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Letter from the Editor

It is with great pleasure that I present the twenty-ninth volume of *Clio*, the award-winning, student-run history journal of California State University, Sacramento (CSUS). The bar was set high for us, as last year's *Clio* journal was awarded top prize in the Gerald D. Nash History Journal competition through Phi Alpha Theta. We have strived to preserve the same level of excellence this year and to also produce a journal that reflects the variety of interests of our student body. The following works represent the culmination of our contributors' research and writing, as well as their commitment to working with our editorial staff to fine-tune their work over the course of this past semester. Our steadfast editors have worked diligently to make each part of this journal ready for publication, and I would like to recognize and acknowledge their hard work as well as that of our contributing authors.

Our contributors represent both undergraduate and graduate-level historians. Their works touch on a variety of topics, including the long-lasting impacts of social movements, the effects of imperialism and war, and even how history is mirrored and portrayed in popular culture. Also included in this issue are two works specifically dedicated to the history of our university - California State University, Sacramento – which serve as important reminders that history is not only happening somewhere else in the world but is also happening right under our noses. This year's authors seek to recover and highlight voices and events that have been sidelined in previous historiography. Their works also function as correctives to earlier scholarship, as modern times have allowed us time and space to rethink some of the "heralded" events of the past. In this day and age, the role of historian is of utmost significance, and the presentation of these stories and perspectives is ever more important.

We greatly appreciate the generous support of the faculty and staff at CSUS. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Aaron J. Cohen, our faculty advisor for *Clio*, who has guided us through the process of creating a professional academic journal. His leadership, humor, and doses of good advice have fueled us along the way. I would also like to thank the History Department for its ever-present support, and the College of Arts & Letters, which sponsored "An Evening with *Clio* II" at the CSUS Festival of the Arts. Additionally, I would like to extend a thank you to the friends and family of our *Clio* editorial team as well as the students and alumni who have generously supported us and continue to do so. *Clio* exists because of the collective efforts of so many members of our campus community, and we are proud to present this year's edition.

Janis Pope
Editor-in-Chief

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In Memoriam

Ernest Isaacs

Ernest Isaacs was raised in Denver, Colorado. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Colorado and his doctorate degree from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He was active in the civil rights movement in the 1950s-60s and in many social justice causes since then. Before he arrived at Sac State in 1968, he taught at Wisconsin State University and the University of Maryland. Dr. "Ernie" Isaacs believed that the library was the heart of Sac State and he brought his freshmen students to the library to teach them research methods. He loved teaching, especially History 17b, because he enjoyed challenging students' political beliefs and encouraging critical thinking. Dr. Isaacs was involved in a teach-in to protest the Vietnam War and organized another to protest American military action in Central America. He also enjoyed teaching graduate students especially in the historiography seminar (History 200). Dr. Isaacs was also a patient mentor for those students. For example, he would write encouraging postcards to candidates who were struggling to write their theses. Dr. Isaacs left Sac State in 1993, and in his retirement enjoyed long bike rides.

Richard Kornweibel

Richard "Dick" Kornweibel was born in Pasadena, CA. He earned his bachelor's degree from Hastings College in Nebraska and his doctorate from UC Riverside. As a professor at Sacramento State University, he taught Latin American and Brazilian History, served as Department Chair and Program Coordinator, and also served on the General Education Committee, Faculty Senate, and Honors Program Curriculum Development Committee. He led Sacramento County History Day for many years as well as serving on the History Day board and helping to develop the Sacramento History Center. Dr. Kornweibel published two books: *Bibliografia da Historia do Rio Grande do Sul*, and *Julio de Castilhos and the Republican Party of Rio Grande do Sul.* A fellow researcher said that he was "a delight, with a terrific, ironic sense of humor." He retired in 1997 to spend time with his wife, Gay, and family, and he served as president on the CSUS Retirees Association.

Our Contributors

Vivian Tang

Vivian Tang is a MA student at CSU Sacramento. She graduated *cum laude* from UC Davis in 2013 with BAs in history and film studies. Her research interests include philosophy of history, intellectual and cultural history, and postcolonial studies, specifically the intersections of race, labor, and citizenship in the Atlantic World. She was the editor-in-chief of *Clio* in Spring 2018, which was awarded first place in the Gerald D. Nash Graduate Print Journal competition. She is currently a Pathways Research Fellow, studying factors that inequitably affect students in higher education and working at the Peer and Academic Resource Center (PARC) as the workshop coordinator and tutor for historical research and writing.

Laura Bricarello

Laura Bricarello originally attended the University of Washington where she studied Applied and Computational Mathematical Sciences, with quite a few history classes thrown in the mix. Upon her return to Sacramento, she transferred to the local California State University where she graduated Magna Cum Laude with a Bachelor of Arts in History in December of 2018. Her historical interests include American social history, typically post-WWII, as well as mid-century art and architecture. Her future career will likely draw heavily on her strong math background, rather than her historical one. Her future goals include saving up to for a dog and paying down student loan debt.

Michael Steele

Michael Steele was born and raised in the Central Valley in a small town called Atwater. As far back as he can remember, he has had an interest and affinity for history. One the first books he checked out of the school library was a short biography book on the U.S. Presidents. He earned his Associates Degree from Merced College, Bachelors from UC Merced, and his Masters from Sacramento State - all in History. Michael hopes to one day teach at the community college level to inspire the same passion for history in new students his instructors once inspired in him.

Spencer Gomez

Spencer Gomez graduated in 2018 from Sacramento State University with an MA in History. His research interests include, World History, Imperialism and Decolonization, and the early Cold War. In 2014, Spencer graduated from Chico State University with a BA in History and a minor in Sustainability. While attending Sacramento State, Spencer received the George and Eleanor Craft Graduate Scholarship, two Faculty Collaboration Grants, the ASI United States Armed Forces Scholarship, and various other awards for his graduate-level work. In addition, Spencer spent several semesters working as a Graduate Assistant and interning at the California State Archives. As of 2019, Spencer will be attending UC Irvine's PhD program focusing on Latin American history.

Thomas Lerner

Thomas Lerner is currently completing a Master of Arts in History at California State University, Sacramento. He is specializing in U.S. History and U.S. foreign policy. Thomas completed a Bachelor of Arts in Social Science at CSU, Sacramento in 2014 after receiving two Associate of Arts in 2011 from San Joaquin Delta College in Stockton, CA. The Associate of Arts were in Interdisciplinary Studies – Social and Behavior Sciences and Teacher Education Preparation. Thomas plans to begin a career in teaching after completing his MA.

Valor Nash

Valor Nash graduated in 2018 from Sacramento State with a BA in History. His historical pursuits include early 20th century military history, political history, and the history of aviation. During 2018, Valor assisted with historical research for Project Recover, a non-profit that works towards locating American servicemen and aircraft MIA from World War Two, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and other conflicts. In the future, he plans to continue his education at the master's and doctoral level, where he looks to continue his research on early 20th century military conflicts and the experiences of the troops in those conflicts.

Liam Dodson

Liam Dodson discovered his passion for history in middle school, becoming particularly absorbed with American history. He has long strived to eventually

utilize his education and bring his knowledge of history to the public by working for a museum. After graduating cum laude, Liam Dodson enrolled in Sacramento State's Public History M.A. program, with plans to ultimately pursue a Ph.D.

Noah Ocker

Noah Ocker is currently pursuing two BA degrees at California State University Sacramento in History and Human Geography. He is set to graduate in the Spring Semester of 2020 and hopes to pursue a career in the military through Air Force ROTC. His military upbringing gave him a deep seeded passion for travel, which translated into a keen interest in international politics. His research interests focus heavily on Europe and Asia. He enjoys experiencing different cultures and wishes to one day to have stepped foot in every country on the planet.

Yozantli Lagunas Guerrero

Yozantli Lagunas Guerrero (gender pronouns: they/them/el) graduated from CSU, Sacramento in 2018 with a BA in History and Political Science and a minor in Chicanx/Latinx studies. Yozantli's research interests include Chicanx/Latinx history, race and ethnicity, and LGBTQ history. In 2018 Yozantli was a research fellow for the Pathways Fellows Program. They currently work at Genders and Sexualities Alliance Network and Transgender Law Center as the Trans Youth Justice Organizer supporting the National Trans Youth Program (TRUTH).

Melissa Blandford

Melissa Blandford recently graduated from California State University, Sacramento with a BA in history. She earned five Associates of the Arts at Sierra Community College before going to CSUS. Beginning in the Fall of 2019, she will be attending Willamette University College of Law in Oregon to get her J.D.

Stephanie Kyles

Stephanie Kyles is currently pursuing an MA in History at California State University, Sacramento. She graduated with a BA in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley in 2009. She went on to earn a Multiple Subject teaching credential from California State University, Fresno in 2014. She is a full-time high school teacher working with urban youth and is passionate about the

pursuit of knowledge. Stephanie has presented research on diverse topics from medical anthropology and the Native American collection at American River College and at the Southwestern Anthropological Association. Stephanie is interested in Gender and Race and how "the other" are represented.

Haiti In Print: The Impact of the Early Black Press on Northern African-American Social Reform, 1797-1838

Vivian Tang

Abstract: While the impact of the Haitian Revolution on the American South was directly manifested in the form of slave revolts and institution of draconian laws, its effects on the North were more gradual and inconspicuous. By the late 1820s and 1830s, Haiti played a crucial role in northern black political discourse. The early black press was not an anomalous development in African American social reform and activism, but rather a result of black community building over the past few decades. Despite widespread oppression, two events in the early nineteenth century deeply resonated with African Americans: the declaration of Haitian independence in 1804 and the writing of the Haitian Constitution in 1805. The establishment of the early black press in New York City during the late 1820s and 1830s not only transformed the newspaper into a primary tool for social reform, but also offers historians a cultural medium to investigate how northern African Americans engaged with Haiti and racial uplift in meaningful ways.

On April 6, 1828, *Freedom's Journal*, the first black newspaper in the United States declared: "The last half century will be regarded as a period in which changes the most interesting, and occurrences the most remarkable in the history of man have happened. – And the revolution of St. Domingo, which developed the resources and aroused the energies of a people deemed but a step above brute creation, is not the least remarkable and interesting."[1] Since the late eighteenth century, Haiti has occupied a dominant place in the African American imagination. As the only successful slave revolt in world history and the second anticolonial movement in the western hemisphere that culminated in the establishment of the First Black Republic, the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) was a watershed event in transatlantic history. After some of the most exploited slaves in the Atlantic World seized control of France's richest colony, they permanently abolished chattel slavery and declared all citizens black.[2] While many white Americans at the time saw these revolutionary events as "a very hell of horrors," African Americans looked to Haiti

[1] J, "Haytien Revolution," *Freedom's Journal*, April 6, 1827

[2] Peter Wirzbicki, "'The Light of Knowledge Follows the Impulse of Revolutions'": Prince Saunders, Baron de Vastey and the Haitian Influence on Antebellum Black Ideas of Elevation and Education." *Slavery and Abolition* 36, no. 2 (2015): 278, accessed 15 February 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0144038X.2014.941184.

as a source of black pride, an example of self-liberation, and the manifestation of democratic ideals that had yet to be achieved in the United States.[3] Thus, Haiti was frequently invoked in antebellum black discourse.

While the impact of the Haitian Revolution on the American South was directly manifested in the form of slave revolts and institution of draconian laws, its effects on the North were more gradual and inconspicuous. However, historians have generally dismissed Haiti's role in the political and social development of northern black communities in the early nineteenth century.[4] More specifically, they have overlooked the Haitian influence on African American social reform which centered on racial elevation through self-help, particularly education[5] Black leaders encouraged their communities to "uplift" themselves to conditions of respectability as early as the Revolutionary era, but the transatlantic influences on racial elevation and its connection to early black nationalism have remained largely unexplored. The establishment of the early black press in New York City during the late 1820s and 1830s not only transformed the newspaper into a primary tool for social reform, but also offers historians a cultural medium to investigate how northern African Americans engaged with Haiti and racial uplift in meaningful ways.

The early black press was not an anomalous development in African American social reform and activism, but rather a result of black community building over the past few decades. Since the 1790s, free black northerners invoked Haiti for racial uplift and identity formation. This rhetoric was characterized by a juxtaposition between a commitment to democratic idealism and exposing the nation's fundamental hypocrisies – namely, the American paradox of slavery and freedom. The establishment of black newspapers including the *Freedom's Journal* (1827) and *Colored American* (1837) was part of that legacy of activism but also signaled a movement towards a (trans)national black political consciousness. By the late 1820s, African Americans were divided on the prospect of racial equality in the United States. For some, a growing identification with Haiti led to a black nationalist separatism that ultimately manifested in a Haitian emigration movement. For others, it strengthened their conviction of remaining in the United States and fighting for abolition and citizenship rights. In both cases, Haiti's image as an independent black state continued to resonate with the free black community.

Although the early black press was established in the late 1820s and 1830s, its ideological origins stretch back to the late eighteenth century and beyond the United States. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, slavery was largely abolished throughout the North. Nevertheless, African Americans did not possess basic citizenship

[3] Frederick Douglass, "Lecture on Haiti. The Haitian Pavilion Dedication Ceremonies Delivered at the World's Fair, in Jackson Park, Chicago, Jan. 2d, 1893" in *African Americans and the Haitian Revolution: Selected Essays and Historical Documents*, eds. Maurice Jackson and Jacqueline Bacon (New York: Routledge, 2010), 206.
[4] Sara C. Fanning, "The Roots of Early Black Nationalism: Northern African Americans' Invocations of Haiti in the Early Nineteenth Century" *Slavery & Abolition* 28, no. 1 (April 2007): 61.
[5] Frederick Cooper, "Elevating the Race: The Social Thought of Black Leaders, 1827-1850." *American Quarterly* 25, no. 5 (December 1971): 604.

rights including equal opportunity, civil liberties, or safety. In addition to discrimination and segregation that determined their place of residence and employment prospects, threats of kidnapping and unfair imprisonment were prominent community issues.[6] In response, African Americans established a network of independent community organizations including schools, fraternal and mutual aid societies, and churches that fostered a growing black political consciousness.

Prince Hall was the leader of the African Masonic Lodge in Boston, one of the prominent black community institutions dedicated to mutual aid, education, and protest. As a veteran of the Revolutionary War, Hall recognized that American victory did not bring racial equality, but still expressed a democratic idealism that was characteristic of African American rhetoric at the time; he believed that American values of liberty and equality "could eventually become viable for people of color, in the true spirit of the foregone Revolution."[7] Importantly, Hall extended his democratic revolutionary rhetoric to include the Age of Revolution, which began with the American, French, and Haitian Revolutions in the late eighteenth century continued with the Latin American Wars of Independence in the 1810s and 1820s, and ended with the Revolutions of 1848.[8] In particular, he identified with the recent revolutionary events in Haiti and acknowledged the common bonds of the African diaspora.

