, "Our War Memorials Abroad: A Faith Kept." *The National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 111, No. 6 (June 1957) 733, 735.

even though many had been denied the opportunity to fight alongside them on the front lines. In the Meuse- Argonne American cemetery, one hundred thirty-three African- American soldiers from the "colored" regiments that served under French command had their graves intermixed with those of other American soldiers. One of these soldiers, Corporal Freddie Stowers, was recommended for the Medal of Honor, an honor that was finally awarded him in 1991 by act of Congress and presented to his surviving sisters by then President George H.W. Bush. The cross above Corporal Stowers's grave now bears an inscription that he has been so honored for his heroic deeds. The Commission, by drawing no distinction between one soldier and another within the cemeteries, sought to foster a memory that all American soldiers fought together side-by-side in the Great War and were, in a great respect, sons of the nation as a whole.[36]

In addition to establishing battlefield cemeteries, the American government tasked the Commission with constructing appropriate monuments to commemorate American participation in the Great War. The American experience of World War I differed considerably from that experienced by France and Great Britain, and this difference is reflected by what memories the memorials represent. Both French and British armies sustained ten times the battle casualties as the American Expeditionary Force, and they did so during the portion of the war characterized by stalemate in the trenches and offensives that cost considerable numbers of lives for little gain in ground. The American army joined the Allies at a time that saw the ending of a war of attrition and a turning toward a war of maneuver. American forces helped defeat the last German offensive and participated in the highly effective counter-offensive that brought about the collapse of the German defense network and the armistice. The perception of the French and British people of the war was one of loss and futility, overshadowing the need for national survival. The viewpoint of the war the American government attempted to construct was one of victory and triumph.

The American Battle Monuments Commission selected a number of prominent architects to design and oversee the construction of commemorative and historical monuments that would "perpetuate the deeds of [America's] sons…and help preserve the glorious record of America's achievement in the World War…the war for civilization."[37] In choosing to remember the First World War as a war of great achievement and victory, the actions of the Commission differed significantly from those of the Allies. Great Britain, as mentioned previously, chose for the most part to erect only modest adorn-

36 Taylor V. Beattie, "Personality: Seventy-Three Years After His Bayonet Assault on Hill 188, Freddie Stowers got his Medal of Honor" *Military History*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (August 2004).

37 Grossman, 123, 120.

ments in its battlefield cemeteries, while France constructed great monuments primarily to honor of the missing and the dead. With the objective of constructing a national narrative and memory of the war, the American commission persuaded the Allied governments to grant the Commission sole authority to control any monuments built regarding American participation. By establishing a central authority over battlefield commemoration, Congress avoided the error perpetrated on Civil War battlefields, which were littered with monuments with a wide range of styles and sizes erected by the states and localities from which volunteer units were recruited.

The battlefield monuments dedicated to the Great War created a coherent national narrative rather than a narrative lost among a mass of state monuments, a narrative readily grasped by those experiencing American battlefield monuments of the Great War.

The Commission issued specifications to the architects as guidance for the construction of three commemorative monuments, which by their imposing nature, were meant to be a significant part of America's "grand interpretation" of the Great War. The guidance issued by the Commission specified the monuments must be constructed "on ground fought over by Americans, be readily accessible, [exhibit] a commanding view over the region covered by the operation, [and be] of such prominence that the monument will be visible across the country to those desiring to visit it."[38] In choosing to place impressive monuments on prominent hilltop locations, the ABMC sought to present a triumphant narrative of the wartime experience of American soldiers and of their lasting accomplishments in preserving Western liberal institutions in Europe.

After establishing the location criteria, the Commission selected three battlefields as sites of the commemorative monuments. Each of these sites corresponds to the three largest battlefield cemeteries and the monuments complemented the cemeteries due to their visual prominence.

The three battles thus memorialized are the Aisne-Marne battlefield, where American troops joined the French in turning back the German drive toward Paris; the St. Mihiel battlefield, where the American Expeditionary Force successfully conducted its first independent offensive; and the Meuse-Argonne battlefield, where the American Army fought victoriously alongside its allies to drive the Germans eastward.The Aisne-Marne Monument is situated on Hill 204, across the Marne River from Chateau-Thierry. It consists of a double row of squared columns resembling a Greek temple, fronted by an imposing statue of an eagle behind the American shield. The statue is inscribed with the words, "Time will not dim the glory of their deeds."[39] The St. Mihiel Monument is situated atop the Butte de Montsac. It

38 Grossman, 123, 126.

39 Pershing, 5,8; Grossman, 128.

consists of a frieze-topped circular colonnade in the classic Greek tradition that surrounds a large bronze relief map of the battlefield bearing insignia of American Army units represented with colored porcelain.[40]
The Meuse-Argonne Monument was designed by the Commission to be the most impressive, as it memorializes the greatest effort by American troops. It is situated high on the Butte de Montfaucon, between the ruins of an old French church and of German fortifications. The monument is both imposing and highly symbolic, as it is composed of a 175-foot tall Doric column, which is an architectural structure used since antiquity to signify victory. An observation platform encircles the column of rose granite just under its summit that provides visitors with panoramic views of the battlefield and the cemetery. A statue representing Liberty tops the column. This representation differs from that of Lady Liberty as seen in New York harbor or on American coinage from the period. Liberty on this monument is a male warrior armed with a *fasces*, representative of the fighting power of a united America.[41] This monument, and the cemetery which it overlooks, may best represent the goal of the American government, to construct a memory of a united nation fighting and dying for the cause of liberty.

The completion of the three commemorative monuments marking the battlefields and overlooking the cemeteries where lie the honored dead of the American Expeditionary Force was the culmination of the construction of a narrative of national unity carved in stone. General Pershing, along with Marshal Petain representing France, and President Roosevelt via a radio link, spoke at the dedication ceremony in 1937. An additional message of warning for the future was added to the narrative, for these men remarked that the memorials not only represented the need for continued peace and Franco-American friendship, but of military preparedness in the face of renewed German militarism.[42]

Conclusion

Through the creation of military cemeteries in Europe for the honored dead of World War I, the American government provided a means for families to mourn for their dead sons as individuals and an opportunity for the nation to make sense of the soldiers' self- sacrifice as a collective whole. In service to the bereaved, General Pershing, chairman of the original American Battle Monuments Commission, succeeded "in creating in the cemeteries an atmosphere of beauty, peace, and faith."[43] Regarding the national narrative, battlefield cemeteries allow the individual soldiers' graves "to serve as en-

40 Pershing, 9; Grossman 132-133.
41 Pershing, 12, 25, 27; Grossman, 129-130.
42 Grossman, 143.
43 Smythe, 32.

during monuments to the cause of freedom for which they bled and died… [that] massed together in France, their valiant role in history would not be forgotten."[44] The Commission sought, through the construction of battlefield cemeteries and monuments, to portray America as both triumphant in war and united at home. As such, the cemeteries therefore acted as "a metaphor of national unity."[45] One measure by which the actions of the American government and the Commission it appointed can be judged is through the words of one of the Gold Star mothers in a letter she wrote to General Pershing following her visit to the Aisne-Marne cemetery: "I understand better now why my son died."[46]

44 Piehler, *Remembering War*, 96.
45 Crane, 130.
46 Cited in Smythe, 32.

Bibliography

Beattie, Taylor V. "Personality: Seventy-three Years After His Bayonet Assault on Hill 188, Freddie Stowers got his Medal of Honor." *Military History*. Vol. 21, No. 3 (August 2004).

Grossman, Elizabeth G. "Architecture for a Public Client: The Monuments and Chapels of the American Battle Monuments Commission." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Vol. 43, No. 2 (May 1984): 119-143.

Laqueur, Thomas W. "Memory and Naming in the Great War." Edited by John Gillis. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. pp. 150-167.

Marshall, George C. "Our War Memorials Abroad: A Faith Kept." *The National Geographic Magazine*. Vol. 111, No. 6 (June 1957): 731-737.

Pershing, John J. "Our National War Memorials in Europe." *The National Geographic Magazine*. Vol. 65, No. 1 (January 1934) pp. 1-36.

Piehler, G. Kurt. "The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War." In *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis, 168-185. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Smythe, Donald. "Honoring the Nation's Dead: General Pershing's American Battle Monuments Commission." *American History Illustrated*. Vol. 16, Issue 2 (May 1981): 26-33.

American Battle Monuments Commission. John J. Pershing, Chairman. *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe: A History, Guide, and a ReferenceBook.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938.

American Battle Monuments Commission. *St. Mihiel American Cemetery and Memorial*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Ofice, 1971.

American Battle Monuments Commission. *Suresnes American Cemetery*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971.

Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotismin the Twentieth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Crane, David. *Empires of the Dead: How One Man's Vision Led to the Creation ofWWI's War Graves*. London: William Collins, 2013.

Fogarty, Richard S. *Race & War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army 1914-1918*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2008.

Keene, Jennifer D. *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America*.Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Longworth, Philip. *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-1967*. London: Constable & Company, 1967.

Mosse, George L. *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*.Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Piehler, G. Kurt. *Remembering War the American Way*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.

Summers, Julie. *Rememberd: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission*. London: Merrel, 2007.

Wills, Garry. *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America*.New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.

Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Why They Endured:
Trench Journalism as a Reflection of Soldierly Community in World War One

By Aaron Jackson
CSUS, 2015

Abstract
In 1914, men volunteered in droves to serve their country, believing in a greater cause and knowing the war would end quickly. By 1915, the horrifying realities of the war had cured the soldiers of any illusions of glory; yet, they continued enduring a daily hell no longer for their country but for the sake of their brothers in arms. A soldier's camaraderie developed, shared by only those who experienced life in the trenches.
An aspect of this camaraderie was the trench newspapers that served as an emotional outlet and a contextual record of a unique community free of problems of memory and absent postscript editorializing that looked into the soldiers' world. Understanding these documents and the men who wrote them brings a broader understanding of the First World War, but also a better understanding of all wars and the implications involved for those who fight them.

Editor's Note
This paper was recently awarded the Betty Nesvold Award for Best Graduate Paper at the 40th Annual Social Science Student Symposium (S4), a California State University system-wide symposium organized by the Social Science and Research Instructional Council. Regarding the paper, Dr. Francis Neely, Associate Professor of Political Science at San Francisco State University and member of the S4 Council, said "Not only is this paper an excellent example of historical research, it is also a really good read!"

About the Author

Aaron Jackson is a graduate student in History at California State University, Sacramento. In 2012, Aaron graduated summa cum laude from Metropolitan State University of Denver with a Bachelor of Arts in History and a minor in Computer Science. As a decorated veteran of the United States Army, Aaron has an interest in world history and the study of connections between seemingly disparate events. Aaron plans to teach history at the community college level where he hopes to put his rich life experiences and education to good use by inspiring others to think critically and ask questions.

When studying the First World War, invariably one learns about the powerful men whose decisions shaped the war and its outcome. Volumes have been written about the likes of Georges Clemenceau, David Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson, and rightly so. Their actions and decisions had a profound impact on not only the war, but also modern society. Less examined, however, are those tasked with carrying out their leaders' wills: the soldiers themselves. Known as *poilus*, Tommies, Diggers, and doughboys, the common soldiers' willingness to endure the unprecedented horrors and hardships of World War I is worth examination in order to achieve a better understanding how the war was actually won. The numerous contributions, sacrifices, and enduring resolve of the common soldier was every bit as important, if not more so, to the Allied victory as the strategic contributions of the generals or the political maneuvers of the leadership.

Exploring how the front line soldiers dealt with the new and difficult situations in which they found themselves can provide a broader understanding of the war in general by illuminating how the soldiers buttressed their resolve as the weeks became months and years; what motivated them to stay in a muddy hole, far from home, facing likely death and dismemberment; why they continued to follow the orders of men whose poor judgment was presumed to have gotten them into this mess in the first place; and how they felt about the righteousness of their cause and whether it was worth the costs they paid and sacrifices they made. A student of the war, examining these issues, can look to the memoirs of those who survived; however, these bring the difficulties of postscript editorializing and dealing with the issues of memory. In other words, they fail to give a proper perspective of the contemporary moments of trench warfare. A better place to find this information, then, is within the pages of trench journals. Printed by soldiers for soldiers, trench newspapers provide historical and contextual reflections of the soldiers' identities, motivations, and expressions. In effect, trench newspapers depict the soldiers' sense of community as it was in the moment. This sense of community and the need to support one's comrades within it allowed the common soldier to carry on in the most extraordinary circumstances; it is what enabled them to endure the war's hardships and horrors. Trench newspapers serve as a window into the collective views and values of this community and, therefore, provide a better explanation of the war at large by presenting an image of the war-fighter's world.

World War I broke out in August, 1914, with all sides envisioning sweeping offensives that military planners hoped would end the war within a matter of months, if not weeks. In execution, however, no plan produced the desired results. By the end of October, both sides were worn out and the armies began to dig in, resulting in roughly parallel lines of trenches stretch-

ing from the Alps to the North Sea.[1] Trench warfare had begun, and when the war of movement ended, the stagnation of the front lines established the necessary preconditions for trench journal publication.[2] Soldiers on the move could not produce newspapers, at least not in the volume seen coming out of the trenches in World War I. The equipment required was too cumbersome for any but the simplest forms of publication during a war of movement. For entrenched soldiers with access to abandoned civilian facilities and equipment, including printing presses, however, publication was entirely possible. After October, 1914, trench journals began to make their first large-scale appearance all along the Western Front. In his first editorial, Captain F.J. "Fred" Roberts of the 12th Battalion Sherwood Foresters attached to the 24th Division, British Army explained how his journal, *The Wipers Times*, came about:

> Having managed to pick up a printing outfit (slightly soiled) at a reasonable price, we have decided to produce a paper. There is much that we would like to say in it, but the shadow of censorship enveloping us causes us to refer to the war, which we hear is taking place in Europe, in a cautious manner. We must apologise to our subscribers for the delay in going to press. This has been due to the fact that we have had many unwelcome visitors near our printing works during the last few days, also to the difficulty of obtaining an overdraft at the local bank. Any little shortcomings in production must be excused on the grounds of inexperience and the fact that pieces of metal of various sizes had punctured our press. We hope to publish the "Times" weekly, but should our effort come to an untimely end by any adverse criticism or attentions by our local rival, Messrs. Hun and Co., we shall consider it an unfriendly act, and take steps accordingly.
> The EDITOR.[3]

Captain Roberts's unit found and appropriated a printing press in an abandoned building in the Belgian town of Ypres which the British called

---

1 Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: HarperCollins, 2013), 40-47.

2 Stéphane Audoin-Rozeau, *Men at War 1914-1918: National Sentiment and Trench Journalism in France during the First World War*, trans. Helen McPhail (Oxford and Herndon: Berg Press, 1995).

3 F.J. "Fred" Roberts, *The Wipers Times* 1.1 (February 12, 1916):3. Cited in *The Wipers Times: The Famous First World War Trench Newspaper* (London: Conway, 2013), 3

"Wipers," thus providing the journal's title. Roberts's editorial provides insight into not only *how* trench journals could come about, but also into *why* they came about.

Not all, or even most, trench journals started with the discovery and appropriation of an abandoned printing press. Rather, most journals began either as humble hand-written fliers passed about from soldier to soldier or as official unit-sponsored publications that, in most cases, existed prior to the war. Yet neither of these types really qualified as true trench journals. Hand-written fliers had such small distributions due to the difficulty of producing copy. Most unit-sponsored publications, and especially those who utilized civilian publishers far from the lines, were seen as unauthentic by many of their readers. To be a truly authentic trench journal, the publication had to take place as close to the front lines as possible, and be published entirely by soldiers.[4] Self-publishers utilized three primary methods of publication, excluding hand-written and hand-copied papers: gelatin mix, Roneo printing, and of course the printing press. All three involve difficult and time consuming processes, yet each is vastly more effective than hand transcription or carbon copy. The gelatin mix method, wherein the printer etches a hand-written negative into a gelatin sheet upon which ink is rolled and then imprinted on paper, was so laborious and time consuming for the soldiers that most papers of its type rarely exceeded a few dozen printings of no more than four pages. Roneo printing and the printing press required even more specialized equipment and expense, but both could turn out larger runs in the same amount of time.[5] Time was an important consideration for the soldiers as their publishing activities were secondary to their military responsibilities. "As the editor of *The Moonraker* commented, 'more than one sentence has been interrupted by a crump, and every page represents what might have been a pleasant sleep.'"[6] In other words, those who desired to publish a journal had to do so during what little free time they could find, which often meant giving up one of the soldier's most valued commodities: sleep.