In 1797, Hall delivered a speech addressing the plight of African Americans and the necessity for black unity in a racially hostile environment. Noting the insults they were "daily met with in the streets of Boston," he advocated for self-improvement as a means to combat racist rhetoric and community stereotypes.[9] Even if African Americans lacked a formal education, this did not preclude their cultivation and exercise of reason: "thinking, hearing, and weighing matters, men, and things on your own mind, and making that judgment of them as you think reasonable to satisfy your minds and give an answer to those who may ask you a question."[10] By demonstrating their mental capabilities, African Americans could counteract their "degraded" condition in society and collectively fight against the oppression of "ignorance." At the time, northern black leaders claimed it was the image of their race that caused white prejudice and prevented them from achieving full citizenship and participating in the U.S. mainstream. As such, the pursuit of education was a form of resistance that could fundamentally challenge these misrepresentations.

But racial uplift was not solely an individualistic endeavor – it reflected upon all people of African descent. After Hall reassured his audience that God was on the side of the oppressed, he advised patience and strategically referenced the Haitian Revolution: "My brethren, let us not be cast down under these and many other abuses we at present labour under: for the darkest is before the break of day. My brethren, let us remember what a dark

[6] Jacqueline Bacon, *Freedom's Journal: The First African-American Newspaper* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), 14.
[7] Frankie Hutton, *The Early Black Press in America, 1827 to 1860* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), 26.
[8] Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 34.
[9] Prince Hall, "A Charge" in *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790-1860,* eds. Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Philip Lapsansky (New York: Routledge, 2001), 45.
[10] Hall, "A Charge" in *Pamphlets of Protest,* 47.

day it was with our African brethren six years ago in the French West Indies."[11] His message not only alludes to the transatlantic reflexivity of black elevation, but utilizes Haiti's image to comfort the northern black community, showing how circumstances could be worse and how quickly they could change. [12] It also shows how black leaders invoked the slave revolt as a threat towards abolition and were already engaged in antislavery movements before white leaders and organizations like William Lloyd Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) advocated for immediate abolitionism in the 1830s. Furthermore, it suggests that racial uplift strategies were not primarily concerned with accommodating white society but linked to self-determination and processes of African American identity formation.

In many ways, the free black community's emphasis on self-help was part of a larger sociocultural discourse in the United States throughout the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. According to Patrick Rael, "elevation … [was] a conceptual *lingua franca* through which Americans in the antebellum North of both races expressed their values and concerns."[13] Although northern white leaders shared a middle-class ideology and concerns with self-improvement, many approached social reform with a paternalistic attitude. For example, antislavery organizations proposed that white reformers should shape and monitor African Americans' behavior. But African Americans were not simply echoing white societal values nor exclusively focused on gaining acceptance in the United States; instead, self-help was an expression of black independence. Education, then, "did not just lay the groundwork for liberty – education was freedom."[14] This explains northern black leaders' preoccupation with developing their own organizations that promoted instruction such as free and evening schools, literary societies, and eventually an independent black press. Thus, education as racial uplift was a strategy that helped northern black communities confront and navigate increasing racial persecution in the early nineteenth century.

The 1800s brought new obstacles for free African Americans and signaled a further retreat from the nation's revolutionary promises. As black community institutions engendered political consciousness and its members continued to pursue educational advancement, many whites grew resentful at the perceived loss of job opportunities.[15] This was reflected in heightened legal and societal restrictions. In addition to segregation and discrimination as well as threats of abduction, African Americans encountered street violence, loss of voting rights, and restrictions on physical mobility.[16] For example, the Pennsylvania state legislature between 1805 and 1814 sought to pass laws that would limit black immigration into the state, force all free blacks to register for certificates of freedom,

[11] Hall, "A Charge" in *Pamphlets of Protest*, 47.
[12] Fanning, *Early Black Nationalism,* 64.
[13] Patrick Rael, *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 125.
[14] Bacon, *African-American Newspaper*, 103.
[15] Bacon, *African-American Newspaper*, 19.
[16] Fanning, *Early Black Nationalism*, 63.

and permit black criminals to be sold as slaves.[17] Moreover, the Revolutionary ideology that had furthered gradual emancipation in the northern states had generally weakened. This anti-black sentiment was exemplified in the formation of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in 1816, which attempted to solve the nation's "race problem" by repatriating free blacks to the colony of Liberia in West Africa.[18]

Despite such widespread oppression, two events in the early nineteenth century deeply resonated with African Americans: the declaration of Haitian independence in 1804 and the writing of the Haitian Constitution in 1805. As described by John Russwurm (a future editor of *Freedom's Journal*) in 1826, the Haitian Revolution already held a "conspicuous place" in the black abolitionist imagination: it had shown the world that "though slavery may benumb, it cannot entirely destroy our faculties."[19] The creation of the First Black Republic on January 1 was particularly significant – it marked Haiti's entrance onto the world stage, in "rank with the nations of the earth," and exemplified the democratic revolutionary ideals that had yet to be achieved in the United States.[20] Since nationhood was the official language of political life during the antebellum period, Haiti's national status allowed black leaders to re-appropriate a discourse of self-determination for civic engagement and resistance.[21] The issuance of the Haitian Constitution, reprinted in newspapers and widely circulated throughout the Atlantic, reinforced these connections for African Americans. First, it revealed that Haiti's system of government – with an executive, legislative, and judicial branch – closely resembled the United States. Second, it declared "black" a politico-ideological category that solidified a racialized national identity. Lastly, its *written* set of rules followed the tradition of French and American governments.[22]

Notably, writing was central to contemporaneous debates over slavery. Influenced by eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinking, writing was considered "a visible sign of reason."[23] Among the arts and sciences, the it was the most striking evidence of "genius" such that "blacks were 'reasonable' and hence 'men,' if—and only if—they demonstrated [such] mastery."[24] Under slavery, the Haitians "showed neither spirit nor genius," however, freedom restored their dignity as "men" and revealed the capacities of the race; the Haitian Constitution was a direct testimony of racial uplift and intellectual abilities.[25] The dissemination of the first black republic's constitution solidified African Americans'

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[17] Fanning, *Early Black Nationalism*, 65
[18] Sinha, *Slave's Cause*, 160.
[19] John Browne Russwurm, "The Condition and Prospects of Hayti" in *African Americans and the Haitian Revolution: Selected Essays and Historical Documents,* eds. Maurice Jackson and Jacqueline Bacon (New York: Routledge, 2010), 168.
[20] Russwurm, "Conditions and Prospects," 165.
[21] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 3.
[22] Fanning, *Early Black Nationalism*, 65-67.
[23] Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Writing 'Race' and the Difference It Makes" in *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 9.
[24] Gates, Jr., "Writing 'Race,'" 8-9.
[25] Russwurm, "Condition and Prospects," 168.

recognition of writing as a tool of freedom during the early nineteenth century – a medium through which they could demonstrate their humanity and capacity for "progress" in Western discourse. According to northern black reformers, this would elevate the race and prove the logic of racial equality in the United States.

The establishment of the early black press in the late 1820s and 1830s was part of such tradition of African American activism. At the height of racial persecution in the 1800s, the first black editors continued to express a pro-American idealism centered on a faith that national institutions would embrace people of color and racial uplift, could serve as the primary vehicle for realizing their inalienable rights to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.[26] The creation of an independent black press was not simply a response to racist attacks, nor an anomalous development in African American protest, rather it represented the cumulative efforts of black community building over the past few decades. By the late 1820s, northern black communities had reached a certain maturity, developed trans-local connections through community organizations, and identified common objectives.[27]

The first African American newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, embodied that legacy of democratic idealism and growth of black political consciousness. In their 1827 inaugural issue, the founders Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm declared the U.S. Constitution "our polar star" and reinforced the notion that "all men are equal by nature."[28] This fundamental optimism informed their view of racism in the United States, which they attributed to a public discourse centered on black degradation, especially the slander of African Americans in white newspapers. However, the introduction of an authentic black voice would allow African Americans to take control of the way they were represented and thus liberate the community from discrimination. The first issue of *Freedom's Journal* states: "We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the publick [sic] been deceived by misrepresentations in things which concern us dearly."[29]

Indeed, black writing could establish a channel of communication with the national public.[30] Along with showcasing their literary skills, writing allowed northern African Americans to participate in civic debates and articulate their specific concerns; moreover, it signified a political gesture in which "the calamities of our enemies [were] refuted by forcible argument."[31] For example, one of the major issues confronting free blacks in the late 1820s was ACS's aggressive efforts to send them back to Africa. In March and April 1827, *Freedom's Journal* published a two-part editorial addressing a white preacher in Newark who espoused racist rhetoric in support of ACS. The clergyman claimed that free blacks were "idle, ignorant, and depraved," as evidenced by the number of "coloured convicts …

[26] Hutton, *Early Black Press*, 26.
[27] Bacon, *African-American Newspaper*, 41.
[28] Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm, "Proposals for Publishing the Freedom's Journal: Prospectus," *Freedom's Journal*, March 16, 1827.
[29] Cornish and Russwurm, "To Our Patrons," *Freedom's Journal*, March 16, 1827.
[30] Cornish and Russwurm, "Proposals for Publishing the Freedom's Journal: Prospectus," *Freedom's Journal*, March 16, 1827.
[31] Cornish and Russwurm, "Publishing the Freedom's Journal."

in jails and penitentiaries," and could never attain respectability in American society.[32] Since they would remain in "moral and intellectual bondage" in the United States, it would be unbeneficial for them to remain in this country.[33] In response, Cornish and Russwurm denounced these inaccurate characterizations and affirmed the majority of the free black population did not fit these descriptions, citing that black paupers constituted 1 in 185 of the total black population whereas white paupers were 1 in 115 in the city's almshouses.[34]

In addition to repudiating these types of claims, the first black editors worked to expose the nation's racist foundations. According to them, even if there were more blacks than whites in prisons, this did not prove their debased character: "the colored man's offence, three times out of four, grows out of the circumstances of his condition, while the white man's, most general, is premediated and vicious."[35] In other words, African Americans' degraded status was not a result of their color (biological characteristics), but rather their enslaved condition (due to societal racism). As Jacqueline Bacon explains, it is reductive to assume *Freedom's Journal* was only created as a defensive measure – to respond to the racist rhetoric of certain individuals or organizations; instead, the creation of a black newspaper was part of larger community-directed efforts promote self-determination and collective identity. In their "Prospectus," Cornish and Russwurm reinforce the link between education and racial uplift:

> An education is what renders civilized men superior to the savage: as the dissemination of knowledge is continually progressing among all other classes in the community: we deem it expedient to establish a paper … for the moral, religious, civil and literary improvement of our injured race. Experience teaches us that the Press is the most economical and convenient method by which this object is to be obtained.[36]

The publication of a national newspaper would facilitate "the diffusion of knowledge and raise [the African American] community to respectability" and rehabilitate the image of the race in U.S. society.[37] Prior to the late 1820s, black writing may have enjoyed local or translocal circulation but was rarely disseminated to a wider audience. With the inception of *Freedom's Journal*, African American activism acquired a national dimension and became integrated into the central organ of nineteenth century politics: the press. Cornish and Russwurm were among the first black editors to deliberately utilize "the wide-reaching discursive power of print media" for racial elevation.[38] In addition to providing its readers

[32] Cornish and Russwurm, untitled editorial (part I), *Freedom's Journal*, March 30, 1827.
[33] Cornish and Russwurm, untitled editorial (part I).
[34] Cornish and Russwurm, untitled editorial (part II), *Freedom's Journal*, April 13, 1827
[35] Cornish and Russwurm, untitled editorial (part II).
[36] Cornish and Russwurm, "Proposals for Publishing the Freedom's Journal: Prospectus," *Freedom's Journal*, March 16, 1827.
[37] Cornish and Russwurm, "Publishing the Freedom's Journal."
[38] Charlton W. Yingling, "No One Who Reads the History of Hayti Can Doubt the Capacity of Colored Men: Racial Formation and Atlantic Rehabilitation in New York City's Early Black Press, 1827-1841." *Early American Studies* 11, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 317.

with a rhetorical lessons through weekly polemics, the newspaper frequently (re)printed articles and speeches on the value of education and included ads for intellectual clubs and schools. Furthermore, it served as a medium to assert powerful counternarratives by documenting black abilities and successes and circulating these positive images to "uplift and vindicate people of color in the true spirit of American democracy."[39]

Following Benedict Anderson's connection between print-capitalism and the development of national consciousness, one might conclude that black newspapers were essential to creating an "imagined community" and common discourse among African Americans. Anderson defines the nation as an imagined political community whose "members … will never know most of their fellow members … yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion," that is limited, sovereign, and communal.[40] Considering language is utilized to root a nation, the origins of black nationalism can likewise be traced to the early black press which successfully established "a medium of intercourse between our brethren of different states of this great confederacy."[41] The four newspapers that constituted the early black press – *Freedom's Journal*, the *Colored American*, the *Rights of All*, and the *Weekly Advocate* – circulated very widely within and beyond the antebellum United States, including Michigan, Maine, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Maryland, Massachusetts, Washington, D.C., Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Virginia, Canada, Britain, Jamaica, and Haiti.[42] "Print carried black voices through space," making readers aware that their daily concerns were shared in different cities and enabling "a broader national community to see African American arguments."[43] However, Anderson's work does not adequately consider the racial aspects of nationalism nor the transnational influences on antebellum black discourse, specifically the Haitian Revolution and the newly-independent Haiti.

By the late 1820s and 1830s, Haiti played a crucial role in northern black political discourse. While African American reformers had previously called upon their country to fulfill the revolutionary promises of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and negotiated a pan-African identity (the idea that all people of African descent should be unified due to common origins, interests, and futures), their faith in the United States and identification with Africa began to decline.[44] As racial tensions escalated, the ACS reinforced the permanence of black degradation on the public mind: "The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station he can never rise, be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may … they constitute a class by themselves – a class of which no individual can be elevated, and below which, none can

[39] Hutton, *Early Black Press*, xiv.
[40] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6-7.
[41] Cornish and Russwurm, "To Our Patrons," *Freedom's Journal*, March 16, 1827.
[42] Yingling, "Capacity of Colored Men," 322.
[43] Rael, *Black Identity*, 4.
[44] Yingling, "Capacity of Colored Men," 318.

be depressed."[45] This led many African Americans to question the possibility of freedom and equality in their native country, especially if they continued to be restrained by a white majority, which strengthened the idea that only an independent black state could actualize their desires for political and social freedom. Here, Haiti served as a Black Atlantic model – a beacon of hope for all people of African descent – and even an alternative site of emigration.

In their opening editorial, Cornish and Russwurm describe African Americans' specific relationship to Haiti: "If ignorance, poverty and degradation have hitherto been our unhappy lot, has the Eternal decree gone forth, that our race alone, are to remain in this state? … [T]he establishment of the republic of Hayti after years of sanguinary warfare; its subsequent progress in all the arts of civilization prove the contrary."[46] Not only did Haiti represent an example of self-liberation and provide incontrovertible evidence of black intelligence, social responsibility, and self-rule, but also the equivalent capacity to join dominant society. For some, Haiti offered racial advancement without seceding from America or returning to Africa – "a chance to compete in the same hemisphere as western nations on an equal footing."[47] For others, it presented a refuge from discrimination and embodied a nascent black separatism that seemed increasingly viable. African Americans' identification with Haiti extended the imagined black community beyond national borders and situated them within the broader matrix of the Black Atlantic. Unlike their former affiliation with Africa, which neglected specific identities within the African diaspora, Haiti's history represented a culmination of political autonomy and signified the transatlantic character of black identity.

This was reflected in a general renaming of the race from the predominant "African" to "colored." While free blacks previously identified with Africa and their institutions commonly adopted "African" in their titles (e.g. African Masonic Lodge, African Free School, African Methodist Episcopal Church, etc.), its usage became increasingly problematic. For instance, it offered colonizationists and other racist groups the language to argue that black people were not entitled to American rights and freedoms–; this marginalized the free black community, reinforced the denial of their U.S. citizenship, and justified their dislocation to Africa. Thus, black leaders advocated for a different name in the 1830s: "colored," whose variations included "colored people," "people of color," and "Colored American." As a relatively new and legally undefined racial category, "colored" was free of derision and its history offered a respectable alternative to the now-stigmatized "African" name. Notably derived from the French term *gens de couleur* (which literally translates to "people of color"), it was used in St. Domingue and throughout the Caribbean

[45] William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization: An Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles and Purposes of the American Colonization Society Together with Resolutions, Addresses, and Remonstrances of the Free People of Color* (Massachusetts: Garrison and Knapp, 1823), 136.
[46] Cornish and Russwurm, "To Our Patrons," *Freedom's Journal*, March 16, 1827.
[47] Fanning, *Early Black Nationalism*, 63.

to denote an intermediate class of free mulattos who stood between white colonizers and darker-skinned slaves.[48]

By resignifying themselves as "people of color," northern blacks consciously aligned themselves with the rebels of the Haitian Revolution and situated African descendants within a transatlantic framework. In addition to demonstrating a growing awareness of other members in their imagined community, the adoption of "colored" invoked a black abolitionist radicalism. For free African Americans, the revolution's significance went beyond ending slavery; their identification with the revolutionary rebels, who instituted the only example of immediate abolition before the 1830s, reflected a radical drive towards self-determination.[49] Black leaders' application of "colored" to all people of African descent – rather than its historical usage for a group of mixed-race elites in St. Domingue– constituted an desire for racial unity throughout the diaspora. The black abolitionist, David Walker, employed such rhetoric in his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, which urged readers to take an active role in fighting their oppression. Drawing on "Hayti, the glory of blacks and terror of tyrants," he argued that whites had proven to be an "unmerciful, avaricious, and blood-thirsty set of beings" so people of color could not simply plead their own cause – they must demand it (even if violence becomes the only recourse).[50] Through "colored" rhetoric, Walker underscored the shared experiences of slavery and racial oppression in the Americas, and the necessity of an aggressive struggle for freedom like the Haitian Revolution.

In the context of antebellum nationalism, this "new" racial identity illuminated the problem of black statelessness. Because only national status granted the right of political autonomy in the nineteenth century, African descendants lacked the power to advocate for their rights in the international arena: "Identified as belonging to no country" to "no people, race, or nation," they had been "accounted as aliens and outcasts" and thus been "denied their citizenship, and the benefits derivable therefore."[51] However, northern African Americans' identification with Haiti – the island state underpinning their ideas of nationalism – transformed the problem from statelessness to diplomatic recognition. While France acknowledged Haitian independence in 1825, the United States continued its policy of non-recognition until 1862.[52] This strengthened the South's pro-slavery ideology and threatened self-determination for all people of color. As a result, northern black activists began to premise their uplift strategies within a nationalist paradigm, with many channeling their reform efforts towards the goal of national liberation. Thus, Haiti's image did not merely allow people of color to imagine themselves as part of a (trans)national community,

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[48] Rael, *Black Identity*, 102.
[49] Sinha, *Slave's Cause*, 34.
[50] David Walker, *David Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles: Together with a Preamble, to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America* (Boston: David Walker, 1830), 24.
[51] Rael, 219.
[52] Leslie M. Alexander, "'The Black Republic': The Influence of the Haitian Revolution on Northern Black Political Consciousness, 1816-1862," in *African Americans and the Haitian Revolution: Selected Essays and Historical Documents*, eds. Maurice Jackson and Jacqueline Bacon (New York: Routledge, 2010), 65.

but also helped them construct an identity that could support an independent black state. For these reasons, African American and Haitian leaders were mutually invested in the first black republic's internal development which would merit their inclusion in family of nations.

In many ways, the early black press served as a vital conduit for Haiti's nation-building activities by articulating and circulating black nationalist myths. As part of their objective to spread positive news about people of color and recognition of the transatlantic reflexivity of black elevation, editors published stories that reinforced African descendants' ability to effectively lead and govern themselves. Beyond facilitating intellectual exchange, these newspapers utilized Haiti for "racial rehabilitation."[53] Despite their knowledge of the historic divisions between Henri Christophe's Kingdom of Haiti in the north and Alexander Pétion's Republic of Haiti in the south (1806-1820), black editors idealized its revolutionary past and intentionally communicated a more stable country to their audiences.[54] For example, *Freedom's Journal* published a three-part biography on Toussaint L'Ouverture, the celebrated leader of the Haitian Revolution, and a six-part series on the nation's formation – from its "discovery" by Columbus, through Spanish and French colonization, the slaves' rebellion, to present conditions.[55] While L'Ouverture's rise from lowly slave to respected general presented "the most incontestable proofs, that the negro is not, in general, wanting in the higher qualifications of the mind" and where people of color were free, their abilities were equal to whites, Haiti's history revealed a potential course for liberation and suggested that black people were not destined to be oppressed forever, whether in the United States or elsewhere.[56]

In accordance with their efforts to prove the viability of a black state, Haitian leaders actively recruited African Americans to emigrate to Haiti in U.S. newspapers. Since Haiti's first ruler, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, offered American ship captains forty dollars for every African American they brought to his country in 1804, Haitian statesmen had consistently proposed emigration as a mutually-beneficial endeavor that would actualize black nationhood: it would repopulate the island with skilled laborers and soldiers as well as offer African Americans a refuge from U.S. racism and citizenship rights.[57] In 1818, Pétion urged black northerners to "abandon an ungrateful country" as a form of political resistance, referring to the legitimacy of the Haitian Constitution:

> Open to their eyes the Constitution of our Republic and let them see in its 44th Article a fraternal hand opened to their distresses. Since they are at this day refused the title of Members of the American Union, let them come among us, in a country firmly organized, and enjoy the rights of Citizens of Hayti, of happiness and peace: lastly, let

[53] Yingling, "Capacity of Black Men," 315.
[54] Yingling, "Capacity of Black Men," 331.
[55] "Hayti. – No. I," *Freedom's Journal*, April 20, 1827.
[56] "Toussaint L'Ouverture," *Freedom's Journal*, May 4, 1827.
[57] Alexander, "Northern Black Political Consciousness," 59.

> them come and show to white men that there yet exist coloured and black men who can raise a fearless front secured from insult and from injury.[58]

Yet it was Jean-Pierre Boyer's unification of the Haitian republic in 1821 that solidified many free African Americans' interests in migration. In addition to these images of national stability, emigration offered an attractive alternative to colonization schemes in the mid to late 1820s. Whereas the ACS attempted to impose a national identity upon the free black population and often supported proslavery interests, Haitian emigration represented African American ideals of self-determination and independence.[59] As *The Rights of All* explained, "If any have a disposition to leave this country, why not emigrate, either to Canada or the beautiful island of Hayti … we do not ask the Colonization Society to provide a home for us, we can do it for ourselves, when necessary, and a far better one than they have to offer."[60] Overall, Haitian emigration symbolized a vindication of black equality and a repudiation of whites' attempts to shape black elevation.

Although this first wave of Haitian emigration was largely deemed a failure by 1830, northern black leaders remained determined to fight for the black republic's international recognition. Compared to the trickle of emigration to Liberia, between 6,000 and 13,000 northern African Americans moved to Haiti in the 1820s.[61] Inspired by Boyer's proclamations of fraternity, equality, and citizenship as well as the Haitian government's promises of subsidized travel expenses, fertile land, and education, Haitian emigration enjoyed widespread support throughout the north and even stimulated the creation of the Haytien Emigration Society of Coloured People.[62] According to Reverend Peter Williams, Jr., the president of the Haytien Emigration Society in New York, Haiti offered racial redemption: "Go to that highly favored, and as yet only land, where the sons of Africa appear as civilized, well ordered and flourishing nation. Go, remembering that the happiness of millions of the present and future generations depends upon your prosperity."[63] Nevertheless, many newly-transplanted African Americans became disillusioned with Haiti as they encountered significant cultural differences and land distribution issues, and returned to the United States.[64] Despite distancing themselves from the emigration movement and subsequently turning inwards to advocate for their rights at

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[58] "Joseph Inginac to James Tredwell, November 21, 1817" in *The Constitution of the Republic of Hayti: Hayti: To which is Added, Documents Relating to the Correspondence of His Most Christian Majesty, with the President of Hayti, Preceded by a Proclamation to the People and the Army* (New York: James Tredwell, 1818), 5.

[59] These debates over colonization and emigration were central to the disintegration of the *Freedom's Journal* in 1829. Convinced that African Americans faced insurmountable barriers to racial equality in the United States, John Russwurm reversed the newspaper's opposition to the ACS and followed a pro-colonizationist stance until he moved to Liberia. In the same year, Samuel Cornish launched *The Rights of All* which reasserted a strong anti-colonizationist position.

[60] "Hayti," *The Rights of All*, October 16, 1829.

[61] Sinha, *The Slave's Cause*, 168.

[62] Alexander, "Northern Black Political Consciousness," 61.

[63] Peter Williams, *Address to the Board of Managers of the Haytien Emigration Society of Coloured People, to the Emigrants Intended to Sail to the Island of Hayti, in the Brig De Witt Clinton* (New York: Mahlon Day, 1824).

[64] Alexander, "Northern Black Political Consciousness," 62-63.

home, Haiti's image as an independent black state continued to resonate with the free black community, especially as a base of socio-political mobilization.

This complex negotiation of identities was reflected in the renaming of the black newspaper, *The Weekly Advocate*, to *Colored American* in 1837. Established by Samuel Cornish, Phillip Bell, and Charles Ray, the newspaper was the ideological successor of *Freedom's Journal* (with whom it shared a founding editor in Cornish).It sought to bolster and maintain the connections between "our afflicted brethren in the free states" and carry lessons of self-help to "redeem our character and remove our disabilities … until our entire people, are of one heart and of one mind, in all the means of their salvation."[65] However, the *Colored American* moved beyond advocating for the abolition of slavery to claiming permanence and equal rights in the United States: "In complexion, in blood, and in nativity, we are decidedly more exclusively 'American' than our white brethren; hence the propriety of the name of our paper, COLORED AMERICAN, and of identifying the name with all our institutions in spite of our enemies, who rob us of our nationality, and reproach us as exoticks [sic]."[66] Drawing upon a transatlantic revolutionary heritage, *Colored American* also synthesized uplift with antebellum ideas of the nation to reclaim America and vindicate all people of color; northern black activists continued to fight for the success and international recognition of Haiti, which exported political and social legitimacy to their U.S. counterparts

To reclaim America, black leaders adopted a more radical and international approach to social reform in the 1830s with Haiti as a model of educational achievement. As early as 1816, Prince Saunders – a Boston teacher who emigrated to Haiti and became Minister of Education in the north – published the *Haytien Papers*, a collection of official proclamations and documents from Christophe's kingdom, as primary evidence that people of color could write sensible laws.[67] He was also involved in the creation of the Haitian education system, which he attempted to replicate in the United States because he considered African Americans' pursuit of knowledge to be a militant act.[68] By the late 1830s, northern black activists connected the country's growing sectionalism with the U.S. government's refusal to extend diplomatic recognition to Haiti, a concession to the pro-slavery South. The *Colored American* highlighted this fundamental contradiction between U.S. policy and people of color's commitment to preserving American ideals:

> [It] betrays a subserviency to our national policy, *to the will of slaveholders*, which is highly disgraceful to our national character, and calls upon us as citizens of a free country, to memorialize Congress to recognize the national independence of Hayti and place our relations with it on the same footing of equality and courtesy as with other nations.[69]

[65] "Why We Should Have a Paper," *Colored American*, March 4, 1837.
[66] "The Title of This Journal," *Colored American*, March 4, 1837.
[67] Fanning, *Early Black Nationalism*, 70.
[68] Bacon, *African-American Newspaper*, 21.
[69] "Resolutions Adopted by the A.A.S. Society," *Colored American*, June 10, 1837.

This compelled a movement towards "interracial immediatism," which combined the efforts of northern black activists and white abolitionists in Britain and America towards universal emancipation and citizenship rights; it also prompted a concerted effort to educate the black population. Here, northern African Americans activism followed the Haitian government's educational model.[70]

Since abolitionism was often co-opted by white reformers who espoused racist beliefs and attempted to dictate the parameters of activism, an independent black newspaper became an important forum for marginalized voices.[71] In light of their work on suffrage and combatting stereotypes (even within interracial activist circles), northern black leaders harnessed the influence of the press to redirect advocacy towards education: "The Time has come in which education should occupy a larger place in the minds of Colored Americans, than it has heretofore done. Our views have been too limited, in respect to its importance and its kind."[72] Likewise David Walker asserted that African Americans' lack of education was a function of white oppression that kept them in "eternal ignorance and wretchedness."[73] However, the Republic of Haiti revealed that "ignorance and treachery … [were] not the natural elements of the blacks, as the Americans would try to make us believe." [74] More specifically, their education system proved African descendants' intellectual abilities and potential to achieve civic equity. Thus, the early black press commonly (re)printed news about the development of Haitian education to disprove racist claims of black inferiority, affirm that people of color could – and have been – proper citizens who would resist slavery and reiterate the "enlightened" status of the black republic.