Further complicating the hardships of publication in the war zone, aspiring editors had to deal with censorship. Like every other form of communication in the war, trench newspapers were subject to official screening and approval. Commanding officers, military censors, and general headquarters all had a say in whether or not a newspaper could exist and what they could print. A number of publications were apparently suppressed at one level or another, especially early on. The suppression of

4 Audoin-Rozeau, *Men at War 1914-1918*, 6.

5 Audoin-Rozeau, 25.

6 J.G. Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Aries 1914-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 10.

these early journals prompted General Joseph Joffre, commander-in-chief of Allied forces, in March 1916 to issue a memorandum regarding trench journals: "The propaganda branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs uses the trench newspapers to demonstrate to the correspondents of foreign newspapers the excellent morale of our troops along the whole of the front. I consider that their publication should be viewed with goodwill as long as they do no harm to the army and on the condition that their management is closely supervised."[7] The fact that General Joffre felt the need to send out such a memorandum supports the existence of suppression at that time, and even with his call for goodwill, Joffre ensured that officers and censors would pay close attention to what the journals attempted to publish. This caused some confusion as Joffre's memorandum did not specify how these publications should be supervised, and official regulations on censorship did not translate directly to these new publications. In general, trench journal editors largely took up the mantle of self-censorship and ensured that they worked closely with their superiors and official censors to keep their publications free of harmful information. Having secured the equipment with which to publish, the time and manpower to achieve this task in addition to their primary duties, and official consent in some form, *how* it was possible to publish newspapers on the Western Front and elsewhere becomes apparent.

For most trench journal productions, entertainment provided primary motivation for publication. Entertainment provided a means of venting stress, and two factors made the front lines very stressful places. The first and most obvious stress was the danger involved. A soldier had to deal with snipers, crumps (artillery), poison gas, machine guns, and all the hazards associated with the Western Front's troglodyte lifestyle. Flooded trenches made rest difficult, staying warm was nearly impossible when one could not light a campfire for fear of attracting gunfire, and a myriad of pests like lice and rats insisted on interrupting any moment of repose. Combined, these physical stresses were enough to make anyone seek some form of escape, but the second cause of stress was almost worse: boredom.

Long days of repetitive routine left soldiers seeking anything they could for some scrap of entertainment. They shared jokes, rumors, and complained about their situation—all cheap forms of entertainment that have always been readily available to soldiers—but one can only hear the same jokes so many times. Trench newspapers provided the soldiers with fresh fodder. The journals supplied the soldiers an escape from the drudgery of

7 General Joffre, instruction no.2287, March 8, 1916, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre (SHAT), Vincennes, 19N1198, 7th Army. Cited in Audoin-Rozeau, *Men at War 1914-1918*, 20.

their daily lives, and also with a reminder that the burdens and tortures of each soldier were not theirs alone to bear; others were going through the same things and somehow finding sardonic humor in it all. With advertisements such as the following comparing the front lines to a cinematic picture show, it was difficult not to crack a smile at the absurdity of the situation in which they found themselves.

8

More than just joke sheets and humorous advertisements, trench journals provided another crucial form of entertainment by circulating rumors and gossip. Correspondence with home would often take weeks or months. Official newspapers—long the source of official propaganda—were widely distrusted and even mocked, as in the case of the Wipers Times' parody of "the Daily Mail columnist W. Beach Thomas, who was regularly slagged as 'Our Special Correspondent, Mr. Teech Bomas.'"[9] General headquarters stayed generally quiet about the goings-on elsewhere along the front. In this information vacuum, rumor and gossip prevailed, and the soldiers sought a more reliable source, from their perspective, than the preceding options. Trench newspapers fulfilled this need by allowing soldiers to exchange rumor and gossip as an alternative. Whether or not the information published was any more reliable was immaterial. The soldiers considered information gleaned from other frontline soldiers to be generally of a more reliable and higher quality

8 Roberts, ed. *The Wipers Times* 2.1 (February 26, 1916):2. Cited in *The Wipers Times: The Famous First world War Trench Newspaper*, 14.

9Malcolm Brown, *Suffering from Cheerfulness: The Best Bits from the Wipers Times* (London: Little, 2007), xi.

than traditional and official sources who had—in the soldiers' eyes at least—ulterior motives designed deliberately to misinform the men in the trenches. If the *Daily Mail* stated that the allies were doing well, or if headquarters passed down information that the German defenses in a given area were weak—even if this information was true—the men in the trenches took such information with more than a few grains of salt and usually disbelieved it outright. If, however, rumor from down the line stated that the rum ration would be short for the next few weeks because the officers had thrown a party two towns over—almost always a fabrication—the men took such rumors as the gospel truth. The soldiers trusted each other; they did not trust the civilian press or military command to do the same.[10]

The journals also provided an outlet for the age-old soldierly tradition of complaining. They complained about the discomforts of daily life; most often, they complained about the mud, the lice, and the food. They reserved their most severe complaints, however, for those who failed to do their duty as the soldiers saw it. The majority of soldiers were conscripts who, given the chance, likely

would have avoided the war, yet they took a resolute pride in the fact that they served. For these men, few forms of humanity ranked lower than the shirker, as demonstrated by the following poem from *The Lead-Swinger*:

To the Conscientious Objector
Founded on a conversation held with Private Smith
(died of wounds)
By Flames

Yer can sit at 'home and read the
papers, An' think of an excuse
To shirk old mud-
dy Flanders, An' the
Bosches' latest ruse.

Yer can give yer pity, false and
bastard, And sympathetic sneer
To yer coward woul
within yer, An' yer hyp-
ocritic tear.

Its [*sic*] wrong to kill our feller

10 Seal, 107.

creatures, And leave them stark
and bare,
We can ‘ear yer preach an’
prattle From yer philosoph-
ic chair.

My Gawd, I’d like to se yer
women An’kids in a Bosche’s
‘and,
Would yer stay an’ watch ‘em
murdered From yer conscientious
stand?

Would yer think it wrong
to succor If to saver yer ‘ad
to kill,
Or would yer drop yer
scruples An’ a man’s
part try to fill?

Yer’ve disgraced the bloomin’ nation’s
honor, An’ yer name of Briton, too,

With yer craven ‘eart objections,
Gawd! To think we fight fer you! [11]

Soldiers also complained about their leadership and the war in general. This is not to say that soldiers despaired of victory, on which point they remained resolute. Rather, they utilized the voice given to them by the trench newspapers to state their position, voice their complaints, and vent their frustrations about “the way in which the military, the politicians and those at home wanted them to win [the war].”[12] They complained with the slim hope that, perhaps, someone might pay attention and do something to remedy the situation. Such complaints expressed the prevailing view of the front-line brotherhood that they would continue to do their duty, even though it was perhaps the last thing they wanted to do.[13]
Trench journals, therefore, served multiple purposes. For the soldiers, they were a form of entertainment, a source of information, and a way to vent their frustrations. They were also one of the few outlets available in which

11 Seal, 133-34
12 Seal, 4.
13 Seal, 12.

soldiers could negotiate the terms and conditions of their situation with the authorities who put them there, with civilians back at home, and, most importantly, with each other. These were the obvious reasons *why* troops sought to make and read trench journals, yet the less obvious reasons are perhaps even more important.

14

Although satirized by the previous advertisement, the men who left their homes to fight left their civilian communities behind in order to join a new and often entirely alien community in the military. In many ways more egalitarian than the social structures that formed over generations in the civilian world, military life was also authoritarian in ways that few forms of civilian life could replicate. This was due to the necessities of structure and order within the military, yet adopting it and setting aside their civilian structures still proved quite a shock to many. Soldiers came from a wide array of varying backgrounds, experiences, classes, and cultures in their civilian lives, but on the front lines, they all had to negotiate a new cultural landscape replete with its own language, traditions, and values. Trench journals served as both reflections of that culture and as guidelines for the uninitiated.[15]

The trench press helped new recruits, outsiders, and historians alike by providing definitions of trench vernacular. Consisting of a mixture of "army slang, new terms mangled from various foreign languages, jargon and acronyms derived from the latest technologies of death, and a vast array of pithy, salty and often euphemistic terms, this vernacular was an essential

14 Roberts, ed., *The "New Church" Times* 1.1 (April 17, 1916):11. Cited in *The Wipers Times: The Famous First World War Trench Newspaper*, 59.
15 Seal, x.

element of soldier oral culture."[16] Soldiers en route to the Belgian front, and particularly the town of Hooge, would have had a fairly good idea of what they could expect after reading through the *Wipers Times*'s "Military Definitions" column which stated, "Hooge: See Hell . . . Hell: See Hell: See Hooge."[17] Similarly, the trench press often provided soldiers with the proper means by which to use certain terms. "Red hats" and "adjutants"—terms describing field level officers—for example, were not men to be respected, but rather should be simultaneously feared, pitied, and generally avoided at all costs by the men in the trenches, or so the journals' advice generally held. Another important bit of vernacular is the British term "in the pink" which superficially meant that all was well, but was used most often in an ironic sense. Graham Seal best describes the term in that "it reflected both the stoicism of the average Tommy, a version of the stiff upper lip, with a simultaneous acknowledgement that the speaker was well aware that all was definitely not well."[18] Understanding the wartime vernacular and how to properly employ it was not only vital to the soldier attempting to assimilate to his new surroundings; it is also crucial for ensuring nothing gets lost in translation when studying the war and trench journalism.

Soldiers found themselves thoroughly transformed from their civilian origins. At home, they were blue collar workers, white collar management, or even aristocrats in their own right. In the trenches, they were all Tommies and found their social standing in the military reversed from that at home. The rigid structure of military life, in conjunction with the meritocracy necessary for survival, made trench life very different from traditional civilian structures. In order to survive, let alone thrive, in this new environment, soldiers had to learn the nuances of their new surroundings and adapt to this new culture. Whatever their prior background, every soldier was something of a brother to his peers, and every soldier was his brother's keeper. New bonds developed out of necessity or were earned out of respect. Trench journals provide a reflection of this community and the bonds shared within it.

The soldiers' publications certainly demonstrated how they sought entertainment, how they expressed themselves when other options were limited, and how they came to define the various parts of their new world. But more importantly, they defined—or, rather, they reflected—how the soldiers saw and defined themselves. The journals reflected individual communities within the larger military framework through their selection of audience, and demonstrated this selection by defining who belonged to a

16 Seal, 73.

17 Roberts, ed., *The Wipers Times* 2.4 (March 20, 1916): 8. Cited in *The Wipers Times: The Famous First world War Trench Newspaper*, 44.

18 Seal, 142

given community, and who did not.[19] Some journals dedicated themselves to the infantry, others to medics, aviators, artillery, bicyclists, and even a few to officers. Many would go even further by limiting themselves to a specific unit. Each journal's survival as a publication depended upon being able to accurately reflect the values of the community they purported themselves to represent and to stay authentic to those values. Newspapers that did not properly reflect these cultures often found themselves out of print for lack of an audience. For example, given that such publications could have a positive impact on morale, when French commanders discovered the talents of cavalry corporal Marcel Jeanjean of the 6th French Hussars and publisher of *Canard poilu* in 1915, they charged Jeanjean with continuing the publication, but relieved him of his combat duties in order to do so. Safely ensconced away from the trenches and supplied with official demands from his commanders, Jeanjean's paper soon fell out of touch with the soldiers on the front line, and its subscriptions diminished as a result.[20] Those successful publications that lasted, therefore, had a resonating value within the communities they represented. The bonds of these communities were unusually strong, borne out of mutual hardship and shared suffering, as the following poignant piece from the French journal *Le Périscope* (1916) attests:

> Having shared the odd green apple gathered with difficulty during days of retreating without bread, having labored together, marched together, suffered at the same places, having been buried by the same mine, stuck in the same mud; having bent their heads under the same rain, having suffered the blast from the same heavy shells, they have developed a deep friendship for each other. From their shared memories and pains has come an indestructible bond which keeps them always together . . . Mutual friendship sustains them through their long and harsh labour; like oxen trained to the same yoke each feels the support of the other and suffers less because they know they are suffering together.[21]

Common values and shared suffering were thus essential to the bonds that formed these communities. These bonds allowed soldiers from all walks of civilian life to work together in the egalitarian trench society and to carry on despite the hardships. Understanding the context in which the trench

19 Seal, 178.
20 Audoin-Rozeau, 21.
21 Audoin-Rouzeau, 46-47.

press operated leads to an appreciation of the brotherly bond that developed within the trenches. Trench journals were not necessary for the formation of this bond—it certainly developed and existed in the absence of the journals—but they are immensely useful in that they record evidence of that bond, in context, in such a way that facilitates understanding of the people who were there.

Interestingly, this sense of soldierly community managed to extend— very rarely and only on a limited basis—across enemy lines. "'Keep down, you bastards, we're going to strafe you,' yelled a German to a company of Welch Fusiliers in the opposing trench." Such helpful warnings occurred quite often as soldiers on both sides "preferred a policy of live and let live unless ordered to attack."[22] This demonstrates that, for some soldiers at least, they saw in the enemy across the lines a kindred spirit of sorts. Both were likely there against their will, enacting the military extension of their politicians' failed policies. The willingness to see a kindred spirit in their enemy does not mean they were friendly, of course, but it does lend credibility to the power of identity in trench communities. Ironically, in some ways, the German soldiers across No Man's Land related more to the Allied trench soldiers than the shirkers, jingoists, and politicians back at home, for whom the journals reflect the trench soldiers' general attitudes of contempt.

Even such limited cordiality with the enemy deeply concerned military commanders who worried about failing aggressive instincts among the troops. Specters of the Christmas Truce of 1914 highlighted these concerns, and thus set a propaganda campaign in motion, particularly among the British, to encourage the soldiers to retain an offensive mindset. The campaign was headed by the slogan, "Are you being offensive enough?" Ever mindful of an opportunity to negotiate with their superiors through their publications, the trench press responded to this official campaign and slogan through humor:

> Ne'er be peaceful, quiet, or pensive,
> "Do your best to be offensive."
> His success shall greatest be
> Who regards this homily.
> In the future day and night be "As offensive as you
> might be."[23]

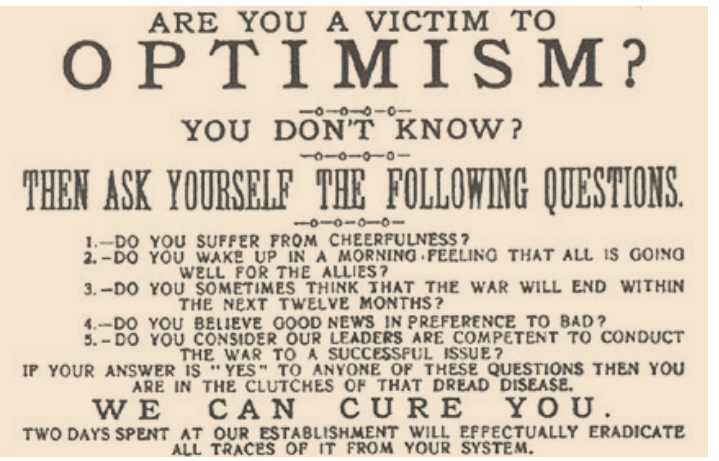
---

22 Seal, 191, 196.

23 Roberts, *The "New Church"* Times, 1.2 (May 1, 1916): 9. Cited in Brown, *Suffering from Cheerfulness*, 59, and *The Wipers Times: The Famous First World War Trench Newspaper*, 69.

The trench press provided soldiers with "a communal voice," establishing a covenant between the soldiers which proved to be an essential factor in their continued willingness to face the horrors of war[24]Trench journals reinforced the soldiers' sense of community by providing entertainment, "news," an outlet for frustrations, and a degree of agency to their readers. In other words, they buttressed the existing *esprit de corps* in a multifaceted manner, resulting in generally higher morale, which in turn helped them to continue enduring the horrors and hardships of their daily lives.

Morale—when defined as the confidence, enthusiasm, and discipline of a person or group at a particular time—constitutes the heart of trench journalism's contributions towards the war effort. The trench press served not only as a tool for improving morale, but also for taking its measure. Wise commanders learned to use trench newspapers not only for propaganda purposes, but also to keep a pulse of the morale of their men. Because the journals provided the men with an opportunity to voice their concerns, problems that may have gone unnoticed within a unit could be identified and, potentially, addressed.[25] As long as the soldiers' morale remained relatively high, and the community bonds strong, the defensive lines stood fast and the men continued to go over the top and take the fight to the enemy. As important as morale was, it was not so important as to be spared the lash of satire:


ARE YOU A VICTIM TO

OPTIMISM?

YOU DON'T KNOW?

THEN ASK YOURSELF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

1.—DO YOU SUFFER FROM CHEERFULNESS?
2.—DO YOU WAKE UP IN A MORNING FEELING THAT ALL IS GOING WELL FOR THE ALLIES?
3.—DO YOU SOMETIMES THINK THAT THE WAR WILL END WITHIN THE NEXT TWELVE MONTHS?
4.—DO YOU BELIEVE GOOD NEWS IN PREFERENCE TO BAD?
5.—DO YOU CONSIDER OUR LEADERS ARE COMPETENT TO CONDUCT THE WAR TO A SUCCESSFUL ISSUE?

IF YOUR ANSWER IS "YES" TO ANYONE OF THESE QUESTIONS THEN YOU ARE IN THE CLUTCHES OF THAT DREAD DISEASE.

WE CAN CURE YOU.

TWO DAYS SPENT AT OUR ESTABLISHMENT WILL EFFECTUALLY ERADICATE ALL TRACES OF IT FROM YOUR SYSTEM.

26

The Somme Times—also known as *The Wipers Times*; the magazine changed its name based upon contextual circumstances—featured the preceding

24 Seal, 220.

25 Seal, 145

26 Roberts, *The Somme Times*, 1.1 (July 31, 1916): 11. Cited in *The Wipers times: The Famous First World War Trench Newspaper*, 123.

advertisement on July 31, 1916, one month after the Battle of the Somme began.

According to Seal, this advertisement expresses "the cheery cynicism of the trench soldier's public persona—a victim to optimism, suffering from cheerfulness. This was the conflicted state in which the trench soldier existed, ostensibly 'in the pink' but secretly desperate for it all to end, for normality to be restored."[27] Yet the end of the war would have its own complications.

The war of movement renewed in 1918 as Germany launched a final offensive in March that threatened to break through Allied lines. An Allied counter-attack in July at the Second Battle of the Marne halted the German advance for good, and the Allies went on the offensive, pushing the German army back until November, when they reached the terms for an armistice.[28] With the renewal of a war of movement, the publication of many journals dropped off dramatically during the March to November 1918, timeframe. *The Wipers Times*, for instance, issued a publication in February 1918, but did not issue another until November, at which point its title changed to *The "Better Times"* to reflect the end of the fighting and also, perhaps, to show appreciation for having the ability to publish once more.

Although certainly happy about the end of hostilities, soldiers soon faced new challenges. Celebration dominated the end of the fighting, but many soldiers also experienced a profound sense of regret. In the December 1918, issue of *The Wipers Times,* Editor F.J. Roberts summarized the mixed feelings many experienced in his editorial:

> The end of the War none of us will ever regret, but there will be a lot connected with the last four years that we shall miss. . . . We cannot say that the majority of us took to soldiering kindly, but now that it is all over and we shall soon "have our civvy clothes on," the reversion will be tinged with many regrets. . . . Perhaps that was because the end came without the expected culminative crash. . . . Though some may be sorry it's over, there is little doubt that the line men are *not*, as most of us have been cured of any little illusions we may have had about the pomp and glory of war, and know it for the vilest disaster than can befall man kind.[29]

27 Seal, 217.

28 John H. Morrow, *The Great War: An Imperial History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 237-277.

29 Roberts, ed., *The "Better Times"* 1.2 (December 1918): 3. Cited in *The Wipers Times: The Famous First World War Trench Newspaper*, 319.

Because the war ended with a drawn out offensive, an armistice, and months of negotiation, many saw it as anticlimactic. Yet, as Roberts mentions, most frontline soldiers could not really regret the end of the fighting and suffering that had been their existence for months and years on end, no matter how it came about. They did not regret the lack of a glorious end—they knew by then war is not glorious—rather, many soldiers experienced a profound sadness because something else was coming to an end as well.

For many soldiers, after years of fighting, their units became their family, and with the peace, these men realized that the communal structures that developed in the trenches would come to an end as well. An Australian soldier of the 56th Battalion summarized just how deeply the trench identity had taken root:

> To every Australian soldier, his company, his battalion was his home. Here lived our truest and most trusted friends and companions, brothers who would share their last franc or crust with each other, bound together till victory or death. Home and civilian associates were only misty memories. . . . It seemed as if we in the company had always been soldiers and cobbers. Away from the company one of us felt like a lost dog.[30]

The end of the war also meant the end of the familial structures that had developed through years of shared suffering. Military and civilian leadership told the soldiers to go back to their civilian lives without any guidance as to how that transition might take place. They had left their homes for the war with patriotic pomp and circumstance; they returned from the war as changed men, knowing war for what it really was, unable to explain what they went through to civilians back home, and usually cut off from those who could relate to their experiences. In many ways, then, the transition to peace proved to be nearly as big a shock as the realities of war. Change, although welcome, provided the frontline soldiers with a new set of challenges, and this time they would have no support structures to help them along the way. In such circumstances, a sense of regret is understandable.

The end of the war did not mean the end of soldiers' military frustrations either. Bureaucratic nuisances associated with demobilization stepped right in to the void left by the now-silent guns, prompting at least one more quip on "The Horrors of Peace," published in December 1918:

---

30 Fuller, 23.

"The Horrors of
Peace."

> We have had a good look at the horrors of war, and now we are undergoing another sort of frightfulness. What a life! Can anyone tell us of a nice war where we could get work and so save our remaining hair from an early greyness? 11'00 hours on the eleventh of November was zero hour, and the redhats attacked in mass. . . . He has carefully selected shock-masses of "Returns," and with these is rapidly undermining our morale. We are taking up a defensive position in various towns, and there we are going to hold on at all costs. Meanwhile we are drawing up a list of our "fourteen points," and these may form the basis of a suitable armistice. As I remarked before, if anyone knows of a *nice* war, or if one can be arranged, we hope we shall be allowed first call.[31]

Rapid demobilization followed the end of the fighting, with those containing valuable job skills being the first sent home. Coming from a civilian background as miners, the majority of the *Wipers Times* staff had job skills that prioritized their demobilization in an official effort to speed the return to peacetime normalcy. This shut down the publication for a lack of skilled labor. The author of "The Horrors of Peace" made light of a very real tragedy for many front-line soldiers. The bureaucratic processes that had run every facet of soldiers' lives now devoted their efforts towards a return to peace, and they began relieving the burden the soldiers represented by demobilizing the soldiers as quickly as possible without concern for the disruption this caused for the men. The expressions of regret and frustration seen in trench newspapers at the end of the war reflect the soldiers' new difficulties. The men were happy that the war was over, but torn about leaving their new families behind in addition to facing the challenges of re-acclimating themselves to civilian life.

The Great War has been one of the most well-studied and analyzed periods of modern history. Some historians, like Modris Eksteins, have looked at cultural and intellectual sources to argue that the war was a watershed moment heralding the birth of the Modern Age.[32] Others, like Christopher Clark and Margaret MacMillan have presented renewed perspectives of the personalities responsible for both starting the war and securing the peace, respectively. Yet there is still a striking dearth of work regarding the experiences of common soldiers and even fewer that choose to do so

31 Roberts, ed., *The "Better Times"* 1.2 (December 1918): 10. Cited in *The Wipers Times: The Famous First World War Trench Newspaper*, 326.

32 Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: the Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1989).

through the study of trench journalism. Graham Seal's excellent work *The Soldiers' Press* and Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau's insightful examination in *Men at War 1914-1918* provide some exceptions that explore the common soldiers' war experiences in order to understand better the war and its implications. In his conclusion, Seal asks, "Is it possible to say something about [the war] that has not yet been said? And if so, is it now of any use?"[33]

Certainly, the First World War has been analyzed from nearly every angle and viewed through nearly every lens. Yet Seal certainly believes there is more to learn about the war, particularly about the soldiers and their motivations. The months and years of stagnancy along the Western Front created a unique set of circumstances allowing the trench press to come about, and in those months and years the soldiers fighting the war recorded their contemporary experiences and community values in these journals. Such a thing had not happened before, nor has it happened since with the possible exception of modern day blogs and social media, though these more closely represent personal diaries and journals than collaborative efforts.

The soldiers may have gone to fight for the sake of the families they left behind and for the values of their civilian communities, but they continued to fight, even after acquiring intimate knowledge of the horrors and hardships involved, for the sake of their brothers in the trenches. Seal writes, "This was how they endured the unendurable. Our part in the bargain is to try to understand it and, even if we may not agree, at least consider its implications for all wars and for those who have to fight them."[34] His research demonstrates that the soldiers were not silent actors in the war or victims of overarching political or cultural forces beyond their control. Nor have their contributions been lost or forgotten. The pages of the trench newspapers have preserved their voices and expressions all along. Within them are preserved the soldiers' opinions, expressions, and memories of the war as they chose to represent them in the moment, providing insight into why they continued to fight, largely without refusal or rebellion, despite extreme difficulties and unimaginable horrors. The usefulness of such insight it not only limited to a better understanding of how the Great War was fought and won, which in itself is immensely valuable; it is also useful in understanding the bonds that develop between soldiers in all wars, and the difficulties these men and women face when they return home.

33 Seal, 223.
34 Seal, 223

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Audoin-Rozeau, Stéphane. *Men at War 1914-1918: National Sentiment and Trench Journalism in France During the First World War*. Translated by Helen McPhail. Oxford and Herndon: Berg Press, 1995.

Brown, Malcolm. *Suffering from Cheerfulness: The Best Bits from the Wip ers Times*. London: Little, 2007.

Clark, Christopher. *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*. New York: HarperCollins, 2013. Eksteins, Modris. *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989.

Fuller, J.G. *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies 1914-1918*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

MacMillan, Margaret. *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*. New York and Toronto: Random House, 2003.

Morrow, John H., Jr. *The Great War: An Imperial History*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

Roberts, F.J. "Fred" ed. *The Wipers Times: The Famous First World War Trench Newspaper*. Introduction by Christopher Westhorp. London: Conway, 2013.

Seal, Graham. *The Soldiers' Press: Trench Journals in the First World War*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013.

Mary Roberts Rinehart:
Defying Gender Roles in World War I Propaganda

By Michael Rodiguez
CSUS, 2015

Abstract
Mary Roberts Rinehart's article "The Altar of Freedom" urged American women, as mothers, to send off their sons to fight for the U.S. Army during World War I. Although her article appeared to reinforce the traditional gender role of motherhood through maternalist propaganda, Rinehart, as a trained nurse and as a war correspondent for The Saturday Evening Post, defied this gender role. Despite the maternal rhetoric of Rinehart's article, she and other American women participated actively in the American war effort, and their actions reshaped the gender roles for American women.

About the Author.

Michael Rodriguez achieved a Bachelor of Arts in History at the University of California, Davis in 2007. In 2009, he worked as an archivist intern for the Special Collections Department at UC Davis where he created two separate finding aids for two of the department's donated record collections, both of which are posted on the Online Archive of California. In Spring, 2015, Michael graduated with a Master of Arts in History from the California State University, Sacramento specializing in U.S. Women's History. He plans to teach and write about U.S. Women's History from the Progressive era to World War I.

On April 4, 1917, The United States declared war on Germany, which thrust the nation into World War I. In the weeks that followed the war declaration, the nation's newspapers published numerous articles in support of the U.S. war effort. One of the nation's leading newspapers, *The Saturday Evening Post*, printed the Mary Roberts Rinehart's article, "The Altar of Freedom," in which she proclaimed, "I am ready to live for her [my country] or die for her."[1] While Rinehart asserted her strong sense of loyalty to the U.S. and its war effort, she issued a call to American women not to enlist in the army or participate in any military service; rather, she pleaded with American women to encourage their sons to enlist in the armed forces. In fact, Rinehart asserted, "I am a woman, I cannot die for my country," an admission that pointed towards the gender bias of the times and the single most important distinction between men's and women's roles during wartime.[2] This distinction represented the traditional Victorian belief that women, the fairer and more genteel sex, could not serve a military role but should remain confined within these enforced gender roles, such as "motherhood." However, Rinehart and other American women defied this stereotypical cultural and societal stigmatism by challenging the antiquated Victorian gender roles and forging new roles for women during this tumultuous period in U.S. history.

Growing up in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, a small urban city that later became a suburb of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Mary Roberts become a strong, courageous woman, which demonstrated the capabilities of American women despite herself suffering personal hardship and tragedy. Although she endured financial and personal hardship while growing up in "a still Victorian world," young Mary Roberts, as a teenager, knew a female doctor, C. Jane Vincent, who had moved into Roberts's neighborhood.[3] Furthermore, Dr. Vincent inspired Roberts to enter medical school at a young age, but her family's weak financial condition prevented her from attending medical school. Nevertheless, her uncle, John Roberts, paid Roberts to attend nursing school at the Homeopathic Medical and Surgical Hospital, and she trained at the Pittsburg Training School of Nurses, as a probationer in 1893.[4] However, her family's financial dilemmas during Rinehart's teenage years forced the family into poverty and drove her father to alcoholism and, later, to suicide. These financial difficulties and this personal tragedy instilled a lifelong need to hold her family together and protect her family's financial security. As a probationer and later as a student nurse, Rinehart re-

1 Mary Roberts Rinehart, *The Altar of Freedom*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), Kindle edition, 4.

2 Ibid. 4.

3 Jan Cohn, *Improbable Fiction: The Life of Mary Roberts Rinehart* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1980), 14.

4 Ibid. 16.

counted seeing "life in the raw" – meaning she treated drug addicts, assault victims, unwed mothers, and prostitutes in the hospitals.[5] These nursing experiences later provided the inspiration for many of her novels and short stories.