Despite Boyer's declining investment in education in the late 1830s, black newspapers continued to promote Haitian schools as a source of inspiration and emulation for the free black community.[75] Noting the unfortunate state of education for African Americans such as "the three thousand children among us, out of school" who were losing the necessary means of advancement and moral restraint, the *Colored American* indicated that the Haitians, who had access to quality education, were "not as inferior to any of his fairer brethren."[76] Even though Boyer allowed Haitian schools to fall into disrepair and even be used as barracks, the early black press commended the educational achievements of his predecessor, Henri Christophe.[77] For example, they published a letter from the Haytian Abolition Society that described "no less than fifteen male and female schools in this city, also a national college, in which sciences, languages, drawing, music, etc. are taught," that situated black intellectual development at the crux of antislavery politics.[78] Moreover, the

[70] Sinha, *The Slave's Cause*, 195.
[71] Bacon, *African-American Newspaper*, 256.
[72] "Education of Youth," *Colored American,* November 11, 1837.
[73] Walker, *Appeal, in Four Articles*, 8.
[74] Walker, *Appeal, in Four Articles*, 8.
[75] Yingling, "Capacity of Colored Men," 336.
[76] "Education of Youth," *Colored American,* November 11, 1837.
[77] Wirzbicki, "Light of Knowledge," 281.
[78] "The Republic of Hayti," *Colored American*, March 11, 1837.

newspapers foregrounded the ex-president's pedagogical theory and evidence of its success: the Lancasterian system of education and its implementation in New York City's African Free School.[79] This education model, whereby older students taught the younger ones, revealed its "civilizing" effects in the number of significant black intellectuals it produced including Alexander Crummel, James McCune Smith, and Henry Highland Garnet.[80] Such evidence of African descendants' sociocultural capital was invoked for civic inclusion in the United States.

Additionally, these newspapers solidified the relationship between Haiti and the United States to reaffirm their fight for black equality within and beyond the nation. By presenting Haitians as noble and enlightened, and their government as "one quite worthy of civilized people," northern African American leaders worked to legitimize the black republic's national status.[81] For instance, the *Colored American* emphasized the hypocrisies between national democratic ideals and U.S. foreign policy: "We cannot help but notice the unaccountable policy of our Government towards Haiti … Here is a Republic of more than thirty years standing, which has maintained its independence, without invasion or insurrection, Their Constitutions and laws, are modeled after our own – yet we have … excuses not to acknowledge Hayti."[82] This piece not only testified the writer-activist's civic knowledge, but extended the reasoning behind elevation to black nationalism. Alongside white abolitionists, they petitioned Congress to recognize Haitian independence more than 200 times between 1838 and 1839, and placed the issue of slavery on the agenda when a "gag rule" was in place.[83] For free blacks, America's formal recognition of Haiti would symbolize their country's fulfillment of their founding promises and recognition of freedom for all African-descended peoples regardless of nationality.

On March 15, 1838, *Colored American* highlighted the logic behind northern African Americans' invocations of Haiti: "No one who reads, with an unprejudiced mind, the history of Hayti … can doubt the capacity of colored men, nor the propriety of removing all of their disabilities." [84] Although northern black leaders utilized the Haitian Revolution and the First Black Republic as a cornerstone of their social reform efforts for decades, the establishment of the early black press in the late 1820s and 1830s was central to the development of a (trans)national political consciousness. The specter of an independent black nation, which exemplified African descendants' capacity for self-rule, intelligence, and social responsibility, proved to be more than an effective counterpoint against racist attacks, but a model for black solidarity, liberation, and citizenship. As the black community faced declining prospects for equality and citizenship in the United States, some looked to Haiti as a site of emigration. Though many Haitian emigrants returned to the United States and joined the remaining free black population in fighting for civic inclusion, they

[79] Wirzbicki, "Light of Knowledge," 288.
[80] Wirzbicki, "Light of Knowledge," 288.
[81] "The Republic of Hayti," *Colored American*, March 11, 1837.
[82] *Colored American*, March 18, 1837.
[83] Alexander, "Northern Black Political Consciousness," 67.
[84] "Republic of Hayti," *Colored American*, March 15, 1838.

continued to be deeply invested in Haiti's internal development and advocated for U.S. recognition of Haiti's nationhood due to the transatlantic reflexivity of black elevation.

Condoning Imperialism: U.S. Public Opinion on the Annexation of the Philippines, 1898-1902

Thomas Lerner

Abstract: In December of 1898, as a result of their victory against Spain in the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired the territory of the Philippines and began an overseas empire. Starting with a brief overview of the Spanish-American War, this paper analyzes how the American public reacted to the annexation of the Philippines from 1898-1902. More specifically, it will investigate how public attitudes towards the annexation of this territory changed during the Philippine-American War, which began in February of 1899 and ended in 1902. My hypothesis is that the public's attitude towards the annexation of the Philippines did change after the Philippine-American War began and that more Americans began to side with the Anti-imperialists as the war progressed.

In the twentieth century, the United States developed into a world power whose influence reached nearly every corner of the world. Although the United States did not become one of the world's leading superpowers until after the Second World War, the United States' rise to global dominance began five decades earlier. The year 1898 marks the beginning of America's ascension to global hegemony and this proves important for two reasons: one, it marked the end of America's isolationist attitudes towards world affairs, and two, after claiming victory in the Spanish-American War, the United States became an overseas empire when it acquired the Philippines and other territories from Spain. Public response to the acquisition of these territories, particularly the Philippines, was mixed. Between the years 1898 to 1902, imperialists and anti-imperialists debated extensively over the annexation of the Philippines. The American public was caught between the two sides of this debate.

The annexation debate lasted from April 1898 to July 1902 and can be divided into three phases. The first phase, April 23, 1898 to February 6, 1899, is the period from the start of the Spanish-American War to when Congress ratified the Treaty of Paris, which was the document that officially transferred the possession of the Philippines from Spain to the United States. The second phase, from February 7, 1899 to November 6, 1900 is the period from the ratification of the Treaty of Paris and the beginning of the Philippine-American War to the Presidential election of 1900. A third phase lasts from November 7,

1900 to the end of the Philippine-American War in July of 1902.[1] As this paper will argue, an analysis of election results, newspapers, and personal letters shows that, despite varied opinions, overall the public was in support of the annexation of the Philippines between the years 1898 to 1902. The public's response to this issue would help shape America's foreign policy throughout the twentieth century.

Background

The Spanish-American war began as a direct result of prior events in Cuba. In 1896, Cubans began an armed insurgency against the Spanish for independence, similar to one they conducted for ten years in the 1860s and 1870s.[2] As the war intensified and the American public became aware of atrocities committed against Cuban citizens by Spanish troops, President William McKinley sent the *U.S.S. Maine* to Cuba in case Americans needed to be transported off the island.[3] While stationed at Cuba, a mysterious explosion destroyed the USS Maine. Though it was never proven that it was the Spanish who destroyed the Maine, this event led to escalated tensions between the United States and Spain and eventually led to war between the two.

The war did not last long, starting on April 23, 1898 and ending on August 12 of that year with the United States as the victor. This overwhelming victory facilitated U.S. annexation of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines through the Treaty of Paris. Days before the Treaty was ratified, American troops, who had been stationed on the Philippine islands since Commodore George Dewey seized the islands in May of 1898, came into conflict with Filipino insurgents who were previously their allies in fighting the Spanish.[4] This led to the Philippine-American War, in which the United States fought a much longer and more costly war with Filipino insurgents and their leader Emilio Aguinaldo, than it had with the Spanish.

One of the main reasons that tensions between Spain and the U.S. escalated so quickly was because of a new type of journalism that was sweeping the nation during this era. "Yellow journalism" originated in New York with William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World.*[5] With this type of journalism, reporters focused more on increasing circulation than providing the public with trustworthy news.[6]

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[1] Each phase of the debate is separated by a major event that changed the circumstances of the debate. Other scholars tend to divide the issue into stages as well. In her PhD dissertation, ""Battling Destiny: Soldiers' Letters and the Anti-Colonial Discourse in the Philippine-American War," Rowena Quinto Bailon divides the Anti-Imperialist League's effort to battle the government's imperial policy into four stages that are somewhat similar to the three phases outlined in this paper.

[2] James M. McCaffrey, *Inside the Spanish-American War: A History Based on First-Person Accounts* (London: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers), 3.

[3] McCaffrey, 3-4.

[4] Tyler Dennett, "The Philippines," in *American Imperialism in 1898: Problems in American Civilization*, ed. Theodore P. Greene (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1955), 102.

[5] McCaffrey, *Inside the Spanish-American War*, 3.

[6] McCaffrey, *Inside the Spanish-American War,* 3-4.

By using sensational headlines, this "new school of newspaper making" would often exaggerate the truth to sell stories that could appeal to the masses.[7] As regards to the war, Joseph E. Wisan states that, "The public, aroused by the press, demanded it."[8] Despite not always being truthful, the editors of these papers were responsible for getting more Americans of all ages to read the newspapers. Hearst's *New York* Journal had a circulation of 400,000 in 1897, but this increased to over a million during the Spanish-American War.[9] Typically isolationist, the American public was roused to war by the harrowing tales of Spanish cruelty abroad.[10]

After the Civil War, the American government tended to steer away from involvement in foreign affairs and pursued a policy of isolationism. This trend ended in the 1890s when the U.S. started down a path of imperialism after it acquired overseas territories from Spain after the Spanish-American War. An explanation for why Americans decided to become more involved in foreign affairs is due to what Richard Hofstadter calls "the psychic crisis of the 1890s."[11] Hofstadter claims that the depression of the 1890s, domestic concerns, the rise of American business, and the closing of the American frontier all contributed to the U.S. war with Spain and the acquisition of new territories.[12] This is similar to what Walter LaFeber states in his book *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion 1860-1898*. LaFeber calls the 1890s a "watershed event" and claims that Americans decided to solve their domestic problems with overseas expansion.[13] The hardships Americans faced during the 1890s, combined with a drive to expand commerce after the American frontier closed, indicates that many Americans would have initially agreed with expansion in general, but a closer analysis of other sources is needed to fully gauge how they felt once a territory with a rebellious population like the Philippines was annexed.

Determining public opinion for this era is a difficult task because systematic public opinion polls did not begin to appear until the 1930s.[14] With the absence of public opinion polls, other sources reveal how the public felt, and an examination of newspapers, election results, personal letters, and memoirs is required. Newspapers and their circulation rates are important to use when examining how the public felt because this was the primary way Americans received their news during this period. However, an issue with relying too much on using newspapers to gauge public opinion is that even though members of the public might read a particular story, it does not mean that they agree with what the story says. The

[7] Joseph E. Wisan, "The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press," in *American Imperialism in 1898: Problems in American Civilization*, ed. Theodore P. Greene (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1955), 43-44.
[8] Wisan, "The Cuban Crisis, 51.
[9] William E Leuchtenburg, "The People's War," in *American Imperialism and Anti-imperialism: Problem Studies in American History*, ed. Thomas G. Paterson (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company Inc., 1973), 21.
[10] Leuchtenburg, "The People's War," 20-21, 28.
[11] Richard Hofstadter, "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines," in *American Imperialism in 1898: Problems in American Civilization*, ed. Theodore P. Greene (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1955), 30-31.
[12] Richard Hofstadter, *American Imperialism*, 30-31.
[13] Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion 1860-1898* (London: Cornell University Press, 1963), 60-61.
[14] Richard F. Hamilton, *President McKinley, War and Empire* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 94.

press could also help shape public opinion as much as it reflected it, leading people to agree with the views of the newspaper they read. As Richard Hofstadter revealed in "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines," "The state of press opinion does not *measure* public feeling, but probably does indicate the direction in which public opinion was moving."[15] Nonetheless, additional sources are needed to gain an accurate picture of public opinion on this issue.

Election results during the period from 1898 to 1902 are a second way of gauging public opinion regarding the annexation of the Philippines. Most presidential nominees and members of Congress made it clear whether or not they supported the annexation of the islands. President William McKinley, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator Alfred J. Beveridge, and New York Mayor and eventual President Theodore Roosevelt, were some of the most popular supporters of annexation during this period.[16] Some of the opponents of annexation included Senator George Frisbie Hoar, Mark Twain, presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan, and former President Grover Cleveland.[17] A good indicator of how the public felt about annexation is to see whether or not politicians who supported annexation were elected to office. Early in the debate, expansion— more specifically annexation of the Philippines—became a party issue. A *New York Herald* poll indicated that the majority of Republican newspapers were for expansion, while most of Democratic papers were against it.[18] In the 1896 presidential election 7,102,000 Americans voted Republican and 6,493,000 voted Democratic, while in the 1900 election 7,218,000 voted Republican and 6,357,000 voted Democratic.[19] Based solely off these numbers it can be roughly assumed that the majority of the public supported annexation. While citizens voted for candidates for reasons other than the annexation issue and there were some Republicans and Democrats who did not agree with their fellow party members on the issue, these numbers reveal that a large portion of the population theoretically supported annexation.

The third and most direct way to gauge the public's opinion of the annexation of the Philippines is from personal writings from members of the public. Letters expressing the opinions of the public are valuable in revealing how some people felt about annexation, but these sources cannot be solely relied upon because editors chose which letters they would publish. Furthermore, although personal writings give insight into how certain individuals felt about annexation, individual accounts only provide cursory information about broader public opinion. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate personal letters alongside both newspapers and election results.

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[15] Hofstadter, *American Imperialism*, 62.
[16] Stephen Kinzer, *The True Flag: Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire* (New York: Henry and Holt Company, 2017), 79-83.
[17] Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists 1898-1900* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968), iv-vii.
[18] Hofstadter, *American Imperialism*, 63.
[19] *Statistical History of the United States: From Colonial Times to the Present,* 1079.