While at the training school, she met her future husband Dr. Stanley Rinehart. Rinehart and her husband had four children: sons, Stanley Jr., Allen, Fredrick, and a daughter Olive who died from swallowing cascara pills (a purgative derived from American Buckthorn shrub) when she was just a young girl. The Rinehart family led a comfortable life from her husband's moderately successful medical practice. Still, Rinehart felt the compulsion to support her family and ensure that her family did not suffer the same financial hardship that she experienced during her teenage years. She discovered an interest and talent in writing stories, novels, poems and plays that soon gained attention in the publishing world. The *Pittsburgh Press* first published her stories, which launched her having a successful writing and, by 1912, garnered an income of more than 50,000 dollars a year. In addition, during that same year Rinehart popularity grew, and many newspapers across the nation, such as *The Saturday Evening Post*, started to bid for her stories and even requested her "to write stories for their papers."[6] In fact, she became a major contributor to the *Post*, which established her professional relationship with the *Post* editor George Horace Lorimer, but Rinehart's literary and financial success affronted the Victorian standards and created tensions in the Rinehart's marriage. As Rinehart's biographer noted that in a Victorian society "an ambitious, independent, successful wife was an anomaly," and her success proved humiliating to her husband both personally and professionally.[7] The conflict between success, the Victorian gender roles and her husband's displeasure led to the creation of a personal myth to justify her professional ambitions; but, also, to overcome the fear of financial loss and to assuage her husband's psychological well-being to prevent a similar fate as her father.[8] The myth, based on self-imposed belief work represented nothing to her, in a sense, she devalued her own writing, to remaining in the roles of wife and mother; but the myth could not suppress Rinehart's own ambitious and independent attitude.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 provided Rinehart the opportunity to defy the traditional role of a woman while enabling her ambitious and independent nature by observing, first hand, the Western Front. Rinehart wrote that she made this choice as an individual and declared that her "feeling was much [like] that of the average man who enlists. Later he may

5 Ibid. 19.
6 Ibid. 67.
7 Ibid. 31.
8 Ibid. 28.

lay his act to duty, to patriotism, to the furtherance of some great cause. But very often, he enlists for the adventure."[9] Rinehart left behind the safe and secure life that she had provided for her family to fulfill a personal desire to see the war and "to discover what physical courage I had … my instincts as a writer, had been aroused by what was going on in Europe."[10] Although Rinehart wanted to travel to the front immediately at the outbreak of the war, her husband opposed her decision thus delaying her departure. For the next three months, she continued writing, but newspaper reports about the war reinforced the desire to go to the Front, especially after *The Saturday Evening Post* had sent popular female author, Corra Harris, to the Western Front as a war correspondent.[11] She began making inquiries to George Horace Lorimer, editor of *The Saturday Evening Post*, requesting that he also send her as a war correspondent. When Rinehart informed Lorimer that she was traveling to England, he offered her a war correspondent position on the condition that she only reported for the *Post*.

She sailed to England in January 1915, and Rinehart stated her intended purpose in traveling to the Front was "to visit the [Belgian] hospitals at or near the front… to be able to form an opinion of what supplies were needed" because the American people provided supplies and ad to the Belgians through the Red Cross. [12] Furthermore, she wanted to inform the American people on the conditions of the supplies that had already been sent to the Belgian Front. However, the Allies restricted reporters traveling to France and to the Front. Nevertheless, Rinehart, as a trained nurse, circumvented the restrictions and managed to arrange a meeting with the Belgian Red Cross, in London, who she convinced to allow her to visit the Front., and the Belgian Red Cross gave her a special pass to cross the Channel.[13]

Once in France, Rinehart took a train to Calais then headed directly to the Belgian Front at Ypres. At Ypres, she saw and smelled the deplorable living conditions of the Belgian soldiers living in the trenches. Seeing these troops in such horrid conditions, she discovered her "real hatred of the German military class," which had invaded and occupied a neutral nation.[14] In addition, she regarded the German people as "a sentimental but unhumorous people, docile and obedient to orders, but not torturers or murders."[15] She also perceived them as being victims of an authoritarian system. During her trip at the Belgian Front, Rinehart received the privilege of the first in-

9 Ibid., 147

10 Ibid. 147.

11 Cohn, Improbable Fiction, 79.

12 Mary Roberts Rinehart, *Kings, Queens and Pawns: An American Woman at the Front* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1915), 1.

13 Rinehart, *My Story*, 153-154.

14 Ibid. 160.

15 Ibid. 161.

terview allowed by King Albert of Belgium since the beginning of the war. The king urged Rinehart to see "the open towns that were bombarded and other towns that were destroyed after the German occupation!"[16] Rinehart wrote that King Albert treated her respectfully because she spoke as an informal representative of the United States despite the fact that the U.S. continued to remain neutral in the war during 1915. As a result of her visit to the Front, she wrote several war articles about Belgian nurses and civilians, and she changed her focus reporting only about the hospitals after she saw seeing all the broken and battered Belgian people and the wretched conditions endured by the Belgian people and the Belgian army.[17]

Nevertheless, one of her articles demonstrated the strong resilient of Belgian women to the horrors of the war. She interviewed a Belgian officer who told her of the Belgian military policy of rotating Belgian nurses out of the base hospitals because "they grow calloused to suffering."[18] Rinehart, as a trained nurse herself, thought that the officer was wrong because she had "seen many hospitals, many nurses … [admitting, that] there is a change in the nurses after a time, it is that, like soldiers in the field they develop a philosophy which carries them through their terrible days."[19] Rinehart stated that female nurses had the capabilities to adapt to wartime conditions, and they had strong emotional courage and fortitude in the witnessing of so much death and destruction. They could endure the trauma of war in defiance of Victorian society expectations.

Furthermore, Rinehart's comparison of nurses and soldiers deliberately blurred the lines between traditional male and female gender roles because if women could endure the conditions of war, the bombardment, the explosions, and the gunfire, then they shared the experience with the soldiers – meaning they could possibly be soldiers as well as nurses. In addition, Rinehart toured "No Man's Land" along with several other correspondents walked towards a ruined church tower only six hundred feet away from German parapet.[20] Despite warnings that she would be a target for Germans snipers, she continued walking towards the church tower. She later recalled that in making this choice, she gave, "one quick thought to my family. I had no business here; I had no business hunting for trouble and exposing them to everlasting grief."[21] Nonetheless, she continued to move forward displaying her courage.

Another article, detailing women's courage at the Front, centered

16 Rinehart, *Kings, Queens and Pawns*, 53.

17 Ibid

18 Ibid. 236.

19 Ibid. 236.

20 Rinehart, *My Story*, 163.

21 Ibid. 164.

on an interview between Rinehart and a Belgian woman who proudly told Rinehart that King Albert decorated her and two other women along with several Belgian officers with the "star of the Order of Leopold."[22] In awarding these three Belgian women medals for their services at the Front, King Albert recognized these women's vital contributions to the war effort, in which they acted as orderlies who risked to their lives to bring the wounded soldiers from the trenches to the field hospitals. In fact, these Belgian women provided an example of the capabilities of women during the war. In a related interview, Rinehart talked with Queen Elisabeth of Belgium, whom she described as a, "Queen who refuses to leave her husband and her wounded though day after day hostile aero planes are overhead and the roar of German guns is in her ears!"[23] The Belgian Queen did not cower before the onslaught of German artillery and planes and demonstrated the courage, the fortitude, and the resilience of not only herself but of all Belgians as they fought to free their nation from the German Occupation.[24] These and other articles demonstrated that women could play a military role; however, Rinehart decided not to advocate for this women's military role after she returned to the United States in March of 1915.

Instead, she continued her advocacy for the Belgian people. She continued writing war articles for the *Post* after her return to the U.S., and she lobbied for increased American military support for the Allies. However, the U.S. government and its policy of neutrality prior remained in effect, and the government required and forced Rinehart to censor her articles because of their official policy of neutrality. Despite these incidents, Rinehart's popularity and celebrity grew after the publications of these articles. When the United States entered the war in April 1917, Rinehart wrote "The Altar of Freedom" for *The Saturday Evening Post* where she vaunted motherhood but subtlety inferring that American women could participate in the war beyond the traditional role of motherhood. The inferences illustrated the tension between Rinehart's personal actions and her explicit maternal rhetoric in the article. However, Rinehart understood the risks in campaigning for an increased military role for women in the nation's war effort. Opposing Victorian gender roles could undermine her career and her family's financial stability. To deter any detrimental effects on her family and career, she stated in "The Altar of Freedom" that the patriotic duty of American women —indeed, their sole duty—required them to encourage their sons to become soldiers even though Rinehart's glorification of motherhood conflicted with her own war experience. She detailed her war experiences in her article—the trenches, the dead and wounded soldiers. Rinehart stressed that she saw

22 Rinehart, *Kings, Queens and Pawns*, 233.
23 Ibid. 323.
24 Ibid. 323.

soldiers "living and fighting, and I saw them dying."[25] She stated that she could not "stand back silent, with the memories I have of what war is, with the death and wanton destruction of Flanders before me, with the scar of the iron heel of Germany on my heart."[26] She witnessed the horror of war, but she wanted to stop the war, and she believed that America's entry into the war would help end the conflict.

Additionally, Rinehart argued that American women should support the war in the only way possible for them: by sending their sons to fight for the nation. By glorifying maternal sacrifice, Rinehart convinced thousands of American women to encourage their sons to enlist. In fact, she received hundreds of letters from mothers during the war stating that her article convinced them to send their sons off to war. She admitted that she wrote to her oldest son, Stanley Jr. that she wanted him to wait to enlist because she did not want to bear the burden of sending a son off to war. She divulged that she nearly failed her son, but she overcame these doubts because she would never forgive herself if she did not allow him to enlist. Rinehart wrote, "I am giving a son to the service of his country, the land he loves," and she implored other American mothers to make the same self-sacrificing act for the nation.[27] She wrote that although "men fight wars; it is the mothers of a nation who raise the army."[28] Her maternal rhetoric in the article echoed one of the central themes of the U.S. government propaganda campaign that relied heavily on the same maternal rhetoric that appeared in Rinehart's article. American policymakers sought to encourage American women and mothers to support the government's draft recruitment policies.[29] The U.S. government promoted the image of "patriotic motherhood" which emphasized women's duty to the state and a willingness to give up their sons for enlistment.[30] However, American women, such as Rinehart, rejected the government's "patriotic motherhood" image thus creating tension between women's actions and governmental rhetoric. Rinehart expressed her description of motherhood in terms of strength, courage, and fortitude in contrast to the U.S. government's policy that women were either obedient servants to the state or being weak-willed individuals undermining the war effort.

However, Rinehart, once again, defied her own and the U.S. government rhetoric when she demanded to accompany "the first wave of troops in the American Expeditionary Force (AEF)." Her husband and oldest son had enlisted in the war and Rinehart was determined to play her part in the

25 Rinehart, *the Altar of Freedom*, 7.

26 Ibid. 39.

27 Ibid. 4.

28 Rinehart, *The Altar of Freedom*, 10.

29 Susan Zieger, "She Didn't Raise Her Boy to Be a Slacker: Motherhood, Conscription, and the Culture of the First World War," *Feminist Studies* 22, no. 1 (1996): 8. JSTOR (3178245).

30 Ibid., 8

war effort. The U.S. government, however, refused to grant her request. [31] Rather, Josephus Daniels, the Secretary of the Navy, offered her an assignment to write about the U.S. Naval ships, to "raise public interest, thereby encouraging both congressional appropriations and enlistments."[32] Rinehart used these opportunities offered her by the U.S. government and military to participate in the war effort. One such opportunity involved traveling to Mexico with a War Department intelligence agent, and a Treasury Department agent to report on espionage and smuggling activities in the Southwest.[33] Her participation, as a reporter and as an official representative of the United States led to Secretary of War, Newton Baker, finally approving her request to return to Europe. She arrived in France on November 9, 1918, the day that Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated his throne. Two days later, while Mary was in Paris, November 11, 1918, the armistice went into effect ending World War I. [34]

After the war ended, she continued to receive letters from mothers, some of whom informed her that their sons died during the war. Rinehart, in her memoirs, stated her regret in writing the article noting that at the time that she wanted to display her patriotism and her support for the war effort. Although she praised motherhood in her article, she inferred or implied that American women could participate in the war beyond the traditional role of motherhood. She believed that American women possessed the capabilities that far exceeded their traditional gender role of motherhood. Although her explicit maternal rhetoric complimented the U.S. propaganda campaign, which depicted a very limited picture of American women as nothing more than self-sacrificing mothers, in reality, thousands of American women, in defiance of Rinehart's urging and the government's propaganda, and through their own individual actions, served the nation during the First World War. American women, along with women of other nations, challenged and reshaped the traditional gender roles within their societies by overcoming prevailing cultural perceptions about their capabilities, especially in wartime.

While Rinehart appeared as a traditionalist, she, nevertheless, defied the traditional role of "motherhood" throughout her life, but she had to balance her personal individualism with the traditionalism of Victorian society. Rinehart's actions, in contrast to her words, showed the difficulty of breaking through the gender roles of American women of that era. American women, such as Rinehart, defied extant Victorian gender roles through their service of their nation before and during the war thus re-shaping women's gender roles and destroying staid and anachronistic Victorian standards.

31 Ibid. 109.

32 Ibid. 112.

33 Cohn, *Improbable Fiction*, 120.

34 Ibid. 124.

Rinehart and other American women demonstrated that they had capabilities beyond what Victorian society expected of them and their actions challenged, defied and even re-shaped the gender roles in the United States.

Bibliography

Bruntz, George G. *Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Em pire in 1918.*Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1938.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States 1880-1917*. Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1995

Buitenhuis, Peter. *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadi an Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1987.

Cohn, Jan. *Improbable Fiction: The Life of Mary Roberts Rinehart*. Pitts burgh: University of Pittsburg Press, 1980.

Dumenil, Lynn. "American Women and the Great War." *OAM Magazine of History* 17, no. 1. (2002): 35-39. JSTOR (25163562).

Frahm, Jill. "The Hello Girls: Women Telephone Operators with the Amer ican Expeditionary Forces during World War I." *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 3, no. 3 (2004): 271-293. JSTOR (25144374).

Gavin, Lettie. *American Women In World War I: They Also Served*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1997.

Grayzel, Susan R. *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Pol itics in Britain and France During the First World War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Macleod, Charlotte. *Had She But Known: A Biography of Mary Roberts Rinehart*. New York: Mystery Press, 1994.

More, Ellen S. "'A Certain Restless Ambition': Women Physicians and World War I." *American Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1989): 636-660. JSTOR (2713096).

Rinehart, Mary Roberts. *Kings, Queens and Pawns: An American at the Front*. New York:George H. Doran Company, 1915. Kindle edition.
------, *My Story*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart Incorporated, 1931.
------, *The Altar of Freedom*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917. Kin dle edition.

Schneider, Dorothy and Carl J. Schneider. *Into the Breach: American Wom en Overseas in World War.* New York: Viking, 1991.

Steinson, Barbara J. *Female Activism in World War I: The American Wom en's Peace, Suffrage,Preparedness, and Relief Movements, 1914-1919 (Volume I and II)*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1997.

Wingate, Jennifer. "Motherhood, Memorials, and Anti-Militarism: Bashka Paeff's 'Sacrifices of War.'" *Woman's Art Journal.* 29, no. 2 (2008): 31-40. JSTOR (20358163).

World War I's Hello Girls: Paving The Way For Women In The U.S. Army. *Soldiers*, March 25 2014. http://soldiers.dodlive.mil/tag/gen-john-j-pershing/.

Zieger, Susan. "She Didn't Raise Her Boy to Be a Slacker: Motherhood, Conscription, and the Culture of the First World War." *Femi nist Studies* 22, no. 1 (1996): 6-39. JSTOR (3178245)

The Awakening Dragon:
China, Self-Determination, and the First World War

By Caleb Sanders
CSUS, 2015

Abstract
China officially entered the Paris Peace Conference in 1918 with confidence in Western promises; six months later, China erupted in student protests objecting to Western treatment. Examining China's intentions entering the war and their hopes for the Paris Peace Conference, this paper argues that the broken allied promises and failed realization of the principle of self-determination led to the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement and the subsequent growth in communism.

Editor's Note
Caleb presented this paper at the CSUS Student Research Symposium in March 2015; the World War I Centennial Commemoration at the Festival of the Arts in April 2015; and the 29th annual CSU Student Research Competition at CSU San Bernardino.

About the Author

Caleb Sanders is a classified graduate student in history from California State University, Sacramento. He graduated Summa Cum Laude from Simpson University in 2011 with a Bachelor of Arts in European and Non-Western history. His area of interest is in World systems, Modern Chinese history, and the history of Western imperialism. Upon receiving his MA in Fall, 2015, Mr. Sanders will teach at a private Christian school in Sacramento. Eventually, he intends to pursue his PhD in Chinese history.