Phase One

The first phase of the debate on annexation took place between the start of the Spanish-American War and the signing of the Treaty of Paris. Before the Spanish-American War Americans knew little—if anything—about the islands and "there had not been the slightest demand for the acquisition of the Philippine Islands."[20] Even President McKinley did not have much knowledge on the islands and had to be shown on a map where they were located.[21] American newspapers first mentioned the Philippines after Commodore Dewey defeated the Spanish at Manila Bay, and it was not long after that people started mentioning annexation. Just days after Dewey's success, the issue of what to do with America's newly possessed territory was brought up in newspapers throughout the country. Suggestions varied, with individual newspapers either giving their opinion on what to do with the islands or presenting citizen's opinions. One New York Times article from 1898 declared that the U.S. should give the Philippines to Great Britain, while a *Los Angeles Times* piece stated that, "For the good of the natives it is better that the United States retain possession."[22] On May 22, 1898 the *San Francisco Call* wrote a lengthy article outlining the reasons why Americans should oppose annexation. The article stated that retaining the territory would increase the size of the army, increase taxes, and "reverse the traditions" of the American government.[23] The *New York Times* published a letter on May 30 from an unnamed citizen who strongly expressed his opposition to annexation. The citizen stated that the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines would be a "disastrous move" and declared that, "It would seem that a vote of the people would overwhelmingly declare against such annexation."[24] As early as June 10th, papers such as the *Times* told the public that the Philippines would be "held forever," creating the sense that annexation would inevitably happen in the future.[25]

Since most Americans knew little about the Philippines, newspapers helped to foster and determine the course of the annexation debate. In 1898, according to *N. W. Ayers and Sons American Newspaper Annual*, the *Los Angeles Times* had a circulation of 18,511 for its morning edition paper and 28,878 for its Sunday edition, the *San Francisco Call* 53,589 for its morning edition and 57,152 for its Sunday edition, the *New York Times* 75,000 for its morning edition and 80,000 for itsSunday edition, and the *Washington Times* 38,523 for its

[20]Samuel F. Bemis, "The Great Aberration of 1898," in *American Imperialism in 1898: Problems in American Civilization*, ed. Theodore P. Greene (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1955), 88.
[21] Bemis, "The Great Aberration of 1898," 88.
[22] "The Future of the Philippines," *New York Times*, May 4, 1898. the Philippines," *Los Angeles Times,* May 11, 1898.
[23] "Shall We Keep the Philippines?" *San Francisco Call,* May 22, 1898, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.
[24] "Hawaii and the Philippines," *New York Times*, May 30, 1898.
[25] "Will be Held Forever," *Times* (Washington D.C.), June 10, 1898, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.

daily edition.[26] Just these four newspapers, out of over 22,000 in the United States, potentially reached 200,000 Americans.[27] With an estimated population of somewhere between 62,622,250 (1890 Census data) to 75,994,575 (1900 Census data) individuals in 1898, this may seem like a minute percentage of the population, but when it is factored in that hundreds of other newspapers were publishing similar stories, then one can get a sense of the extent this issue was made apparent to the public.[28]

In the summer of 1898, the debate intensified due to the development of the Anti-Imperialist League and the annexation of Hawaii.[29] In the press, annexation of Hawaii and the annexation of the Philippine Islands became intertwined issues. A *Los Angeles Times* article appropriately titled "Twin Babies" exemplified this when it stated, "Clearly associated with the disposition of the Philippines is the annexation of Hawaii."[30] In what the *New York Journal* called, "an historic incident in an epoch-making year," Hawaii was officially annexed on July 7, 1898, just mere weeks after the anti-imperialist movement first organized at Faneuil Hall in Boston.[31] Initially, the annexation of Hawaii was a good indicator that the Philippines would be annexed, but the ensuing organization of the anti-imperialist movement and the publicity it gained made it apparent that the Philippines would not be annexed without a fight.

While the annexation of Hawaii and the formation of the anti-imperialist movement intensified the debate in June of 1898, people chose their stance on the issue as early as May of that year. By publishing the opinions of those who favored expansion and those in opposition, the press involved more Americans in the annexation debate. Arguments presented in support of annexation differed almost as much as the arguments made against it. One of the most popular arguments made in favor of annexation was that the lands of the Philippines needed "civilizing" and as Edward King stated, "America had a God-given mission to perform."[32] This was based upon the popular belief resonating in America and Europe during this time that it was the white man's responsibility to bring civilization to uncivilized societies; an idea exemplified by Rudyard Kipling's 1899 poem "The White Man's Burden."[33] The use of the Philippines as a strategic base in the Pacific was also a popular argument among expansionists. In an article from the *Los Angeles Times*, former U.S. Minister to Russia Lambert Tree argued for the strategic use of the Philippines in the East when he stated that, "For if we mean to compete with other nations for the trade of China and Japan, it is indispensable that we should have a foothold there."[34]

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[26] *N. W. Ayer and Son American Newspaper Annual*, (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son, 1898), 51, 59, 95, 580, Library of Congress.
[27] *N. W. Ayer and Son American Newspaper Annual*, 11.
[28] *The Statistical History of the United States: From Colonial Times to the Present*, 15.
[29] Kinzer, *Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire,* 14-17.
[30] "Twin Babies," *Los Angeles Times*, May 6, 1898.
[31] "Hawaii Annexed. Now for the Canal," *New York Journal,* July 7, 1898, Library of Congress; Kinzer, 17.
[32] "The Annexation Problem," *New York Times*, July 6, 1898.
[33] Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," *Saint Paul Globe*, February 1, 1899, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.
[34] "Keep the Philippines," *Los Angeles Times*, May 10, 1898.

Anti-imperialists did not hesitate to criticize the economic motives of the expansionists, and their reasoning was published by the press alongside those of the expansionists. Future New York Senator, Chauncey Depew, highlighted some of the most common arguments against annexation when he declared that, "I am opposed to the annexation of the Philippines because it would mean a reversal of the traditions of our Government, an increase of our army, centralization of Government and higher taxes."[35] Anti-imperialists felt that it would not only be morally wrong to subject a foreign people to American rule, but that it would also be unwise to take responsibility for millions of Filipinos thousands of miles away, which House of Representatives member John Sharp Williams alleged would cost the United States an estimated $140,000,000 annually.[36]

Anti-imperialists also appealed to racist attitudes that pervaded America during the late nineteenth century. Unlike the expansionists—who argued that the Philippines should be annexed because Filipinos needed civilization—the anti-imperialists argued that the lack of civilization among Filipinos was why Americans should oppose annexation. Anti-imperialists argued that the Filipinos could not be easily civilized by Americans nor assimilated into American society. *The San Francisco Call* declared that, "It is possible that we could hardly civilize the people of the Philippines in a hundred years and make them self-governing."[37] The anti-imperialist leaning newspaper the *Conservative,* explained that the country was beginning to "show signs of antagonism to expansion" because Americans were beginning to believe that the country would be better off without the "hordes of semi-savages" from areas like the Philippines.[38] In a society that still disenfranchised segments of its own population and had a long history of anti-Asian discrimination, racist rhetoric was a powerful tool used by both expansionists and anti-imperialists, as people on both sides took Filipino inferiority for granted.

As the argument over expansion divided the country, certain groups within the society chose which side they would support. Organized labor was one such group: they strongly opposed annexation because of the alleged threat that Filipino immigrants would pose to workingmen in the States.[39] This feeling of opposition among organized labor can be exemplified by the actions of the San Francisco Labor Union, which in August 1898 adopted a resolution "opposing the annexation of the Philippines" because they felt that conditions there would "injure the working people."[40] Whereas most industrialists supported annexation, Andrew Carnegie sided with organized labor and even stated that, "We may safely trust Aguinaldo and his people to establish a government."[41] Carnegie was joined by other prominent figures such as AFL leader Samuel Gompers, former Senator

[35] *San Francisco Call*, "Shall We Keep the Philippines?," May 22, 1898.
[36] "Philippines in the House," *New York Times*, December 21, 1898.
[37] *The San Francisco Call*, "Shall We Keep the Philippines?," May 22, 1898.
[38] "Anti-Expansion Sentiment," *The Conservative*, December 1, 1898, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.
[39] "Dangers to Labor," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1898.
[40] "Philippine Annexation Opposed," *New York Times*, August 7, 1898.
[41] Andrew Carnegie, letter to the editor, *New York Times*, October 24, 1898.

and Secretary of the Treasury George S. Boutwell, and Republican leader Carl Schurz in opposing annexation.[42]

On the opposite side of the debate were the majority of industrialists, alongside popular Republican politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt and Albert J. Beveridge. In his speech that opened the Indiana Republican Campaign at Tomlinson Hall on September 16, 1898 titled "The March of the Flag," Beveridge outlined the reasons why the United States should acquire the Philippines.[43] Referring to Americans as God's "chosen people," Beveridge advocated bringing "civilization" to the Philippines, stating that Americans had a "duty" to do so.[44] Beveridge's decision to use expansion as his platform for Senator proved to be successful, for the people of Indiana voted for him in 1899. Roosevelt's advocacy for expansion proved successful for him as well, as he was elected Mayor of New York City in a close election.[45] Roosevelt, a veteran of the Spanish-American War, was not shy about his views on expansion, with one newspaper even stating that, "Expansion and our imperial destiny are about the only subjects that really wake him up."[46] The election of these two expansionists indicates that the people in Indiana and New York were generally supportive of overseas annexation.

Along with Beveridge and Roosevelt, President McKinley also benefitted from publicly supporting the annexation of the Philippines. McKinley's decision to publicly support annexation proved to be a major turning point in the debate. His support not only helped push the debate in favor of the expansionists, but also gauged how the public felt about annexing the Philippines during this stage. McKinley originally intended to either set up a coaling station or take one segment of the Philippine archipelago, but over the summer of 1898 he began to contemplate taking the entire archipelago.[47]

Before McKinley revealed his stance on the matter, he went on a speaking tour throughout the country for two weeks in mid-October to ascertain the level of support for annexation.[48] Public opinion was a pressing concern for him, for in addition to his speaking tour, he scanned newspapers to get a sense of how people felt about annexation and told the public that he wanted to hear from them about the matter.[49] Assuming that McKinley genuinely valued public opinion, he likely assumed that the public supported annexing the Philippines because he decided to seize the archipelago on October 26, 1898.[50] The press was convinced of this connection, with the *New York Journal* revealing that, "These successive advances by the President have been due to pressure of public opinion," and

[42] Beisner, *The Anti-Imperialists 1898-1900*, v-vii, 21-22, 193-194.
[43] Albert J. Beveridge, "The March of the Flag," in *The Meaning of the Times* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1908), 47-57.
[44] Beveridge, "The March of the Flag," 47-57.
[45] "New York's Official Vote," *New York Times*, December 30, 1898.
[46] "Roosevelt as an Expansionist," *New York Times*, October 17, 1898.
[47] "Deferring to Public Opinion," *New York Times*, September 22, 1898.
[48] "Deferring to Public Opinion," *New York Times*, 58.
[49] Hamilton, *President McKinley, War, and Empire*, 72-75.
[50] Julius W. Pratt, *The Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1936), 336-339.

the *New York Times* reprinted an article from the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* stating that,"[Public] opinion has impelled the country and the president to demand the entire group of islands."[51]

After nearly a year of speculation and debate, the United States Congress approved the annexation of the Philippines by ratifying the Treaty of Paris in a vote of 57 for ratification and 27 against.[52] The ratification of the Treaty was the decisive event between 1898 to February of 1899 that indicated that annexation was widely supported by the public. By using the press as a means of revealing their ideas to the public, the anti-imperialists organized resistance against annexation. This would not be enough to sway the public to their cause. Those in favor of annexation also utilized the press to push their views onto the public, and this—combined with the pro-expansionist sentiments of Americans in the 1890s, the election of expansionist politicians, and the ratification of the Treaty of Paris—indicates that most of the public supported annexation from April 1898 to February 1899.

Despite presenting strong arguments against annexation, the ratification of the Treaty of Paris proved to be a death knell for the anti-imperialist cause. This loss did not mean that the debate over annexation was over. Just two days before the Treaty was ratified, Filipino insurgents—who had become agitated with the United States after hearing about plans for annexation—came into armed conflict with American troops.[53] This incident led to American involvement in another foreign war and it was this event "that proved the anti-imperialist's case."[54] The Treaty of Paris should have marked the defeat of the Anti-Imperialist League, but the onset of the Philippine-American War made them realize that their cause was just and motivated them to continue their fight against expansion.[55] When asked if the fight against annexation was over now that the treaty was ratified, presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan spoke for the anti-imperialists when he stated, "Not by any means....Now that the treaty is out of the way, it can be treated as a domestic concern and the line can be drawn between those who believe in forcible annexation and those who believe that the Filipinos should be allowed to govern themselves."[56] The launch of the Philippine-American War and the decision of the anti-imperialists to continue their fight after suffering a stunning loss changed the circumstances of the debate on annexation and led to the debate's second phase.

Phase Two

[51] "Expansion is Democratic," *New York Journal*, October 16, 1898, Library of Congress; *New York Times*, September 22, 1898.
[52] Tyler Dennett, "The Philippines," in *American Imperialism in 1898: Problems in American* Civilization, ed. Theodore P. Greene (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1955), 102.
[53] Welch Jr., *Response to Imperialism*, 24-25.
[54] Hamilton, *President McKinley, War, and Empire,* 94.
[55] Hamilton, *President McKinley, War, and Empire,* 94.
[56] "Col. Bryan Satisfied," *St. Paul Globe*, February 7, 1899, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.

The Treaty of Paris alongside the Philippine-American War marked the beginning of the second phase of the debate on annexation. This phase would last until the public re-elected William McKinley in 1900. Even though the anti-imperialists lost the debate over the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, they succeeded in "stirring up a major public discussion" and acquiring a vast following.[57] This campaign was so successful that the Anti-Imperialist League claimed to have over 30,000 members and half a million contributors in 1899.[58] With the Philippines officially annexed on February 6, the anti-imperialists would focus solely on condemning the Philippine-American War instead of the Treaty of Paris.[59] As the Philippine-American War progressed and support for the anti-imperialists increased, more Americans began to disagree with the decision to annex the archipelago.