Among all the powers of the world, great and small, now gathering at the Paris Conference, China endorses the plan of the League of Nations most unhesitatingly and whole heartedly. Immediately after the announcement of the proposed League Constitution, China, throughout the length and breadth of the Republic, entertains but one sentiment, that, hereafter a new order of nationalism and internationalism based on right and justice is to reign in the world, and by this new order, *China hopes to get an honorable place among the family of nations*, which she is *legally and morally entitled to*, and by which she will be able not only to realize her material development *without molestation from outside*, but also to render greater and better services to mankind at large.[1]

So begins the pamphlet *China's Claims at the Peace Table*, which systematically argues for China's hopes for the Paris Peace Conference, the summit that designed the peace terms ending the First World War. Chinese support for the Conference flourished with the hope of regaining national autonomy and international prestige. On May 4, 1919, following after the publishing of this pamphlet, thousands of Chinese students marched to Tiananmen Square in protest of the same Peace Conference. Outraged at various developments at the Peace Conference, these students sparked an outcry—later labeled the May Fourth Movement—that influenced the creation of the Chinese Communist Party. What specifically ignited the zeal of these students and future intellectuals? The answer lies with China's experiences and expectations in the First World War, as well as in the vacillating Allied promises to China. When considering the scope of the Great War and its subsequent issues, most historical works look solely at the failure of the Paris Peace Conference, especially given the numerous peoples seeking self-government based on national self-determination. Decisions and fates are seldom that simple. Examinations of peripheral societies and peoples affected by the Great War show the Peace Conference's true tragedy lay in its failure to achieve an internationally harmonious society.[2] Although China participated in the Great War and sought concessions in Paris, it faced rejection and humiliation yet again from the Allied nations. Ultimately, those broken Allied promises led to the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement, the popular outcry that sparked the rise of communism in China.

---

1 *China's Claims at the Peace Table*, (New York: Chinese Patriotic Committee, 1919), 5. https://archive.org/details/chinasclaimsatpe00chin (Accessed October 3, 2014). Emphasis added.

2 Erez Manela, *Wilsonian Moment: Self Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* Oxford: University Press, 2007), 224-225. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/csus/reader.action?docID=10199685 (Accessed November 24, 2014).

The Century of Humiliation: Origins of Nationalism and Iconoclasm

The May Fourth Movement was only the latest Chinese protest ignited as a response to Western imperialism, colonialism, and broken promises.[3] As pointed out in *China's Claims at the Peace Table,* "not for one day during the [previous] decades, [had China] ceased to be the victim of the ever condemnable aspiration known as imperialism, be it political, economic, religious, or otherwise."[4] Considering this history of China's relationship with the West, historian Xu Guoqi argues that China "had been obsessed with one thing and one thing only since the turn of the twentieth century: how to join the world community as an equal member."[5] This obsession stemmed from the nineteenth-century influence of Western empires on the perceived decay of China's political, economic, and social systems. Qing China's losses in the First and Second Opium Wars (1839-1842 and 1856-1860 respectively) illustrated the stagnation of their military, as well as broad government, bureaucratic, educational, and economic vulnerabilities. As China moved past these early losses and interacted with the West, some officials recognized key areas in need of change. Reformers pushed for the transformation and modernization of the Chinese military, education and government systems, and modifying various aspects of the economy.

As China actively entered into the world system, issues arose following the clash of Western and Chinese ideologies. Throughout China's "Century of Humiliation"—wherein Western imperial powers maintained hegemonic influence over China's economic, political, and ideological practices—government officials and intellectuals observed China's perceived weakness, fueling the pursuit of a new national identity. As the Chinese government struggled to harmonize its Confucian systems with the modern world—especially following the fall of the Qing dynasty—intellectuals pushed for major iconoclastic change. Defined as "the ideological rejection of a tradition," iconoclasm shaped much of China's efforts in regards to its search for national self-identity, global status, and modernized systems.[6] China's search for national identity, which Xu Guoqi defines as "how a country associates with other nations and the sense of its position in the world," influenced many features of early-twentieth-century China; this search for national identity quickly led to the first instance of modern Chinese interest in international affairs.[7] China fueled the situation further by sending students abroad throughout

3 Lin Yu-sheng, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Anti-traditionalism in the May Fourth Era* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 10.

4 China's Claims at the Peace Table, 7.

5 Xu Guoqi, *China and the Great War: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization* (Cambridge: University Press, 2005), 1.

6 Lin, 5.

7 Xu, China and the Great War, 6, 8.

the late-nineteenth century, specifically focusing on economic, military, educational, and technological studies.[8] The return of Chinese students from foreign universities compounded the situation as they shared Western knowledge and systems with traditional officials and educators.

China experienced several changes at the turn of the twentieth century. The abolishment of the traditional service examinations in 1905 altered the power of the gentry and allowed for diverse recruitment of the bureaucracy. In similar ways, the transplantation of the capital from Beijing to Nanjing, as well as the adoption of Western styles and the cutting of traditional queues, signified a break from the past. Chinese nationalism embraced global identity and citizenship in a manner similar to the "internationalist nationalism" later held by Mahatma Ghandi and other Indian nationalists. China's relative weaknesses necessitated strong diplomatic relationships, especially during official attempts to restore national sovereignty. As the First World War broke out in 1914, some Chinese officials saw an opportunity to abandon China's traditional isolationist policies and enter into the global stage. Xu Guoqi argues for the significance of the First World War in shaping Chinese internal politics and society along with foreign relations and diplomacy, and that the Great War "should be considered pivotal in shaping modern Chinese historical consciousness and national mooring."[9]

The Great War: China Enters the Fray

Before committing to assist the Allies during the First World War, China wrestled with whether to become involved at all, especially given previous treatments by the West. Sun Yat-sen, the first leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintong), initially criticized the idea of joining the war simply to aid the Allies, principally in light of the treatment of China by the French, British, and Russians. In his opinion, Germany and the Allies had equally mistreated China's rights and territories. Considering this, Sun asked: "Why must China join the war? No one, from whatever angle, can give me an answer based on sound evidence."[10] Rather than joining the war simply to bolster the Allied war effort, Sun pushed for China's entry to regain control over its own tariffs, cease indemnities payments to foreign nations and remove foreign troops from Chinese soil.[11] Another rationale for entering the war was the opportunity for China to join the community of nations, and to interject its own ideas in shaping its place within the new

8 James L. Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 153-154.

9 Xu, China and the Great War, 5, 9-10, 33-36, 58-59.

10 Sun Yat-sen, *Prescriptions for Saving China: Selected Writings of Sun Yat-sen,* ed. Julie Lee Wei, Ramon H. Myers, and Donald G. Gillin (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), 134.

11 Ibid., 140-141.

world order.[12] Such an important decision and opportunity meant confronting the growing ambitions of China's militaristic neighbor, Japan.

As China worked to acquire solid Western promises regarding their autonomy and world position, Japan worked to influence the West as their goals in Asia and the Pacific directly imposed upon China. Imperial Japan entered the First World War with the purpose of gaining all available concessions following the defeat of the Central Powers, especially regarding German territories in China. As the war raged, Japanese intentions to make China a vassal state became evident in the Twenty-One Demands, China's 1915 treaty with Japan. Following massive pressure from Japanese diplomats, China reluctantly agreed to Japanese treaty concessions to the German controlled Shandong Peninsula. Unbeknownst to China, Japan had already made secret treaties with the Allies confirming its right to German concessions.[13] These separate agreements would return to haunt both the Chinese and the Allies at the Paris Peace Conference.

Western promises to China required reciprocal actions from China, who did not maintain a strong enough military to affect the outcome of the First World War. Although lacking sufficient military strength following the fall of the Qing dynasty and subsequent warlords, once war with Germany officially began on August 14, 1917, China utilized its massive labor resources to aid in the struggle against the Central Powers. China's provision of laborers for the Western Front served as a key argument during the Paris Peace Conference. Starting as early as 1916, China enacted plans for recruiting a massive labor corps to assist on the Western Front in France to boost human resources. This marked another iconoclastic incident, wherein the Labor for Soldiers program overturned traditional Chinese anti-emigration policies.[14] To circumvent possible German charges of China violating neutrality by sending laborers to the Western Front prior to their declaration of war, China established the private Chinese Huimin Company in 1916 to handle the recruitment of laborers. Though France readily utilized Chinese laborers on the Western Front, the British hesitated to do so until their heavy losses in the front lines necessitated fresh labor and support. Humorously, some Allied officials attempted to discredit Chinese labor aid in the war, claiming Chinese laborers brought the Spanish Flu to Europe.[15]

---

12 Xu Guoqi, *Strangers on the Western Front: Chinese Workers in the Great War* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2011), 13. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/csus/reader.action?docID=10456092 (Accessed November 24, 2014).

13 Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2002), 328; Xu, *Strangers on the Western Front,* 14.

14 Xu, *China and the Great War,* 13, 114; Xu, *Strangers on the Western Front,* 15. Interestingly, the Chinese themselves initiated their original restrictions on emigration

15 Xu, *Strangers on the Western Front,* 16-27, 101. The French and British initially intended to keep the recruitment of Chinese laborers secret. They feared the appearance of depending upon Chinese

During the conflict, Chinese laborers primarily served in support capacities, such as constructing ammunition depots, unloading ships, and digging trenches. In total, approximately 140,000 Chinese laborers entered Europe and worked throughout the war, with many eventually returning home by 1920. Even though they served behind the front lines, over three thousand Chinese laborers died during the war from enemy fire, common illnesses, and accidental injuries. Regardless of the relatively low number of deaths and treatment by the Allies, these first ordinary Chinese to interact with the West represented their nation and people.[16] Trusting in Allied promises, Chinese officials hoped this involvement in the war would aid China's goals for self-determination and regaining international position following the termination of hostilities.

While China participated in the First World War and placed hopes for its future upon the outcome, the conflict itself cannot explain subsequent radical changes.[17] Following the cessation of hostilities between the Allies and Germany, China hoped to enter the world system on equal footing with the West. Disillusionment followed quickly given the lack of Western acknowledgement of China's contribution to the war. Shortly thereafter, failed political hopes called into question China's limited admiration for Western civilization.[18] Still, China's disillusionment following the war fails to explain the radical shift towards communism. Instead, Chinese nationalism and the failure of its campaign for national self-determination and international equality during the Peace Conference of 1919 sparked the May Fourth Movement.[19]

Wilson's Fourteen Points: China's Hope for Self-Determination

The ideology of national self-determination was one of "the most important driving forces in the new international community" and perhaps the key idea shaping China's claims at the Paris Peace Conference.[20] As issues continued to arise from early-twentieth-century European colonialism and as the former German, Austria-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires disintegrated, diverse regions and ethnic groups began to argue for self-governance. By definition, self-determination "is a belief, which became a principle of international justice, that a people should have the right and opportunity to

---

labor would hurt their respective national images (Xu, *Strangers on the Western Front,* 31).

16 Xu, Strangers on the Western Front, 220; Xu, China and the Great War, 141, 147.

17 Erez, 12.

18 Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 12.

19 Manela, Wilsonian Moment, 12.

20 Antonio Cassese, *Self-Determination of Peoples: A Legal Reappraisal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1.

determine their own government."[21] China, although not directly ruled by any one European empire, suffered under the influence of many Western nations. Given this, Chinese intellectuals in the early twentieth century viewed the struggle for self-determination in anti-imperialist terms.[22] Ironically, Chinese scholars utilized Western principles and quoted Western academics and diplomats when outlining their plans for national self-determination. In particular, Chinese intellectuals pushing for liberation employed the language and beliefs of American President Woodrow Wilson and his Fourteen Points. Wilson's Fourteen Points outlined America's war aims concerning post-war reconstruction and concerned itself with determining the best methods for preserving the post-war peace. Perceived as a message of hope around the world, Wilson's Fourteen Points outlined the basic principles for self-determination. Various articles in the Fourteen Points state:

A strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the *interests of the populations concerned* must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined…. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along *clearly recognizable lines of nationality*…. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the *freest opportunity to autonomous development*…. The *other nationalities* which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested *opportunity of autonomous development*.[23]

While Wilson spoke primarily towards the establishment of new *European* borders and nations following the end of the war, *nonwestern* nations adopted this language for their own hopes of national autonomy. Thus, Wilson's language and policies served as calls to action for self-determination and the end of imperialist rule. Scholars cannot understand China's hopes through Wilsonian self-determination without a clear understanding of the ideology's origins and chief tenets. While national self-determination maintains no particular moment of birth, its basic concepts crystallized in the late eighteenth century. For example, the American public often expressed sympathy for minority peoples in nineteenth-century Europe, such as the Poles, Hungarians, and Finns.[24] The emergence of popular

21 Derek Benjamin Heater, *National Self-Determination: Woodrow Wilson and his Legacy* (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1994), 3.

22 Erez Manela, "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia: Dreams of East-West Harmony and the Revolt against Empire in 1919," *The American Historical Review,* Vol. 111, No. 5 (December 2006): 1329, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/ahr.111.5.1327 (Accessed November 24, 2014).

23 "Transcript of President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points (1918)," http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=62&page=transcript (Accessed November 3, 2014). This includes sections from Articles V, IX, X, and XII. Emphasis Added.

24 Betty Miller Unterberger, "The United States and National Self-Determination: A Wilsonian Per-

sovereignty under the French Republic inspired other Western empires' attempts to broaden their borders. Ironically, France used the principle of self-determination as a standard for the annexation and transfer of territories into its own empire.[25] President Wilson's political ideals clearly embraced "self-government, democracy, nationality and the organic state," all ingredients for national self-determination.[26] Illustrating this point, historian Erez Manela argues that many Asian intellectuals read from Wilson's rhetoric "a universalist message capable of transcending the East-West chasm and thus auguring a new era of universal human brotherhood."[27]

The expansion of China's educational system influenced Chinese student and intellectual understanding of the war, along with the subsequent May Fourth Movement. The gradual development of China's educational and informational systems prior to the Great War allowed for greater knowledge concerning international events and processes. Increases in literacy led to greater interest in government and politics, influenced in part by the expansion of media and literary publishers. The prevalence of print and video agencies and the circulation of pro-American propaganda presented the "Gospel of Wilsonism's" arguments for national self-determination to a broader, better-educated Chinese audience.[28] These factors served to attract many students and scholars to President Wilson and his Fourteen Points.[29] Sadly, for Chinese reformers, President Wilson never intended the principles of self-determination to apply to the nonwestern world. Although he never specifically limited the application of this principle to Europe, he only considered self-determination as relevant to the defeated Central Powers. Self-determination might have indeed applied to later colonial situations, "but if so, it would be through gradual processes of tutelage and reform."[30] Regardless of President Wilson's lack of clarification, many Chinese intellectuals believed their national hope could be realized by laying claim to Western democratic self-governance. Therefore, China adopted democratic leaders as role models and turned

---

spective," *Presidential Studies Quarterly,* Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall, 1996): 927. http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/stable/10.2307/27551661 (Accessed November 3, 2014).

25 Heater, 4-7; Cassese, 11-12. Lenin utilized this ideology of self-determination to attack Europe's capitalist empires, arguing that self-determination would "lead to the liberation of oppressed peoples which was, in turn, to contribute to the success of the socialist revolution." Similarly, "Trotsky used national self-determination as a stick with which to beat the imperialists."

26 Heater, 22.

27 Manela, "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia," 1337, 1342.

28 Manela, *Wilsonian Moment,* 100-105, 111.

29 Xu, China and the Great War, 245.

30 Manela, "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia," 1335. In actuality, President Wilson never challenged racial assumptions and had advocated strongly for the conquest of the Philippines. Clearly, he never perceived the nonwestern world in terms of equality with the West.

to the theoretical concept of self-determination for hope for the future.[31]

The Paris Peace Conference: China's Disillusionment with the West

With the conclusion of hostilities on November 11, 1918, the victorious Allied powers set about establishing the international peace. Traveling to France for the Paris Peace Conference, President Wilson maintained two firm objectives and principles: the extension of self-determination of nations and the creation of the League of Nations. Initially looking at nationality as the standard for self-determination, Wilson and the Allied leaders—the so-called "Council of Four" comprised of American President Woodrow Wilson, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, and the Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando—soon discovered the difficulty of using the standard of nationality given Europe's ethnically diverse populations. The secret treaties between various Allied powers additionally wreaked havoc on negotiations.[32] Facing numerous private national interests at the Peace Conference, Wilson fought for self-determination against greedy encroachments by many of the victorious nations. However, his primary focus soon shifted to the formation of the League of Nations, which he "naively believed" would replace the former imperialist systems.[33] Wilson weakened his stance concerning the principle of national self-determination with his realization of the political need for exceptions to its practice, and worked to salvage support for the League of Nations from increasingly hesitant and disgruntled nations.[34]

Chinese officials entered the Paris Peace Conference well prepared to argue for the rights and concessions previously promised them by the Allied governments. Utilizing their supply of labor to the Allies alongside the principle of self-determination as their major arguments, the chief Chinese delegate to the Peace Conference, Lu Zhengxiang, appealed for full membership for China in the peace talks. Originally promised equal representation, China only received two seats at Paris, leading to widespread consternation and disappointment. Other slights by the Allied powers soured relationships, especially when China only received a one-hour notice before its first meeting on January 27, 1919. Another perceived slight came when Japan obtained full status and treatment as a member of the "Big Five," which was comprised of the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan. Despite the Conference's rough beginnings, Chi-

31 ibid. 1343, 1350. Many Chinese considered America a beneficial model for modernity, given its successful escape from British imperialism. When compared to Europe's habits of "imperial aggression and exploitation," America represented a "benign version" of the West.

32 Heater, 53-57. The principle of national self-determination remained an "obstacle" throughout the decision making process of the Peace Conference.

33 Heater, 71; Cassesse, 23.

34 Heater, 75-76.

na initially gained support from the Council of Four, especially in light of separate secret agreements between China and Great Britain, France, and Italy.[35] Entering the first conference with the Council of Four, China argued for recognition of its sovereignty and independence in order to become a viable member of the League of Nations and the international community; Chinese scholars believed China would be in a fragile position should the League of Nations fail, or be too weak to enforce its decisions. This belief is evident within *China's Claims at the Peace Table,* which argues that "[China's] claims at the Peace Table … should not be overlooked. They are in fact the crucial tests of the ideals and principles of the League of Nations."[36] These words would prove prophetic as the Council of Four continued to discuss the treatment and future of China.

Unsurprisingly, Japan proved the primary opponent to Chinese aims throughout the Peace Conference, especially concerning China's push for self-determination and territorial integrity. While debating the Japanese delegation at the Peace Conference, the Chinese ambassador to America, Wellington Koo, based his arguments upon Wilsonian self-determination and the need for Chinese territorial integrity. While Japan cited its 1915 Twenty-One Demands with China in its claim for territorial concessions, the Chinese argued for their complete nullification. They disputed that not only had China signed the Twenty-One Demands under duress, but the Demands would also impair China's future independence and prove a menace to world peace.[37] In addition to pleading for the restoration of Chinese territorial integrity and national sovereignty, as well as for "nothing but fair play and sound judgment," the Chinese delegation hoped to regain China's political autonomy to determine its own economic tariffs.[38] While they initially favored the Chinese delegation, the Council of Four sidelined their claims for the more pressing matter of the creation of the League of Nations. Months later, upon returning to the question of China's territory, much had taken place that would influence the Council of Four's decisions.

China's hopes in the West's promises dimmed as the Paris Peace Conference bogged down upon the principle of self-determination. As Betty Unterberger states, "Wilson, above all the man of principle, had found himself caught—as had the nation itself many times since its inception—in the debatable situation where, despite deep convictions, none of his principles could be rigorously applied."[39] Wilson did not fear opposing other leaders of the Council of Four over the principle of self-determina-

35 Xu, Strangers on the Western Front, 242; Xu, China and the Great War, 257-258.
36 *China's Claims at the Peace Table*, 9.
37 China's Claims at the Peace Table, 15; MacMillan, 333.
38 Xu, China and the Great War, 251; China's Claims at the Peace Table, 10.
39 Unterberger, 937.

tion; for example, Wilson ignored Italy's arguments and strongly supported the new state of Yugoslavia's claim to the Port of Fiume due to its Slav population and their decisions of self-determination. In the case of China, however, the issue grew more clouded as the West became concerned about balancing Japanese imperialism with the emerging threat of Bolshevism. Japan, who's Racial Equality Clause failed to be included in the Treaty of Versailles, strongly pushed to receive the former German territories in China; the Allies had previously promised the Japanese German territories through secret treaties in exchange for their aid during the war. The Council of Four, fearful of ignoring all Japan's wishes, eventually decided that Chinese territory was a cheap price to pay in exchange for denying the Racial Equality Clause, which would have weakened European empires and their control over nonwestern colonies.[40] The Council of Four ultimately validated Japan's claims for China's Shandong Peninsula.

Chinese intellectuals, leaders, and students alike followed the Paris Peace Conference and its developments closely. Upon receiving news of the Council's decision concerning Japan's claims for the Shandong Peninsula, many individuals and groups telegrammed China's Peace Conference delegates encouraging them to refuse to sign the Treaty of Versailles in opposition to its terms. Indeed, due to their own reservations and the influence of popular demands, Lu Zhengxiang, Willington Koo, and the other Chinese delegates refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919.[41] Regarding the West's betrayal of China at the Peace Conference and its influence on popular outcries, historian Erez Manela argues that "although the war had prepared the ground for these events, it was the failures of the peace rather than the war as such that precipitated the crisis of 1919 in the colonial world."[42] For China, the trials of peace ultimately proved more deadly than the First World War.

The Dragon Stirs: May Fourth and its Legacy

Those students and intellectuals who followed the Paris Peace Conference and trusted in the West's promises quickly shifted from eager hope to indignation. Chinese intellectuals and reformers inspired China for generations, often pushing for changes to the political and social status quo. Early-twentieth-century Chinese intellectuals such as Lu Xun and Qian Xuantong both argued against the fetters of Chinese tradition, although they differed in their views concerning the possibility for change. It was this hope for iconoclastic change that inspired the student demonstrations in 1919. Under the leadership of Fu Sinian—a Chinese classical

40 MacMillan, 125, 280, 334.

41 ibid. 339-341.

42 Manela, "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia," 1351.

studies student elected as the chairman of the May Fourth planning committee by twenty-two student representatives—three thousand students gathered in Tiananmen Square to then peacefully march in protest to the Foreign Legation quarter in Beijing. Laudably, Fu and other student leaders argued for moderate and restrained protests in light of increasingly violent demonstrations around the nation. Interestingly, the police allowed the demonstrations to proceed until late in the evening, when they arrested thirty-two protestors.[43] Initially small in scale, the protests in 1919 grew to include thousands more people throughout many areas in China, all demonstrating their opposition to Western systems and influence.

The May Fourth Movement was not the first major popular anti-imperialist protest. Since the nineteenth century, China saw many protests and mass demonstrations in opposition to imperialism and China's iconoclastic shift into modernity and "totalistic" anti-traditionalism, and China's history of reform influenced students and intellectuals.[44] The May Fourth Movement differed greatly from previous protests due to its urban setting; the influences of modern education, press, and commerce; and the negative experiences in the First World War and at the Paris Peace Conference: "They were stimulated by explicit hostility to imperialism, both political and economic, and by the new populist consciousness."[45] Originating from differing regions and backgrounds, student protestors unified and "by creating a purely patriotic issue… transcended all division."[46]

In actuality, the May Fourth Movement did not break from all traditions. While demonstrators—influenced by Western individualism—diverged from the Confucian regulation of family and society, they vocalized traditional views for the harmonization of the world.[47] Eventually, the May Fourth Movement came to view itself as the product of China's rejection of traditional culture, especially as a response to the West's betrayal of hope and justice. Thus, China emerged from the May Fourth Movement as a "country without either roots or external supports," whose goal remained to "[recreate] civilization."[48] The May Fourth Movement and its response to China's experiences in the Great War and the Paris Peace Conference was not necessarily a "Renaissance," but an "awakening…. What began as a demonstration to protest China's treatment at the Paris Peace Conference developed during the following year into a

43 Schwarcz, 13-20.
44 Lin, 6; Schwarcz, 29.
45 Charlotte Furth, "May Fourth in History," in *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium,* ed. Benjamin L. Schwartz (Harvard: University Press, 1972), 60.
46 ibid. 67.
47 Chen Xiaoming, *From the May Fourth Movement to Communist Revolution: Guo Moruo and the Chinese Path to Communism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 4-5.
48 Xu, China and the Great War, 274-275.

national movement for cultural and political awakening."[49] To this day, various social and political factions retell the story of the May Fourth Movement and its influence to illustrate China's development, serving to inspire new generations of Chinese and Taiwanese critics and reformers.[50]

Conclusion

The First World War and the subsequent Peace Conference serve to fill the gap in understanding between China's nineteenth-century humiliations and its major political movements after 1919. For a century, starting with the First Opium War (1839-1842), China suffered various humiliations and broken promises at the hands of the West. Xu notes, "That the Great War brought China into the world makes it an important moment in Chinese and world history," especially as the Great War marked China's first main stride towards internationalization.[51] Entering into the conflict by supporting the Allies with labor, China hoped to regain its national sovereignty, international standing, and territorial integrity based upon the principle of national self-determination. Their betrayal by the West led to general disillusionment with Western thought, and opened the door for the influence of communism. Although originally modeling their structures after the West, it was not until the collapse of the Wilsonian Moment at the Paris Peace Conference that some Chinese began looking to Lenin and Russian Bolshevism as a potential model and ally for their future.[52] Mao Zedong, the first Premier of the People's Republic of China, recognized in his famous speech to the 1957 Supreme State Conference that the May Fourth Movement served as the beginning of student anti-imperialist movements; similarly, scholars often view the May Fourth Movement as the "fountainhead" of the communist movement.[53] Ultimately, these events coalesce to narrate China's reemergence from relative obscurity onto the international stage.

---

49 Maurice Meisner, "Cultural Iconoclasm, Nationalism, and Internationalism in the May Fourth Movement," in *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium,* ed. Benjamin L. Schwartz (Harvard: University Press, 1972), 17; Schwarcz, 7.

50 Schwarcz, 10.

51 Xu, China and the Great War, 282.

52 Manela, "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia," 1330, 1346.

53 Mao Zedong, *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao: From the Hundred Flowers to the Great Leap Forward,* ed. Roderick MacFarquhar, Timothy Cheek and Eugene Wu (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 144; Schwarcz 249.

Bibliography

Cassese, Antonio. *Self-Determination of Peoples: A Legal Reappraisal.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Chen Xiaoming. From the May Fourth Movement to Communist Revolution: Guo Moruo and the Chinese Path to Communism. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.

China's Claims at the Peace Table. New York: Chinese Patriotic Committee, 1919. https://archive.org/details/chinasclaimsatpe00chin (Accessed October 3, 2014).

Furth, Charlotte. "May Fourth in History." In *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium,* edited by Benjamin L. Schwartz, 59-68. Harvard: University Press, 1972.

Heater, Derek Benjamin. *National Self-Determination: Woodrow Wilson and his Legacy.* London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1994.

Hevia, James L. English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Lin Yu-sheng. The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979.

MacMillan, Margaret. *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World.* New York: Random House, 2002.

Manela, Erez. "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia: Dreams of East-West Harmony and the Revolt against Empire in 1919." *The American Historical Review,* Vol. 111, No. 5 (December 2006): 1327-1351. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/ahr.111.5.1327 (Accessed November 24, 2014).

_____*Wilsonian Moment: Self Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. Oxford: University Press, 2007. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/csus/reader.action?docID=10199685 (Accessed November 24, 2014).

Mao Zedong. *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao: From the Hundred Flowers to the Great Leap Forward.* Edited by Roderick MacFarquhar, Timothy Cheek and Eugene Wu. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Meisner, Maurice. "Cultural Iconoclasm, Nationalism, and Internationalism in the May Fourth Movement." In *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium,* edited by Benjamin L. Schwartz, 14-22. Harvard: University Press, 1972.

Schwarcz, Vera. The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Sun Yat-sen. *Prescriptions for Saving China: Selected Writings of Sun Yat-sen.* Edited by Julie Lee Wei, Ramon H. Myers, and Donald G. Gillin. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1994.

"Transcript of President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points (1918)." http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=62&page=transcript (Accessed November 3, 2014).

Unterberger, Betty Miller. "The United States and National Self-Determination: A Wilsonian Perspective." *Presidential Studies Quarterly,* Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall, 1996): 926-941.

http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/stable/10.2307/27551661 (Accessed November 3, 2014).

Xu Guoqi. China and the Great War: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization. Cambridge: University Press, 2005. *Strangers on the Western Front: Chinese Workers in the Great War*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2011.http://site.ebrary.com/lib/csus/reader.action?docID=10456092 (Accessed November 24, 2014).

Soldiers of the Soil:
An Analysis of Canadian Food Board Propaganda Posters during the First World War

By Kelly Vincent

CSUS, 2015

Abstract:

Established in early 1918, the Canadian Food Board used propaganda to manipulate Canadian consumer habits in a way that would increase exports and profits while assisting the British in World War I. Through the examination of wartime newspaper articles and propaganda posters, this paper argues that the Canadian Food Board employed carefully crafted imagery and symbolism designed to mobilize women and children for the war effort, resulting in an unprecedented intrusion of government policies into the home life of citizens and the wide scale militarization of Canadian society for total war.

About the Author

Kelley Vincent is a graduate student in History at California State University, Sacramento. She graduated Summa Cum Laude from Sacramento State with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Social Science and a double minor in History and Deaf Studies. Kelley's area of interest is twentieth century U. S. history, with an emphasis on propaganda and entertainment studies. After receiving her Masters of Art degree, Kelley plans to teach history at the community college level.

The First World War set the stage for a turbulent experience that would affect millions of people around the globe. World War I began the trend of total warfare, wherein nations utilized all available resources in their attempt to thwart the enemy; this included states far beyond the geographic borders of Europe. Canada quickly became one of those states, sending troops and resources to the front as a way to assist its British ally. Food production and exportation surged to the forefront of Canadian politics due to the massive food shortages in Europe and the potential for Canadians to quell Great Britain's need. One way the Canadian government enabled all of its citizens to participate in the war effort was through food production and conservation. Established in early 1918, the Canadian Food Board used propaganda to manipulate Canadian consumer habits in a way that would increase exports and profits while assisting the British in the war. Most of the propaganda campaigns took the form of colorful posters, which were easily displayable in shop windows and government offices. Their messages ranged from the importance of food conservation to the encouragement of all Canadians to do their part to support the war effort. The Canadian Food Board also ran a program for boys between the ages of fifteen and nineteen as a way to use volunteer farm labor to increase food production. Through the examination of wartime newspaper articles and propaganda posters, the Canadian Food Board employed carefully crafted imagery and symbolism designed to mobilize women and children for the war effort, resulting in an unprecedented intrusion of government policies into the home life of citizens and the wide scale militarization of Canadian society for total war.