One of the most important segments of the public to openly condemn the Philippine-American War was the African-American press. In the era of Jim Crow laws and lynching, African-Americans related to the struggles of the Philippines because they too had experienced the brutality of white Americans.[60] The black press began publishing articles on what should be done with the Philippines as soon as Dewey gained control of the islands. In an article titled, "Philippines Should be Free," the *Weekly Blade* declared that the United States should "Leave the islands to the inhabitants."[61] From 1899-1900, when anti-imperialist agitation was at its peak, an increasingly larger proportion of the black press published articles that condemned their country's conquest of the Philippines, even going so far as to offer moral support to the Filipinos.[62] Referring to the war as "greed for gain," the *Indianapolis Recorder* stated that American occupation of the islands "is merely the dominating mastery of the Anglo-Saxon asserting itself."[63] Those at *The Broad Ax* in Salt Lake City called the war "unhuman, blood-thirsty, wrong," and confessed that their sympathies were "with the Filipinos."[64] Some newspapers, such as the *Colored American* and the *Weekly Blade*, even went as far as to print letters from citizens that urged African-Americans not to enlist in President McKinley's "colored regiment" because they would be forced to "fight against their own color."[65]

With the majority of the black press against annexation, it can be reasonably assumed that many of the 8,833,994 African-Americans in America during this period were exposed

[57] Beisner, *The Anti-Imperialists 1898-1900,* 225.
[58] Beisner, *The Anti-Imperialists 1898-1900,* 225.
[59] Welch, Jr., *Response to Imperialism,* 43.
[60] *The Black Press Views American Imperialism*, xvii-xviii.
[61] "Philippines Should be Free," *Weekly Blade*, May 21, 1898, in *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*, ed. George P. Marks III (New York: Arno Press In., 1971), 101.
[62] "Philippines Should be Free," *Weekly Blade*, 101.
[63] "War for Humanity now Greed for Gain," *Recorder*, February 18, 1899, *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*, ed. George P. Marks III (New York: Arno Press In., 1971), 115-116.
[64] "This War is Inhuman, Blood-Thirsty, Wrong," *Broad Ax*, April 25, 1899, in *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*, ed. George P. Marks III (New York: Arno Press In., 1971), 123-124.
[65] R. W. Tyler, letter to editor, *Colored American*, September 22, 1899, in *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*, ed. George P. Marks III (New York: Arno Press In., 1971), 145-146.

to and influenced by anti-imperialist rhetoric.[66] Though African-Americans only represented approximately eleven percent of the total U.S. population, the fact that a majority of them likely opposed annexation is statistically significant.

Ironically, the soldiers who fought in the Philippines were also vocal in their opposition to annexation. Throughout the course of the war, personal letters from soldiers fighting on the islands were published in magazines, newspapers, and even books. In many of these letters, soldiers expressed contempt for the Philippines and their country for sending them there. Because of the soldier's bitter views towards the war and annexation, the Anti-Imperialist League used these letters "as foundation in formulating a discourse that criticized the United States government's imperial pursuit" and as a means to alter public opinion.[67] In 1899, the Anti-Imperialist League even published a collection of these letters in a book called *Soldiers' Letters: Being Materials for the War of Criminal Aggression*. In these letters, some of the soldiers went further than just critiquing the war, questioning the righteousness of their country for sending them thousands of miles to subdue a people "fighting for a good cause."[68] General Reeve, Colonel of the Thirteenth Minnesota Regiment, declared that: "I deprecate this war, this slaughter of our own boys and of the Filipinos, because it seems to me that we are doing something that is contrary to our principles in the past."[69] When mentioning the Filipinos, a private in the Army stated that "I believe they should be accorded all the rights that we claim ourselves...I marched into the battle to make them free, not to make them subjects."[70]

Various newspapers and magazines also published letters from discontent and angry soldiers. On May 27, 1899, the *Literary Digest* published a collection of letters from soldiers fighting in the Philippines, several of which questioned American involvement. For example, Captain Gustave Schaaf solemnly stated that, "We enlisted in a war in the cause of humanity, or at least so we were led to believe. Now we are trying to take from a people what the American fore-fathers fought for-independence. Is this humanity?"[71] Another soldier, Thomas A. Williams of Wyoming Company, bluntly declared that, "Just as sure as we retain possession of an attempt to govern the Philippines, so sure will they prove a financial loss. If I was running matters here, I would say to Aguinaldo and his ignorant followers, 'Take your islands and welcome to them.' "[72] Captain C. P. Van Houten also highlighted that the annexation of the Philippines would not be financially viable. In his letter to the editor of the *State Democrat*, he proclaimed that, "The Philippine islands are rich, but not for the average American....The annexation of the Philippines will open no

[66] *The Statistical History of the United States: From Colonial Times to the Present,* 16-17.
[67] Rowena Quinto Bailon, "Battling Destiny: Soldier's Letters and the Anti-Colonial Discourse in the Philippine-American War" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Dallas, 2014).
[68] Anti-Imperialist League, *Soldiers' Letters: Being Materials for the War of Criminal Aggression* (Boston: The Anti-Imperialists League, 1899), 6.
[69] Anti-Imperialist League, *Soldiers' Letters*, 4.
[70] Anti-Imperialist League, *Soldiers' Letters*, 8.
[71] "Letters from Soldiers in the Philippines," *Literary Digest,* May 27, 1899, 601-603.
[72] "Letters from Soldiers in the Philippines," *Literary Digest, 601-603.*

new markets for American products."[73] Regardless of the reasons for discontentment, their letters convinced the anti-imperialists that their cause was just, and the subsequent publication of these letters led to more Americans questioning whether the conquest of the islands was worth the cost.[74]

Though not as common as letters denouncing the war, letters in which soldiers expressed support for American involvement in the Philippines were utilized by expansionists to combat the public's growing discontent with annexation. In one such letter, republished by the *New York Times* on May 19, 1899 from *The Sun*, First Sergeant Charles H. Burritt stated that he hoped the "foolish attack" on President McKinley and his Administration would end, going on to claim that the anti-imperialists back home were responsible for the deaths of American soldiers.[75] When referring to the anti-imperialists in one segment of his letter, Burritt wrote that, "'I don't like to call these fanatics by the ugly name of traitor, but when I think of the four brave boys of my company whose lives have been lost by this disloyalty in the United States, it is hard, indeed, to be charitable toward these men for their mistakes, if they are mistakes. The soldiers in this army call them crimes.'"[76] Referring to anti-imperialists as "traitors" became a popular tactic among expansionists in 1899 and 1900 to sway public opinion.[77] Expansionists tied support for the war and annexation with patriotism and claimed that those who did not support American involvement in the Philippines were disloyal.[78] "There was no difference, they declared, between advocacy of Aguinaldo's cause and enmity towards the American army, and enemies of the army were enemies of the nation," professed Richard E. Welch Jr. in *Response to Imperialism*.[79] These claims by the expansionists tarnished the public's image of the Anti-Imperialist League and, as Welch Jr. revealed, "It is probably also true that these accusations discouraged some Americans from formally joining the organization."[80] The threat of being called unpatriotic and disloyal made undecided citizens reluctant to support the anti-imperialists. Despite the increase of support for the anti-imperialists in 1899 and 1900, efforts by the expansionists to influence public opinion caused the majority of the public to support annexation.

The presidential election of 1900 was the culmination of the lengthy debate between the anti-imperialists and the expansionists. From the Republican Party, William McKinley ran for a second term as president while Theodore Roosevelt ran as his vice president.[81] McKinley was the one responsible for the United States acquiring the Philippines in the first place and Roosevelt was publicly known for being an ardent expansionist and

[73] C. P. Van Houten, letter to the editor, *State Democrat*, March 23, 1900, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.
[74] Bailon, 101-107.
[75] "Soldier's Letters," *New York Times*, May 19, 1899.
[76] "Soldier's Letters," *New York Times*.
[77] Kinzer, *Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire,* 185.
[78] Welch Jr., *Response to Imperialism,* 52-55.
[79] Welch Jr., *Response to Imperialism,* 52.
[80] Welch Jr., *Response to Imperialism,* 55.
[81] "Prosperity the Issue," *New York-Tribune*, July 1, 1900, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.

supporter of the military.[82] If these two men got voted into office, the public could expect the Philippine-American War to continue and the Philippine islands to remain in American possession.

William Jennings Bryan represented the Democratic Party in this election. While his nomination was controversial and many anti-imperialists would have preferred another candidate to run, Bryan was their best chance at gaining independence for the Filipinos.[83] Many anti-imperialists resented Bryan because he was the deciding vote for the Treaty of Paris in January of 1899, despite his track record of opposing imperialism.[84] Nonetheless, Bryan remained the best hope of the anti-imperialists to stop overseas expansion.[85]

With the expansionist McKinley and the anti-imperialist Bryan running for president in 1900, Bryan referred to imperialism as the "paramount issue" of the election.[86] Knowing that the result of the election would determine the country's Philippine policy, newspapers and citizens expressed their views on who should win the election and what was at stake. An article in the *Los Angeles Times* titled, "Voters, Save the Nation's Honor! Last Stage of the Great Battle," argued that it would be unwise to abandon the Philippines, and endorsed the Republican Party for "stand[ing] by" their promise to "restore order" and "give the [Filipino] people the blessings of American civilization."[87] In a letter to the editor of the *New York Times*, L.C. Jackson—a Republican—condemned McKinley and stated that he supported Bryan because his election would "lead the Nation back into the old paths of the Constitution, away from colonial expansion and away from military commercialism."[88] In another letter to the editor of the *New York Times*, one citizen stated that he could not vote for either candidate because he would not "choose between two evils."[89] This citizen, who referred to himself as "NO EVIL," stated that he was one of many voters who would not vote this election. Referring to the candidates, he stated that, "I will not stand sponsor for the election of a candidate who is simply eloquent and honest, nor for a politician who has trampled on the Constitution, reversed our traditions, involved us in an unholy war, and made our flag a mere politico-commercial asset."[90]

With expansion being the central issue of the 1900 election, citizens would reveal their stances on these issues with their votes. A vote for Bryan would mean that the anti-imperialists had successfully convinced the public that the annexation of the islands was a mistake and that America had no business acquiring overseas territories. It was commonly believed that if Bryan was elected, he would push for the independence of the Philippines.[91]

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[82] Roosevelt as an Expansionist," *New York Times*, October 17, 1898.
[83]William J. Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), 112-113.
[84] Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism*, 60-61, 113.
[85] Kinzer, *Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire,* 169-173.
[86] William Jennings Bryan, "Mr. Bryan's Letter of Acceptance," *New York Times*, September 18, 1900.
[87] "Voters, Save the Nation's Honor! Last Stage of the Great Battle," *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 1900.
[88] L. C. Jackson, letter to the editor, *New York Times*, August 14, 1900.
[89] NO EVIL, letter to the editor, *New York Times*, October 28, 1900.
[90] NO EVIL, letter to the editor, *New York Times*.
[91] Bryan, "Mr. Bryan's Letter of Acceptance," *New York Times*, September 18, 1900.

There were even reports that Emilio Aguinaldo and his insurgents were so strongly convinced that Bryan would grant them independence that they prayed for the success of the Democratic Party over the "imperialistic party."[92] By contrast, a vote for McKinley and Roosevelt would imply that the majority of Americans supported annexation and that the policy of expansion would continue.

The result of the election indicated that the anti-imperialists did not have the public on their side, as McKinley won both the electoral vote and the popular vote by landslide margins.[93] Furthermore, McKinley gained more votes in the 1900 election than he had received when he ran against Bryan in 1986.[94] Thus, while the anti-imperialists gained a larger following in the second phase of the annexation debate, the overall public still voted in favor of the policy.

Phase Three

After the election of 1900, the power and influence of the anti-imperialists quickly faded.[95] Suffering two major election defeats demoralized the anti-imperialists and made it apparent that they did not have the public on their side. The third phase of the debate on the annexation of the Philippines was from the end of the election of 1900 to the end of the Philippine-American War in July of 1902, but this was not fully realized until the public became aware of American atrocities in 1902.[96] Although reports of American soldiers committing heinous crimes like torture, rape, and murder in the Philippines reached the states as early as 1899, it was not until the winter and spring of 1902 that articles such as "Soldier's Cruelty" and "Cruelty in the Philippines" got published.[97] This belatedly granted anti-imperialists another brief period to criticize annexation, but they still failed to broaden their public outreach.

Expansionists effectively utilized the public's strong sense of patriotism and its respect for American soldiers to combat reports of crimes committed in the Philippines. Richard E. Welch Jr. reveals that, "The majority response of the American public to the Philippine-American War cannot be understood without an appreciation of the force of national honor and patriotic pride." Stephen Kinzer goes even further, arguing that, "News of the atrocities did not set off anti-war protests. In fact, it stirred patriotic backlash."[98] Republican newspapers rose to the defense of the accused soldiers by claiming that the soldiers had to resort to using brutal methods to fight the vicious savages of the

[92] "Major Gen. Otis's Report," *New York Times*, September 9, 1900.
[93] "Popular Vote for Presidential Electors," *New York Times*, December 21, 1900.
[94] "Popular Vote for Presidential Electors," *New York Times*.
[95] Beisner, *The Anti-Imperialists 1898-1900,* 215.
[96] Richard E. Welch Jr., "American Atrocities in the Philippines: The Indictment and the Response," *Pacific Historical Review* 43, no. 2 (May 1974): 234.
[97] "Soldiers' Cruelty," *Seattle Star*, February 19, 1902, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers; "Cruelty in the Philippines," *New York Times*, May 20, 1902.
[98] Kinzer, *Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire,* 222.

Philippines.[99] Murray Rawson Fonda, whose brother was stationed in the Philippines, used this line of defense when defending soldiers fighting in the Philippines in a letter he wrote to the editor of the *New York Times*.[100] In this letter, he urged the readers, "Let us not forget the tortures inflicted on our own sons and brothers by treacherous and heartless enemies...Let us remember that our soldiers are in the Philippines, as they have been in our own West, the advance guard of Anglo-Saxon civilization."[101] In the end, the anti-imperialists could not persuade the majority of their fellow countrymen to question their nation.

Nearly five decades after the debate over the annexation of the Philippines began, the Philippines finally gained their independence from the United States in 1946[102] Unscathed, the postwar imperial superpower of the United States would become involved in the affairs of nations in every major area of the world. However, America's metamorphosis into a world power and leader was not always guaranteed, for the year that the United States began its rise to power was also the year a segment of the population organized to limit their country's involvement in foreign affairs. The rise of the anti-imperialists in 1898 could have prevented expansion as the American public became caught in the middle of a fierce clash between the expansionists and anti-imperialists. It seems unlikely that the United States would have continued a policy of overseas expansion and intervention in other nation's affairs if the public did not approve of it, but the expansionists won the debate and the American public did come to support overseas imperialism.

The American public sided with the expansionists in supporting the annexation of the Philippines as demonstrated in this paper through an examination of newspapers, election results, and personal letters. Moreover, by emphasizing the importance of public opinion, this paper is an attempt to reveal possible alternative trajectories of American history had public opinion been swayed in the opposite direction. In the end, by condoning imperial expansion from 1898 to 1902, the American people helped shape the future of U.S. foreign policy in the twentieth century which paved the way for America to become an influential global superpower.

[99] Kinzer, *Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire,* 222-223.
[100] Murray Rawson Fonda, letter to the editor, *New York Times,* April 27, 1902.
[101] Fonda, letter to the editor, *New York Times,* April 27, 1902.
[102] "A Brief Look at Philippines," *Boston Globe*, August 23, 1983.