A Brief History of the Canadian Politics and the Canadian Food Board

Prior to the outbreak of World War I, Canada experienced a crucial shift in foreign policy. As Parliament began to question continentalism and imperialism, Canadian officials split along party lines, with Liberals lobbying strongly for continentalism and Conservatives backing continuing imperialism. The Conservatives won the 1911 elections with the newly-elected Prime Minister Robert Borden strongly supporting Canada's continuing relationship with the British Empire. This connection between Great Britain and Canada set the stage for a strong trade relationship during the impending war.[1]

Prior to the establishment of federal food agencies in Canada, local governments and cities had their own food conservation offices. Some

1 Martin Thornton, The Peace Conferences of 1919-23 and Their Aftermath: Sir Robert Borden, Canada (London: Haus Publishing Limited, 2010), 30-31.

groups acted in a governmental manner, working as part of a city council or state government, while others were nonofficial clubs formed mainly by the women of the area. As World War I descended into a total war, countries outside of Europe sent supplies and assistance to their allies.[2] With Britain struggling to feed its soldiers and citizens, it turned to its Dominion states to supply the much-needed food. Canada increased the amount of exports to Britain from $251,569,000 worth of goods in 1914, to $740,456,000 in 1918.[3] As a result, food prices rapidly began to rise in Canada, forcing the government to focus propaganda on food conservation as a way to prevent the need to implement food-rationing laws. Other Dominion states, specifically Australia and New Zealand, also contributed to the war effort through the exportation of troops and supplies to Europe. However, the distant location to the epicenters of fighting made their transportation of goods more difficult. Canada's direct route to the British Isles enabled the transportation of perishable goods to the Allies fighting overseas.

Canada's quick response to Britain's cries for help led to an increase of food production in 1915 and the establishment of the office of Canada Food Controller in 1917. The work of the Canada Food Controller focused on food regulation, yet a lack of communication of the responsibilities of the Food Controller to the Canadian public resulted in the deletion of the office the following year. The Canadian Food Board officially replaced the Canada Food Controller on February 11, 1918, shortly thereafter beginning dissemination of propaganda posters. These posters aimed to militarize all age groups for the war effort through the encouragement of certain activities on the home front, including increased food production, decreased consumption of certain foods, increased consumption at home of foods that would not be sold to Britain, and the limitation of activities that could be harmful to the exportation and conservation of food. The Board's utilization of colorful poster displays reinforced behaviors viewed as beneficial to the conservation of food, enabling Canada to sell more food to Britain. These posters tended to employ military themes, enabling consumers to associate food conservation and production with patriotic duty.[4]

The Canadian Food Board controlled food prices, regulated advertisements that went against the notions of food conservation or encouraged

2 James Aulich, War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication (New York: Thames and Hudson Incorporated, 2007), 52.
3 Arthur Berriedale Keith, War Government of the British Dominions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), 53.
4 Mourad Djebabla, "'Fight the Huns with Food': Mobilizing Canadian Civilians for the Food War Effort during the Great War, 1914-1918," in World War I and Propaganda, ed. Troy R. E. Paddock (Boston: Brill, 2014), 69-71, 74.

the purchase of excessive amounts of food, and issued licenses to businesses that sold food. Any breaking of Food Board regulations could result in fines or the loss of a business license. In one instance, the Canadian Food Board cancelled the licenses of the Consumers' Association of Windsor, Ontario due to advertisements that violated Canadian Food Board policy.[5] These advertisements included the phrases "plenty of sugar" and "use lots of sugar in preserving," which encouraged consumers to ignore the Canadian Food Board's pleas for sugar conservation.[6] Those who did not follow the suggestions on the posters could face legal consequences, or at the very least, be viewed as less patriotic than their friends and neighbors. These pulls enabled propaganda posters by the Canadian Food Board to have a significant influence over the Canadian public. Posters with messages of militarization, masculine and feminine roles, and social changes brought food-related issues to the forefront of Canadian life.

Militarization

Through the militarization of young men, the Canadian Food Board utilized a segment of the population that would have otherwise been inactive in the war effort. One of the most prevalent campaigns presented by the Canadian Food Board centered on the farm and food production. Many farmers had gone off to war, leaving large farms without the necessary labor to produce a substantial crop. In 1918 alone, farmers experienced a shortage of over 35,000 laborers.[7]

Concurrently, Canada wanted to assist its allies by providing millions of dollars of food to Great Britain, leaving Canada in a predicament: production must increase in order to feed both Canada and Britain.[8] The answer, according to the Canadian Food Board, lay with Canadian youth. Young men between the ages of fifteen and nineteen, who were too young to enlist, became the target of Soldiers of the Soil propaganda efforts.[9] The Canadian Food Board's Soldiers of the Soil program became the focal point of propaganda posters designed to increase food production by "mobilizing" adolescent boys for the war effort at home.

5"Licenses Cancelled: Food Board Inflicts Punishment on Consumers' Association," Vancouver Daily World, August 20, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/68418483 (accessed November 2, 2014).
6 Ibid.
7 Jeffrey A. Keshen, Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War (Alberta, Canada: The University of Alberta Press, 1996), 52.
8 Djebabla, 67.
9 Canadian Food Board, "S.O.S. Soldiers of the Soil – Doing Their Bit" (Toronto, Canada: Harris Lithography Company Limited, circa 1918).

By developing propaganda printed in newspapers and displayed as full-color posters, the Soldiers of the Soil (S.O.S.) sought to transform the simple farm laborer into an example of patriotic service. School teachers, parents, and community leaders reiterated the messages found on propaganda posters, furthering the pressure placed on the young men to join the S.O.S. Posters encouraged young men to sign up with the S.O.S. through their local schools to join in the fight against the Germans through food production. In one poster, the artist depicts two scenes that demonstrate "Their Bit" and "Our Bit" (see Poster Appendix Figure 1).[10] The first image shows men valiantly fighting on the front lines, with bullets flying and soldiers climbing up and over the trenches. On the right side of the poster, the second image depicts a farm, with a farmer and three horses working hard to provide food for his countrymen.[11]

The comparison of soldiers to farmers associated farm labor with patriotic service. The statistical data of the S.O.S. program, which attracted over 20,000 people to fill the vacancies on farms left by men fighting in Europe, proved the effectiveness of the propaganda in eliciting feelings of patriotism.[12] The propaganda deliberately glorified militarized male service, while girls of the same age could not enlist in the S.O.S. due to gender stereotypes against women doing physical labor.

Additionally, the poster informs the viewer that "a national badge of honor [will be provided] for every boy who does his bit."[13] Similar to a military award presented to those who served in Europe, the badge served as an outward symbol to others of patriotism and sought to generate feelings of pride in farm labor. It connected military service and farm labor, manipulating the behavior of young men to fill the needs of the Canadian government. Along with the badge of honor, boys received spending money, an exemption from high school final exams, and room and board for out-of-town students. At the very bottom of the poster, the Canadian Food Board commands "Don't waste this poster." [14]Even in propaganda supporting farm labor, the theme of conservation of resources was evident; at times of war, nothing went to waste.

A second poster in the series emphasized the uniform of the S.O.S., which closely resembled a military uniform (Figure 2). Each recruit

10 Ibid.
11 Ibid
12 Keshen, 53.
13 Canadian Food Board, "S.O.S. Soldiers of the Soil – Doing Their Bit".
14 "Life at Home During the War: The War Economy," Canadian War Museum, http://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/life-at-home-during-the-war/the-war-economy/farming-and-food/ (accessed March 20, 2015).

purchased an all-brown S.O.S. uniform, complete with an S.O.S. patch and Mounty-style hat. The militarized style of the uniform clearly connected farm labor to fighting for Canada; Canadians understood that farm laborers served an essential function of the Canadian war effort. It reaffirmed the importance of food production to the future of both Canada and Europe by making the S.O.S. a respectable way to contribute to the war. In order to prevent fraud and maintain uniformity, each outfit displayed a label demonstrating that the Canadian Food Board had authorized the clothing. It ensured a sense of solidarity between the boys who all wore the same clothing as they worked for the common goal of Canadian food production. In subtext, the poster instructs boys to "Bring your chum and do your bit." Building camaraderie into the framework of the S.O.S. further reflected the militaristic nature of the organization. Similar to the military, boys worked together for the good of Canada and established bonds that could last a lifetime. A young man blowing a bugle to summon the S.O.S. to work serves as the main focal point of the poster. Boys excitedly run in uniform to a field of wheat, where they work together to harvest the crop. The use of the bugle and the mass of boys in the background further resemble a military operation. Via prolific propaganda, boys continuously viewed S.O.S. posters, making the message of patriotism through farming nearly unavoidable.[15]

S.O.S. propaganda focused on parents as well. In a newspaper advertisement, the Director of Agricultural Labor and the Canadian Food Board explains the particulars of the S.O.S., including eligibility and the application process. It further stresses the need for farm labor and the badge of honor that every participant would receive, which multiple S.O.S. propaganda sources mention. Unlike other posters, here the S.O.S. refers to itself as an "army of food growers."[16]

The Canadian Food Board went so far as to describe the S.O.S. as "a national army just as truly as that of the soldiers who go to France."[17] Parents with sons too young to serve on the frontlines finally gained the ability to participate in the war effort and bring a sense of pride to their families.

Moreover, participation in the S.O.S. quelled worries of the parents for their sons' safety since working on a farm did not come with the same perils that war brought. In this instance, the propaganda appeared on the *Women at Work and Play: Society and Home* page of the *Vancouver Daily*

15 E. Henderson and the Canadian Food Board, "Boys to the Farm – Bring Your Chums and Do Your Bit – S.O.S." (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, circa 1918).
16 J. D. McGregor and the Canadian Food Board, "Unselfish Service: S.O.S.," Vancouver Daily World, March 20, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/64661291 (accessed November 2, 2014).
17 Ibid.

World. Its audience included society women and housewives.[18] Furthermore, the placement of propaganda in the women's section illustrates that women could not participate in the same capacity as men, as well as functioning as a wartime advertisement to mothers. Women of the same age could not join the S.O.S., leaving them available for the more feminine activities of canning and growing gardens. Placing propaganda in newspapers influenced parents to pressure their sons into joining the S.O.S.

Pressures to contribute to the Canadian war effort also extended to younger children.[19] One newspaper article from early 1918 encourages children of all ages to participate in S.O.S. activities and praised children who raised farm animals as pets, stating, "Almost all the boys and girls on Manitoba farms have pigs for their special pets. They feed them and watch over them, and in the fall thousands of our brave soldiers over in France will get nice fat bacon to keep them warm."[20] Even the young could assist in the war effort by offering their beloved farm pets to the soldiers for food, thus providing the children a sense of accomplishment and pride in their work. In this case, girls too had the opportunity to participate, at least in non-labor intensive activities, including feeding animals and gathering eggs from chicken coops.[21] Encouraging children to work on farms in their spare time and give their pets to the slaughterhouse demonstrates the extremes to which the Canadian Food Board manipulated behavior through propaganda and peer pressure.

Masculinity and Femininity

Throughout the war, the Canadian Food Board encouraged traditional gender roles, including the assumptions associated with masculinity and femininity. For those unable to participate in the S.O.S. or the Great War directly, individual food production became a way for non-farmers to contribute to growing British agricultural needs. As a way to reduce the amount of food purchased, the Canadian Food Board encouraged families to grow their own vegetables in small home gardens. Posters focusing on home food production typically stressed the woman's role in the growing and canning process. In one poster, the Canadian Food Board encouraged women to can perishable foods grown in their home gardens (Figure 3). In

18 Ibid

19 Mark David Sheftall, Altered Memories of the Great War: Divergent Narratives of Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 94.

20 "Boys and Girls Become Soldiers of the Soil to Increase 1918 Food Supply," The Winnipeg Tribune, January 26, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/44214109 (accessed November 2, 2014).

21 Ibid.

order to know how to prepare for winter, the young housewife featured in this poster learns the art of preserving vegetables through canning from a wise old woman. The Canadian Food Board intended gardens to provide a portion of household consumption throughout the year, which would only be possible through canning. On a table in front of the two women lay a variety of vegetables, as well as several different jars containing preserved foods. The Canadian government strongly encouraged women to can, even at the expense of their normal household activities, and women who did not know how to preserve foods suddenly found themselves pressured by the Canadian Food Board to do so. This blatant imposition on women revealed the sudden government interference into the daily lives of Canadians.[22]

Further, the need for home food production led to the Canadian government specifically targeting men. In one poster, a young boy holds a shovel, and asks his dad to come work with him in the garden (Figure 4).[23] Pulling at the heartstrings of parents, this poster demonstrates that gardening is not just a chore, but also a family activity. Gardening is not just woman's work as men can work in the garden and maintain their masculinity. Families that did not conform to the societal pressures to grow their own food appeared to be lacking patriotism at a time when thousands of Canadian men gave the ultimate sacrifice for their country.

For consumers who did not utilize fish and vegetables on a regular basis, the Canadian Food Board offered a five-cent solution. One poster advertises Canadian Food Board cookbooks, filled with war-friendly recipes sure to turn the average housewife into a patriotic chef. Three books provided recipes for bread-making, fish preparation, and vegetable meals, while the fourth book presents instructions on how to properly can and preserve fruits and vegetables (Figure 5). At five cents apiece, the recipe books were affordable on almost every budget, enabling women to learn new ways to develop flavors and create dishes all members of their family would love to eat. Offering low-cost recipe books to the public furthered the importance of food choice and food conservation through ingredients prevalent in Canada during the war. Additionally, the title of the fish recipe book, *Fish Recipes: Canadian Fish and How to Cook Them*, implying that Canadians should consume non-imported varieties of fish. Using available resources remained a theme of the Canadian Food Board, which pushed consumers towards Canadian goods over imported products. The cookbooks gave families approved recipes that complied with food regulations and used

22 Canadian Food Board, "Waste Not, Want Not – Prepare for Winter" (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, circa 1918).

23 Joseph Ernest Sampson and the Canadian Food Board, "Come into the Garden, Dad!" (Canada: Color Craft Limited, circa 1918).

ingredients widely available in all parts of Canada. With the government providing suggested recipes, Canadian officials attempted to alter the average Canadian woman's cooking style to suit the needs of the government.[24]

Through food preservation, households did cut back on the amount of food purchased during the winter of 1918, enabling Canada to export more food to Britain at a time when resources proved scarce. In a war bulletin released by the Canadian Food Board, women who do not prepare for the canning season demonstrate "poor housekeeping."[25] The Food Board branded women who did not contribute to food production as unpatriotic and incompetent housewives, reinforcing the message that the most domestic of daily activities amounted to national service. Those housewives who shirked their duties were no better than those men who refused service at the front.

Examples of public opinion towards women and food consumption appear throughout Canadian newspapers, specifically in the women's section. Geared toward the typical housewife, the women's section at that time focused on women's war efforts. With the establishment of the Canadian Food Board and the increased food exportation to the Allies, women's sections in newspapers praised those who restricted their household food consumption. One article quotes Mrs. Martin Burrell, the wife of the Canadian Secretary of State, saying, "There was never a time when [women] had a better chance to do great work than now, and their services lies in field and kitchen."[26] Influential women of standing promoted the power of the housewife to make decisions for her family that complied with the policies of the Canadian Food Board. It was the woman's wartime duty to make sure her family consumed less and produced more, further stressing the patriotic nature of denying oneself of goods to better the nation.
Food consumption, no less than food production or preparation, was a target of Canadian wartime propaganda. Meats and other perishable goods, including beef, pork, eggs, and butter, became the focus of conservation propaganda posters. The Canadian Food Board tackled the issues of conservation in a series of posters entitled "Canada's Opportunity."
Each poster featured a different food item common in Canadian diets. Typically, posters reflecting the need for conservation posted the amount

---

24 Canadian Food Board, "Canadian Food Board Recipe Books" (Toronto, Canada: Herald Press and Advertising Agency, circa 1918).
25 Canadian Food Board, "War Garden Bulletin: Prepare for Canning," Vancouver Daily World, June 17, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/64784403 (accessed November 2, 2014).
26 "Food Saving in the Home: Splendid Example of Canadian Women," Vancouver Daily World, February 23, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/64660427 (accessed November 7, 2014).

of the product Canada sold to Britain in comparison to the amount of the product Britain requested. The Canadian Food Board used statistics as a way to encourage citizens to think twice before consuming certain goods. The Canadian Food Board wanted friends and neighbors to pressure individuals into changing their behavior. Once pressured, the person would feel shamed into conforming to the conservation requests. As a propaganda series, "Canada's Opportunity" reflected the intrusion of the Canadian Food Board into the buying habits of consumers.

In one poster, the Canadian Food Board examined Canada's egg exportation to Great Britain through statistical data of egg consumption in Britain and past Canadian egg exportation rates. A larger than life chicken stands next to a man looking at two small eggs, with the first egg providing statistical data of the amount of Canadian egg exported in 1902 and the second egg providing data from 1916 (Figure 6). A warrior-like woman representing Great Britain stands next to two large eggs: one shows the number of dozens of eggs Britain purchased prior to World War I and the other lists the current egg shortage. The Canadian Food Board presented this opportunity for Canada to assist Britain through gendered terms. Imagery that depicts Britain as the Roman warrior Britannia and Canada as a small man next to a large chicken demonstrated a threat to Canada's masculinity. By providing food to Britain, Canada performs his masculine role. Allowing Britannia to fight for Britain, while Canada is unable to provide enough food for Britain, challenges Canada to increase production by questioning the nation's sense of manhood. Furthermore, the poster implied the vast amount of land in Canada's possession, which is seen through the poster's caption, "Very little eggs for such a big bird." Since Canada controls more acreage than Great Britain, argued the Canadian Food Board, Canada should be able to increase production and export more eggs to Britain.[27]

Used as a symbolic portrayal of Canada in the "Canada's Opportunity" poster campaign, the Mounty-like man represented Canadian strength. Through the poster, the Canadian Food Board connected food conservation with masculinity. Even though it became obvious that Canada alone could not provide the quantity of eggs Great Britain needed, every dozen eggs sent by Canada assisted British citizens. A similar poster, entitled "Canada's Pork Opportunity," expresses sentiments similar to the egg poster (Figure 7). In this image, an archetypical Canadian man hands a small pig to an elderly man dressed in red, white, and blue, which represents Great Britain. Although thankful for the small pig, the elderly British man states, "We're glad

27 Canadian Food Board, "Canada's Egg Opportunity" (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, circa 1918).

to have it, Canada, but we need ten times more."[28] The poster emphasized the potential amount of pork Canada could sell to Britain versus the amount of pork Canada provided. John Bull, the well-known male symbol of the nation and as representing Britain, stressed the vitality and masculinity of Canada, where food conservation became just as valued as military service. Using this symbolism demonstrates the close ties between Canada and Britain because the Canadian Food Board thought that everyday citizens would clearly understand and identify the symbolism of Britannia and John Bull.

Canadian Food Board propaganda posters identified masculinity and femininity as crucial aspects of mobilization of men and women for food conservation and production efforts. Canning and preservation remained in the feminine sphere, while the Board attempted to masculinize gardening. With the use of masculine and feminine imagery, the Canadian government attempted to sway the public to change their behavior, which extended into society as a whole.

Social Change

The Canadian Food Board moved beyond gender and into society as a whole, resulting in an unprecedented government involvement in the home life. A final category of posters stressed the seriousness of hoarding and encouraged self-policing. Even though laws against hoarding food and selling food on the black market existed prior to Canadian Food Board posters, "propaganda stressing public participation in conservation and production campaigns became a key ingredient in generating success."[29] The government encouraged Canadians to watch and report their neighbors for crimes involving the overconsumption of food. The intrusion of the government into the home occurred through hoarding policies and stressed the importance of policing family, friends, and neighbors.

According to a Canadian Food Board propaganda poster, Canadians found hoarding food could face fines from $100 to $1,000, three months in prison, or a combination of both penalties (Figure 8). A couple featured in a poster hides behind a window, blinds drawn, with sacks of hoarded flour and sugar strewn all over the table and floor. Through the window can be seen the silhouette of a police officer on the lookout for food hoarders.[30] Being patriotic meant not only restrictions on certain foods through food

28 E. Henderson and the Canadian Food Board, "Canada's Pork Opportunity" (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, circa 1918).
29 Keshen, 52.
30 Canadian Food Board, "Are You Breaking the Law? Patriotic Canadians Will Not Hoard Food" (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, circa 1918).

conservation, but also remaining calm and having faith that Canada would not run out of goods. Hoarding potentially deprived other Canadians of their share of flour, sugar, or other scarce goods. Patriotic Canadians needed to report suspected hoarders, just as soldiers could report rule breakers to their commanders. The Canadian government would not ignore this crime, as evidenced by circulated newspaper articles about Canadians prosecuted for hoarding food.[31] Ultimately, the act of hoarding food revealed the public concern for future food shortages. To prevent hoarding and to ease public fears, authorities assured Canadians through press releases that there would be plenty of food left in Canada. By quelling public fears and through the distribution of propaganda posters, officials of the Canadian Food Board hoped to prevent hoarding activities.

Substitutes for sugar, specifically the use of maple sugar, enabled Canadians to decrease sugar consumption. Lady Hendrie, wife of Ontario's lieutenant-governor, thought it important "to do all she [could] to help the Canadian food board in whatever it decided [was] most essential."[32] Through the utilization of maple sugar, Lady Hendrie cut back on her sugar consumption, enabling the exportation of greater quantities of sugar to the Allies. Rather than purely discussing sugar, this article further stresses the need for women to change their behavior to suit the total war environment. "Saving food means helping to bring the war to an end," was a message Hendrie proudly proclaimed, demonstrating the pressures exerted by women on other women to comply with the policies of the Canadian Food Board.[33]

By order of the Canadian Food Board, households could not possess large quantities of certain foods, with posters reinforcing the purpose for conservation and substitution of foods. In May 1918, the regulation of flour occurred due to the need to export flour to Britain, and no household could possess more than twenty-five pounds at one time.[34]

In one grocery store advertisement, owners expressed their willingness to buy back unopened containers of flour as per the orders of the Canadian Food Board.[35] Another newspaper article clarified quantity limits further

31 "Pleads Not Guilty of Hoarding Food," The Winnipeg Tribune, June 14, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/44218710 (accessed November 7, 2014).
32 "A Maple Sugar Enthusiast: Advocates Use of Maple Sugar, Lady Hendrie of Ontario Sets Patriotic Example for Good Canadians," Vancouver Daily World, March 20, 1918, http://newspapers.com/image/64661291 (accessed November 2, 2014).
33 Ibid.
34 "Can Hold Flour in Small Quantities: Food Board's Order Places Limit at 25 Pounds," Vancouver Daily World, May 18, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/43242583 (accessed November 2, 2014).
35 "Tuesday's Grocery Specials for David Spencer Limited," Vancouver Daily World, May 13, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/64783837 (accessed November 2, 2014).

by reiterating that the Canadian Food Board requested that Canadians "limit their butter consumption to two pounds a month each in order that the people in Great Britain may have more than half a pound a month."[36] Furthermore, the statement asserts that "there is no great self-denial in doing this."[37] The Canadian Food Board made sure to point out that the British consumed less butter than Canadians, demonstrating that while Canadians had to deny themselves of the amounts of goods that they would have preferred to have, they still had more of scarce goods than their European counterparts. Knowing that the people of Europe suffered from food scarcity caused Canadians to cut back the amount of food each household consumed as a way to assist the British.

Troops and family were a subject of some Canadian Food Board propaganda posters. One poster depicts a young mother eating with her child and saying, "Remember we must feed Daddy too," (Figure 9).[38] Above the mother's head is a depiction of her husband, fighting gallantly in the trenches as he fires a rifle at enemy troops. Unlike other propaganda posters presented by the Canadian Food Board, this image contains no color, resembling a photograph.[39] The Canadian Food Board wanted observers of this particular poster to connect the people represented on the poster to their own photographs of family members fighting in the Great War, and the message reflected Canada's need to supply British citizens not only with food, but also with troops. Hoarding food and overconsumption detracted from the available supply of goods, hurting not only the British but Canadians as well. Conserving food became a woman's way to serve her husband as he fought overseas, and using Canada's limited food resources wisely produced a sense of patriotism and pride.[40] Even though most troops received limited rations, those on the home front did not know this information and thought that their efforts assisted soldiers directly. The danger and the realities of war served as the subject of a poster that featured a soldier on the front lines. While explosions occur in the background behind him, the soldier informs Canadians that "well fed soldiers

---

36 "Here versus There," The Ottawa Journal, October 9, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/41517055 (accessed November 2, 2014).
37 Ibid.
38 Robert Edwin Johnston and the Canadian Food Board, "Remember We Must Feed Daddy Too" (Toronto, Canada: Rous and Mann, 1918).
39 Ibid.
40"Food Saving in the Home: Splendid Examples of Canadian Women," Vancouver Daily World, February 23, 1918, http://www.newspapers.com/image/64660427 (accessed November 7, 2014).

will win the war," (Figure 10).[41] The thought of the soldier going into battle forced Canadians to think about food, given that soldiers required food as fuel to fight the enemy; it became the patriotic duty of those on the home front to conserve food. The top of the poster presents the thought, "We are saving you, you save food."[42] Canadians needed to supply their troops with enough food to win the war, because without proper nutrition, the Allies could lose, putting Canada and the entire British Empire at stake.

Conclusion

Propaganda poster campaigns produced by the Canadian Food Board attempted to reduce consumption and increase production. Canadian society experienced pressure to change their consumer habits to suit food conservation and home production. The Canadian Food Board militarized all members of the home front in the war effort, which was a defining characteristic of total war. Every person on the home front, whether young or old, husband or housewife, male or female, could do their part for the Canadian war effort. The intrusion of the Canadian government into the home lives of its citizens ushered in a new era of government influence that included the manipulation of habits through shame and guilt. Utilizing the available labor supply through the S.O.S. campaign greatly increased the production of food, and gave Canadian youth a way to provide for European troops and citizens. The Canadian Food Board demonstrated that no excuse could remove a person from the duties of a wartime society; habits changed in order to save food for the troops. Colorful posters served as a constant reminder that Canada remained at war, and that consumers could alter the outcome of the Great War through personal choice.

41 E. Henderson and the Canadian Food Board, "We Are Saving You, You Save Food" (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, circa 1918).
42 Ibid.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

"A Maple Sugar Enthusiast: Advocates Use of Maple Sugar, Lady Hendrie of Ontario Sets Patriotic Example for Good Canadians." *Vancouver Daily World*. March 20, 1918. http://newspapers.com/image/64661291 (accessed November 2, 2014).

"Boys and Girls Become Soldiers of the Soil to Increase 1918 Food Supply." *The Winnipeg Tribune*. January 26, 1918. http://www.newspapers.com/image/44214109 (accessed November 2, 2014).

"Can Hold Flour in Small Quantities: Food Board's Order Places Limit at 25 Pounds." *Vancouver Daily World*. May 18, 1918. http://www.newspapers.com/image/43242583 (accessed November 2, 2014).

Canadian Food Board. "War Garden Bulletin: Prepare for Canning." *Vancouver Daily World*. June 17, 1918. http://www.newspapers.com/image/64784403 (accessed November 2, 2014).

"Food Saving in the Home: Splendid Examples of Canadian Women." Vancouver Daily World. February 23, 1918. http://www.newspapers.com/image/64660427 (accessed November 7, 2014).

"Here versus There." The Ottawa Journal. October 9, 1918. http://www.newspapers.com/image/41517055 (accessed November 2, 2014).

Library of Congress. "Prints and Photographs Online Catalogue." http://www.loc.gov/pictures/ (accessed September 30, 2014).

Canadian Food Board. "Are You Breaking the Law? Patriotic Canadians Will Not Hoard Food." Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, *circa* 1918.

____ "Canada's Egg Opportunity." Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, *circa* 1918.

____ "Canadian Food Board Recipe Books." Toronto, Canada: Herald Press and Advertising Agency, *circa* 1918.

____ "S.O.S. Soldiers of the Soil – Doing Their Bit." Toronto, Canada: Harris Lithography Company Limited, *circa* 1918.

____ "Waste Not, Want Not – Prepare for Winter." Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, *circa* 1918.

Henderson, E., and the Canadian Food Board. "Boys to the Farm – Bring Your Chums and Do Your Bit – S.O.S." Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, *circa* 1918.

____ "Canada's Pork Opportunity." Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, *circa* 1918.

____"We Are Saving You, You Save Food." Hamilton, Ontario, Canada: Howell Lithography, *circa* 1918.

Johnston, Robert Edwin, and the Canadian Food Board. "Remember We Must Feed Daddy Too." Toronto, Canada: Rous and Mann, 1918.
Sampson, Joseph Ernest, and the Canadian Food Board. "Come into the Garden, Dad!" Canada: Color Craft Limited, *circa* 1918.
"Licenses Cancelled: Food Board Inflicts Punishment on Consumers' Association." *Vancouver Daily World*. August 20, 1918. http://www.newspapers.com/image/68418483 (accessed November 2, 2014).
McGregor, J. D., and the Canadian Food Board. "Unselfish Service: S.O.S." *Vancouver Daily World*. March 20, 1918. http://www.newspapers.com/image/64661291 (accessed November 2, 2014).
"Pleads Not Guilty of Hoarding Food." *The Winnipeg Tribune*. June 14, 1918. http://www.newspapers.com/image/44218710 (accessed November 7, 2014).
"Tuesday's Grocery Specials for David Spencer Limited." *Vancouver Daily World*. May 13, 1918. http://www.newspapers.com/image/64783837 (accessed November 2, 2014).

Secondary Sources:

Aulich, James. *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication*. New York: Thames and Hudson Incorporated, 2007.
Canadian War Museum. "Life at Home During the War: The War Economy." http://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/life-at-home-during-the-war/the-war-economy/farming-and-food/ (accessed March 20, 2015).
Djebabla, Mourad. "'Fight the Huns with Food': Mobilizing Canadian Civilians for the Food War Effort during the Great War, 1914-1918." In *World War I and Propaganda*. Edited by Troy R. E. Paddock. Boston: Brill, 2014, 65-88.
Keith, Arthur Berriedale. *War Government of the British Dominions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.
Keshen, Jeffrey A. *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War*. Alberta, Canada: The University of Alberta Press, 1996.
Sheftall, Mark David. *Altered Memories of the Great War: Divergent Narratives of Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010.
Thornton, Martin. *The Peace Conferences of 1919-23 and Their Aftermath: Sir Robert Borden, Canada*. London: Haus Publishing Limited, 2010.

Vincent Images

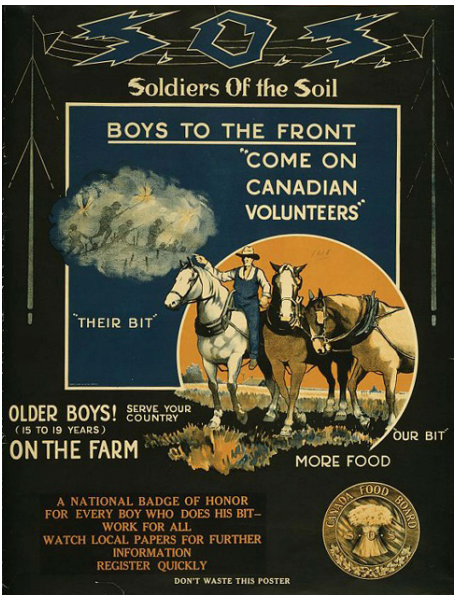


Figure 1: "S.O.S. Soldiers of the Soil – Doing Their Bit"

Figure 2: "Boys to the Farm – Bring Your Chums and Do Your Bit – S.O.S."

Figure 3: “Waste Not, Want Not – Prepare for Winter”

Figure 4: “Come into the Garden Dad!”

Figure 5: “Canada Food Board Recipe Books”

Figure 6: “Canada’s Egg Opportunity”

Figure 7: "Canada's Pork Opportunity"

Figure 8: "Are You Breaking the Law? Patriotic Canadians Will Not Hoard Food."

Figure 9: “Remember We Must Feed Daddy Too”

Figure 10: “We Are Saving You, You Save Food