Native Bodies in Peril: Infrastructure, Race, and the Decolonization of Cuba, 1868-1898

Spencer Gomez

"*Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil [sic] it, or betray it.*"[1]

The nineteenth century continued the legacy of European colonialism prevalent since Christopher Columbus first set sail in the fifteenth century. From the start, Spanish colonialism began transforming foreign land and its native inhabitants into property to serve its overseas empire. Now under Bourbon absolutism, Cuba was no different. Industry leaders, creole farmers, and black slaves were locked into a caste system whose conventions innately limited the social mobility of distinct races.[2] Meanwhile, discontent creole and mestizo inhabitants in South America ousted the Spanish from the continent at various intervals during the 1820s.[3] However, Spanish imperialists remained unwilling to abandon their few remaining colonies: Puerto Rico, Guam, Cuba, and the Philippines.

Yet throughout the late-nineteenth century, Spanish officials were forced to send massive numbers of troops into the Atlantic to subdue national independence movements during the Ten Years' War (1868-1878), Little War (1879-1880), and Cuban War of Independence (1895-1898). As a result, Spanish forces simply exceeded the levels of previous violence as a final effort to crush movements of independence. Forcing locals into man-made structures, peasants felt the effects of starvation, torture, and neglect as the island transformed into a *prison* colony. This article seeks to understand institutionalized violence in colonial Cuba, through the lens of infrastructure, policy, and race. By deconstructing the Cuban Wars of Independence, the escalation of violence seen in the 1890s can be traced back to the late 1860s. Personal memoirs and legislative papers from Cuban, Spanish, and American sources highlight the totality of violence imposed on the local population.

Divided into four parts, this article provides a concentrated analysis of violence interwoven with governmental and racial motives. The theoretical approaches used consist

[1] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 167.
[2] Frank Fernandez, *Cuban Anarchism: The History of a Movement* (Tucson, AZ: See Sharp Press, 2001), 15.
[3] John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808-1826*, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1986), 336.

of three methods: postmodernism, postcolonialism, and theories of space. The first two portions detail how policy and novelty regarding fortified structures in colonial Cuba affected the colonizer and colonized. The application of Achille Mbembé's "Necropolitics" and Michel Foucault's *Discipline & Punish* provide a unique view of violence, establishing the transformation of people into objects or *bodies*. What happens afterward is "expressed predominantly as the right to kill" by those in power.[4]

The third portion hands agency back to Cuban fighters, bringing to light the connection between the Cuban narrative of the late-nineteenth century and Frantz Fanon's own work in Algeria decades later. The writings and lessons from *The Wretched of the Earth* serve as a template to explain lost agency in Cuba, providing a more complete account of "history from below." Reviel Netz's *Barbed Wire* aids in framing how environmental factors unconsciously play into our understanding of history. In general, the theory of space is applied throughout this article to analyze how incredibly intrusive and cruel the process of decolonization was. The last section questions the importance of American intervention, racism, and the memory of the Cuban fighters. Ultimately, Foucault and Mbembé's work on the subaltern and bio -and necropolitics are heavily relied upon to build a robust history of Trans-Atlantic violence.

"Invented" by the West, Cuba did not exist in a vacuum throughout its pre-Western existence, having already been settled by two distinct tribes. The Ciboney and Taínos were, however, wiped out by European illnesses, harsh labor camps, or displaced by creole farmers; reorganizing the island into the economic powerhouse needed by the Spanish Empire to compete with French colonialism, mainly Saint-Domingue, or Haiti.[5]

By the early-nineteenth century bankruptcy frightened Spanish officials as the French-controlled Haiti won its independence through violent means. This fear stemmed from the slave labor they desperately needed in order to keep the sugar plantations running. The process of artificially constructing a population on the island required strict distinctions among them. Geographically, officials separated the island into the following provinces: Pinar dél Rio, Havana, Matanzas, Las Villas, Camaguey, and Oriente.[6] By dividing the land into provinces, it set up a system that benefited large plantations in the west while maintaining poorer provinces in the east. Following Mbembé's work on *necropolitics*, the Spanish atrocities can therefore describe "politics [as] the work of death."[7]

As early as the Ten Year's War (1868-1878), *space* ceased to exist in the traditional sense – those of fixed structures. The politics of space, or the occupation of space refers to the process that humans engage in to change their terrain. This can take different forms, usually in an attempt to limit or to prevent the motion of animals and humans.[8] In this respect,

[4] Achille Mbembé, "Necropolitics," in *Public Cultures* 15, no. 1 (2003): 16.
[5] Ada Ferrera, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 12.
[6] Delgado Octavio, *The Spanish Army in Cuba, 1869-1898: An Institutional Study* (PhD Dissertation, 1980), ii. Map of Cuba.
[7] Mbembé, "Necropolitics", 7.
[8] Reviel Netz, *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University

the creation of plantations brought about the visual representation of race, with the creole elites on top of the hierarchy and their black slaves at the bottom.[9] As long as this representation remained intact, the racial divide would continue. Conversely, the emancipation of slavery within the Spanish Empire caused major discontent among white farmers; without the support of the creole elites, unity throughout the island proved untenable.

By 1895, the expectation of pacifying the Cuban resistance had ended. If the Pact of Zanjón (1878), a peace treaty signed after the Ten Years' War between Cuban fighters and Spanish officials, did not produce an easy transition back to colonialism, then the brutality would only serve as a springboard towards decolonization. The Spanish Empire, through no fault other than its own, suffered the consequences of corruption and nepotism within its government.[10] This ultimately paved the way for U.S. forces in 1898 to take over Spain's few remaining colonies. In a global context, centuries of brutality amassed great public attention in America centered around the conditions Cubans were forced into, while indirectly providing Spain with their structures of death.

On June 14, 1897, Eva Canel, a Spanish writer and journalist, embarked on a voyage that would take her from Cienfuegos to San Fernando in hopes of catching a glimpse of *la trocha* (fortified line). During the Cuban War of Independence, Canel marveled at the opportunity to see a mysterious and novel display of Spanish colonialism. She shouted, "¡La Trocha!" displaying a fascination with something never before seen.[11] Shortly after, the text continues:

> Nuestra salvacion estaba en la trocha. Si Eva iba allí no se aburriría de seguro. . . Pero [ella] se enamora facilmente de todo lo que significa *algo* no común; de todo lo que es original; de todo lo que revela actividad, y principalmente de todo lo que es estudiar á nuestra España militar, esa fase hermosísima de una patria, tan grande, tan heróica y tan adelantada [Our salvation was in the fortified line. If Eva goes there, she will not be bored… But [she] falls in love easily with everything that is not common. Everything that is original, active, and principally everything that [represents] our Spanish military. That beautiful face of [our] homeland, so big, so heroic, and so ahead (of its time).][12]

These words provide an insight into coloniality and the links between infrastructure and race.[13] The fortified line meant something special: it signaled the progression of biopolitics

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Press, 2004), 156.

[9] Fernandez, *Cuban Anarchism*, 15.

[10] Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, 7-24.

[11] Eva Canel, *Álbum de la Trocha: breve reseña de una excursión feliz desde Cienfuegos a San Fernando recorriendo la línea militar por cuatro periodistas* (Habana: Ruiz y Hermano, 1897), 8.

[6] Canel, *Álbum de la Trocha,* 8.

[13] Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), xiii. As theorist Walter Mignolo expresses, modernity cannot exist without coloniality, because coloniality is constitutive of modernity.

in Cuba. By occupying and dividing the land, Spaniards were free to move from one portion of the island to the next. As Canel joined the *Purísima Concepcion* to travel to Jucaro, the island's inhabitants had already experienced thirty years of violence. The text follows, "la trocha era el objectivo de nuestro viaje, estudiarla y verla a nuestros deseos" [the fortified line was the objective of our voyage, to study and see it at our leisure] and proceeds to explain the excitement passengers felt when they arrived at their destination, *la trocha*.[14]

By the time Canel made it to Jucaro in 1897, the Grito de Baire (1895) had already reignited the revolutionary spirit, signaling a renewed war effort for independence. This time, the multi-racial forces of Cuban fighters, *mambises*, united to expel colonial forces that had occupied, divided, and exploited the island for over 400 years. Success was not inherently guaranteed as two previous campaigns against the Spanish between 1868-1878 and 1879-1880 had failed miserably. Cuban natives, already victims of circumstance, were fighting for their sovereignty, both physically and mentally against an enemy that held violence as tool of novelty.

During the late-nineteenth century, the Spanish Empire could no longer afford to lose any more colonies, especially one as profitable as Cuba. For this reason, General Valeriano Weyler, a veteran of multiple military campaigns returned to the island seeking to bring the colonial wars to a conclusion.[15] Nicknamed the "Butcher," his reputation for violence extended towards the island inhabitants; and by 1896, his brutality became the preferred method used in response to resistance. Involved in what Achilles Mbembé calls *necropolitics*, Spanish officials on the island took it upon themselves to determine who lived or died.[16] Given sole authority to do as he saw fit, General Weyler's attitudes and actions towards Cuban insurgents eased loyalist sentiments who viewed the General as their savior. By his own admission, relocating the peasantry and isolating them in Spanish towns were keys to winning the war.[17]

Included in his autobiography, General Weyler's policy of relocation demonstrates the forceful nature of warfare. Officially signed on October 21, 1896, the same year of his arrival, Weyler's five orders detail the manner in which the *reconcentrado* policy was to be conducted. The first of these orders specifically targeted the native Cuban peasantry:

> Todos los habitants en los campos ó fuera de la linea de fortificación de los pobaldos, se reconcentrarán en el término de ocho días en los pueblos ocupados por las tropas. Será considerado rebelde y juzgado como tal, todo individuo que trascurrido es plazo se encuentre en despoblado [All inhabitants in the countryside or outside the towns of the fortified line will be concentrated by the end of eight days into the towns

[14] Canel, *Álbum de la Trocha,* 23-24.
[15] General Weyler had been deployed in Cuba, the Philippines, and Barcelona prior to his return to Cuba on 1896.
[16] Achille Mbembé, "Necropolitics," 8.
[17] John Lawrence Tone, *War and Genocide in Cuba, 1895-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 158.

> occupied by the troops. You will be considered a rebel and judged as such. All individuals who [ignore this] is subject to be deserted].[18]

His ban highlighted the forced movement of individuals into approved Spanish towns. Through the use of infrastructure, such as *la trocha*, forts, railroads, and barbed wire, General Weyler set out to destroy the peasantry in order to win the war. The process of grouping, while not new to colonialism, was accelerated. By controlling the distribution of humans into groups and the biological divide between them, Weyler wielded the power to kill and forcibly relocate Spanish subjects.[19] Here, his authoritative power connects the essential element of *necropolitics* – the control over sovereignty — to the application of violence.

Although he officially instituted his ban on the island in 1896, isolating the peasantry had been a standard practice. As Philip Foner describes, only much later in the war did Spanish troops discontinue their practice of indiscriminate terrorism throughout the island. Over time troops were assigned to smaller units in hopes of finding rebel groups without giving away their location, basically pushing the rebels closer to the fortified positions and away from their base, the peasantry. [20] The use of institutional violence on the countryside, provided by the *bando,* enabled Spanish troops and officials to carry out racial crimes in the name of policy decisions. For officials, the distinctions between "groups" of people were already in place prior to the reconcentration policy of General Weyler.

From the *Grito de Yara* (1868) to the end of the Spanish-American War, field commanders exceeded the levels of violence already in place by manipulating the geographical features of the island to suit their needs. For example, the fortified lines between Jucaro to Morón and Mariel to Majana served as physical barriers between the Cuban insurgency and the Spanish military. Its "official" objective was to isolate the western portion of the island from rebel assaults, preventing further attacks on its rich sugar and tobacco plantations. Measuring 95 km, *la trocha* traversed the northern portion of Morón to southern Jucaro, providing physical evidence for enclosure.[21] Richard H. Davis, an American journalist who traveled to Cuba in 1897 provides intimate context regarding infrastructure within the island before American intervention. He describes how:

> every sheet of armor plate, every corrugated zinc roof, every roll of barbed wire, every plank, beam, rafter and girder, even the nails that hold the planks together, the forts themselves, shipped in sections, which are numbered in readiness for setting

[18] Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, *Mi Mando en Cuba*, vol. II (Madrid: F. Gonzalez Rojas, 1910), 427-428. The full reconcentration policy is provided within the five-volume set, along with the memoirs of his campaigns.
[19] Referring to Michel Foucault and Achille Mbembé's work on bio- and necropolitics. See also Michele Foucault, *Il faut defender la société: Cours au Collége de France, 1975-1976* (Patis: Seuil, 1997).
[20] Philip S. Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), 78.
[21] Octavio, *The Spanish Army in Cuba,* 107.

> up, the ties for the military railroads which clings to the *trocha* from one sea to the other – all of these have been supplied by manufacturers in the United States.[22]

From his description, the material make-up of these structures was shipped in to set up military positions against the Cuban insurgents.

This documentary evidence also brings to light the use of barbed wire as a tool of death. Davis goes on to say, "between the fallen trees lies the single track of the military railroad, and on the one side is the line of forts and a few feet beyond them a maze of barbed wire."[23] His writings speak volumes on how the West viewed natives. As Mbembé claims, "savage life is just another animal life," whereby displaying the dehumanizing feature of colonialism.[24] *La trocha* created a separation from the natives, closely associated to animals and nature. By separating the island into distinct halves, it symbolized an attempt to separate pre-colonial savagery from Spanish progress.

In *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity*, Reviel Netz points out that "the concentration camp system was a recapitulation of the animal industry, now as a human industry."[25] Barbed wire served the function of containing animals, but in this instance provided comparable results on humans. With the construction of the fortified line and forts, the process of moving the Cuban peasantry into structures was established and pushed to its limits. To control humans on a mass scale, it required Spanish officials to forcibly remove peasant farmers from their land. Without the means to take care of their families and livestock, the individual transforms into a native body without meaning.[26] As a result: human beings become *bodies*, not dissimilar to how humans view animals.

In *Discipline & Punish,* Foucault points out that punishment originally served as a release valve for the masses; with the construction of prisons, humans were put to work with no means of salvation.[27] From 1868 to 1898, the Cuban identity became unfixed, transformed into *bodies* that could be reallocated and rendered useless. When left with no other choice, colonialism's original purpose of generating wealth for the empire shifted to genocide and mass relocation. In other words, Cuba had effectively been transformed into a prison colony under the surveillance of the Panopticon.[28]

Foucault proposes three main principles in relation to discipline: the first regarding docile bodies, the means of corrective training, and lastly, Panopticism.[29] All three took on a bizarrely new meaning in Cuba, creating a multi-layered structure of violence separate from wealth production. Generally speaking, discipline requires the enclosure of

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[22] Richard H. Davis, *Cuba in War Time* (New York: R.H. Russell, 1897), 78.
[23] Davis, *Cuba in War Time,* 91.
[24] Achille Mbembé, "Necropolitics," 15. Also see Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1948) for a future glimpse of concentration camps during the twentieth century.
[25] Reviel Netz, *Barbed Wire*, 92.
[26] Membé, "Necropolitics," 21.
[27] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, Random House, 1975), 136.
[28] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* 136.
[29] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* 205-209.

individuals, preventing the free movement outside the power group. In this instance, the power group refers to Spanish troops and officials, therefore relegating anyone else as powerless. The geographical isolation that Cuban inhabitants were born into formed the first level of enclosure mentioned previously. Spanish officials further exceeded this concept by dividing land into distinct provinces, which facilitated the division of 'in-groups'.[30] Their willingness to trap the peasantry wherever they were located produced a further layering of containment. Here, military forts and fences represented a physical barrier of enclosure, as well as a theoretical multi-layered system.

By bastardizing their original colonial purpose focused on wealth for the *madre patria* (motherland), Spanish officials effectively rendered peasants homeless. Demonstrating the parallels between colonial Mexico and Cuba, Daniel Nesmer's *Infrastructure of Race* helps elucidate the process of *premature* death as, "a slow death that adds up over time."[31] Personal memoirs from Spanish soldiers, such as Josep Conangla recount the events witnessed during his deployment in Cuba. Conangla's poem, *The Red Mass*, provides evidence of the horrendous treatment of the Cuban peasantry. Requesting to see the conditions of the native inhabitants firsthand, Conangla is stunned and horrified by the piling up of human beings; he likens these events to a scene out of Dante's *Inferno*. Witness to these events, he writes:

> To the right of the holy celebrant
> three lines of barracks stand.
> there, beyond the silent town
> the *reconcentrated* woeful dwell.
>
> With poor beasts thrown together,
> women and children cluster round,
> remnants of families an angry
> tyrant drove from neighboring land.
>
> …Then the swarm of skeletons
> in a band flew through the air,
> and from on high let fade
> their baleful screams of impious revenge.
>
> …so that, from atop a fort, I spied
> the red and yellow flag of Spain,
> whose folds appeared to melt
> drop by drop, with blood![32]

[30] Mbembé, "Necropolitics," 8.
[31] Daniel Nesmer, *Infrastructure of Race* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 12.
[32] Josep Conangla, *Memoir of My Youth in Cuba: A Soldier in the Spanish Army During the*

While Conangla compels his readers to feel a sense of shame, he nonetheless perpetuates the same cycle he criticizes. Emphatically comparing women and children to "poor beasts thrown together," he nonetheless projects his personal bias on the natives as savages.

Arrested and accused of treason for speaking out against General Weyler, Manuel Ciges Aparicio wrote about the violence perpetrated against the Cuban population. His memoirs reaffirm the writings of Josep Conangla through its vivid descriptions. When walking across the town of Mariel, Ciges equates the silence in the town to a cemetery. No voices or sounds were heard, until he "saw a jumble of rags, skin, and bones: men, women, and children; white and blacks; the living and the dead."[33] Driven into designated barracks without proper necessities or utilities, Ciges provides intense details on the willful neglect and abuse of power. "There was no medicine, food, or provision for the hygiene in that place . . . They were all condemned to perish in a short while, their lives extinguished by yellow fever . . .!"[34] The imagery Ciges exposes illustrates the asymmetrical power dynamic Spanish forces unleashed on Cuban inhabitants. In both Conangla and Ciges's memoirs, the connection between contemporary events and Dante's *Inferno* is raised; thus, highlighting the similarities between Cuba and Hell during the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

Intercepted in transit to a Parisian newspaper, Ciges's arrest in 1897 helps contextualize the brutality Spaniards were engaging in through policy decisions.[35] In his letter, he denounces the reconcentration policy, specifically the involvement of enclosure and punishment of the native peasantry. He criticizes General Weyler's success at crushing the insurrection in the hills, stating that "the noisy press and unthinking patriots will answer, 'Yes,'", but interjects that "good sense will say, 'No."[36] Also examined within Ciges's memoirs is the destruction of space, stating that "[Weyler] has taken great pains to destroy the cattle and plantations in his passage from the *trocha* to prevent rebel forces from the eastern part of the island from reaching the western part."[37] Indeed, Ciges suggests how the reorganization of the land also meant the destruction of the countryside. For the Spanish, land would not be a barrier for defensive position for guerilla forces. In both Spanish memoirs, the authors saw firsthand the devastation wreaked on humans, animals, and the ecology of Cuba.

In *The Fire*, a poem written after *The Red Mass*, Conangla points out the actions of Spanish troops in the countryside that resulted in the burning of rural houses. Describing the valley of Bainoa, the hilly country of Matanzas, and the plains and mountains of Jaruco, he divulges where the Spanish forces were concentrated. In this poem, Conangla

Separatist War, 1895-1898 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2017), 57. The original poem in Catalan is located within his book *Elegía de la guerra*.

[33] Manuel Ciges Aparicio, *On Captivity: A Spanish Soldier's Experience in a Havana Prison, 1896-1898* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012), 21.

[34] Ciges, *On Captivity,* 22.

[35] Ciges, *On Captivity,* 210. The intercepted letter can be found within the Appendix.

[36] Ciges, *On Captivity,* 207.

[37] Ciges, *On Captivity* , 209.

strengthens the connection between the brutality in Cuba to biblical representations of Hell:

> Down below, around
> the church and its tower,
> the poor dwellings
> in the frightened town huddle together.
>
> Round about the bells in silence,
> our faces seem inflamed by
> the red glow of the fire
> they contemplate.
>
> …Not Satan in the Bible, from his throne,
> presiding amongst demons over the punishment
> of the miserable damned – as the agitated mind
> supposes – shows the hatred
> of the destructive demon of war,
> when it lets loose upon the world
> floods of misery and vengeance.[38]

The author's personal experience brings new meaning to his poems, as these vivid representations prove how brutal war had engulfed Cuban life. He discusses the "poor dwellings" huddling together in fright while Spanish forces burn the countryside. The poor dwellings clearly represent the peasants, trapped in their homes before meeting their death. As the poem continues, Conangla uses religious symbolism to uncover the situation found on the island. In particular, the "demon of war" is a hellish manifestation of the Spanish soldier whose violence far exceeds those of Satan himself. By bringing the war to the countryside and dismissing village life, Spanish forces imposed the reconcentration policy to completion.

This evidence verifies a direct connection between infrastructure and violence, resulting in the premature death of the Cuban peasantry. Colonization from the fourteenth century onward provided Spaniards with a false sense of authority over the land, people, and ecology.[39] Officially fighting against Cuban Independence fighters, the Spanish government's inability to determine friend from foe led them to conduct massive atrocities throughout the island. Once again, Cuba served as a prison colony for the Spanish with colonial forces doubling down on violence as a means to an end. The Ten Years' War proved itself to be a long and painful occurrence, but an important precursor for decolonization.

[38] Conangla, *Memoirs of My Youth in Cuba*, 64.
[39] Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race*, 26.

The tendency of Spanish imperialists to reduce the Cuban insurgency to its peasantry base resulted in everyone becoming an enemy. When emancipation took effect and creole leaders rebelled in 1868, the Spanish responded like any other imperial power. As seen in Ciges and Conangla's accounts, the countryside experienced massive destruction that ultimately forced Cuban peasants to engage in guerilla warfare. A powerful creole leader during the Ten Years' War, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes began enticing other creole leaders into joining him against the emancipation of slavery and Spanish rule. But as violence grew, Céspedes began seeking out slave assistance in effort to bridge the racial divide. While unsuccessful between 1868-1878, this campaign built the necessary leadership for future wars of independence. Furthermore, the message of anti-slavery shifted into total war against Spanish imperialism as brutality towards Cuban inhabitants increased. By the 1860s, elite Cubans saw little hope in maintaining a Spanish alliance when violence only resulted in the death of men, women, and children – no matter the race.

As historian Jose Abreu discovers, the presence of black and mixed children was always constant, revealing how resistance in segmented towns meant the inclusion of families and children into these conflicts.[40] Cuban General Calixto García Iñiguez adds substantial insight into the conscious decisions of Spanish forces. In a letter written February 8, 1871 General Garcia writes, "[Ellos] sueña con el exterminio de todos los cubanos, no deteniéndole para conseguirlo ni la sangre de los niños, ni las lágrimas de las madres, ni las canas del anciano" [[They] dream of the extermination of all Cubans. [Showing] no restraint even for children, women, and the elderly].[41] Put simply, Spanish brutality on Cuban families actually united multi-racial forces in a broader context, aimed at decolonization.

In an autobiographical account of a Cuban freedom fighter, Manuel Piedra Martel describes his first thirty years of life, covering the issues of race, space, and independence from the 1860s to 1890s. Piedra's memories reflect what he had remembered as a child during the Ten Years' War. Even after the start of the first war, Piedra suggests that race lay underneath everything. He writes:

> mi padrastro se habia negado siempre a auxiliary la Revolución, en cualquiera forma que se le piediera . . . El, como aquellos otros, consideraba el derecho a la propiedad de sus negros esclavos tan legitimo como el que tenia sobre sus bovinos y sus equinos [my stepfather had always declined to help the revolution in whatever form asked of him . . . He, like the others, considered the right to his property of black slaves as legitimate as [the right] to his cattle and horses].[42]

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[40] Jose Abreu Cardet, "Los pequeños insurrectos: Niños, familia y guerra en Cuba (1868-1878)," *Caribbean Studies 40*, no.1 (2012), 101-104. His original words, "La guerra de 1868 se convirtió en una resistencia de un segment de la población cubana. Dentro de los presupuestos de esa resistencia estaba la familia, y como parte de ella los ninos."

[41] Calixto Garcia Iniguez, *Palabras de Tres Guerras* (Habana: Instituto Civico Militar, 1942), 32.

[42] Manuel Piedra Martel, *Mis Primeros Treinta Años: Memorias, Infancia y Adolescencia – La Guerra de Independencia* (Habana: Editorial Minerva, 1943), 25.

This passage reveals the importance of race in creole society even under Spanish rule with white Cubans unconvinced of independence early on. However, as the revolution progressed, Spanish imperialist continued following nineteenth century standards. By the 1870s, violence forced families, both creole and black, to stick together in the countryside. Abreu considers the possibility that the Spaniards inflicted brutal acts on women and children due to their strong family bonds in an attempt to lower their morale.[43] Moreover, policy provided the perfect façade to apply brutal tactics on the countryside within a thirty-year period, culminating in what Nesmer frequently calls the "politics of space."[44]

Building on Weyler, Ciges, and Conangla's memoirs, the movement of peasants from the countryside to Spanish zones resulted in the *premature* death of local inhabitants. As General Weyler's ban emphasized in 1896, this meant the dispossession of food, crops, and livestock. His third rule proclaimed, "los duenos de reses deberán conducirlas á los pueblos ó sus immediaciones, para lo cual se les dará la protección conveniente [the owners of livestock should move them into designated towns or vicinity, by which they will be given protection], but as prior evidence suggests, this order proves ineffective and damaging to Cuban farmers.[45] More precisely, those that gave up their bodies to the Spanish were stockpiled in infrastructure only available in designated towns. The politics of space, more often than not, included the reimagining of landscape and the processes of reorganization on the terrain to better dominate colonial subjects.[46]

While Mbembé details the symbolic transformation of the body, scientific and medical research can help contextualize the conditions of war from 1868 onward. Along with Conangla's writings on inefficient medical conditions, historian John Tone contributes further to this discussion on diseases, particularly yellow fever. According to Tone, "insurgent's avoided contact with Spanish field armies, wisely choosing instead to torch crops, blow up trains and buildings [to] punish Cuban collaborators, and snipe at Spanish troops."[47] By destroying Spanish infrastructure, Cuban insurgents reversed the cycle of violence upon the Spanish "body." Tone explains that 93 percent of Spanish deaths occurred from disease, with 37 percent coming from yellow fever.[48] Without general knowledge regarding microbes or germ theory, Cuban forces put the Spanish body in a vulnerable position that ultimately determined the direction of the war.

Along with diseases, the deconcentration of the countryside by Cuban insurgents highlights the local response to policy. Cuban leaders proceeded by engaging in the same *necropolitical* actions taken by the colonizers, thus reversing the cycle of violence. As Richard Davis writes, "from a military point of view the *trocha* impressed me as a weapon which could be made to cut both ways . . . If the *trocha* at Moron is ever attacked in force it will

[43] Abreu, "Los pequeños insurrectos," 114.
[44] Nesmer, *Infrastructures of Race*, 4.
[45] Weyler, *Mi mando en Cuba*, 428.
[46] Nesmer, *Infrastructures of Race*, 4-6; Tone, *War and Genocide*, 193.
[47] John Lawrence Tone, "How the Mosquito (Man) Liberated Cuba" in *Caribbean Studies*, vol. 40 (2012), 280.
[48] Tone, "How the Mosquito (Man) Liberated Cuba," 283.

prove to be a Valley of Death to the Spanish troops."[49] This presents a fatal picture for Spanish troops and a precursor to actual events that led up to 1898.

Ricardo Batrell, an Afro-Cuban inhabitant who joined the insurgency in 1895, details the intentional destruction on the countryside during the battles against Spanish forces. He writes, "during the attack, we had to set the cane fields on fire, because the smoke kept the enemy from seeing us clearly," demonstrating the methods Cubans took to maintain their sovereignty once in jeopardy.[50] The destruction of farms and crops became a deliberate guerilla tactic used to dissuade Spanish forces from entering the Cuban countryside. Batrell's memoirs present a clear depiction of native Cubans; from former slaves turned freedom fighters, their voices help examine different forms of symbolism during decolonization.

Without the means to produce fortified fences, forts, or weapons, natives implemented their own version of resistance. For fighters, the machete became the principal means of violence. As one participant states, "I had everything I needed to go to war. I have no fire-arms, but a machete was enough for those days."[51] Rebel leaders, such as Antonio Maceo and Maximo Gomez instructed their troops to use any weapon in possession to decolonize the island. For the Spanish, the machete symbolized a brutal and savage way of combat unsuitable for civilized man.[52]

On the topic of violence, Fanon's postcolonial work offers a parallel example of liberation in the colonized world. In *The Wretched of the Earth,* violence is presented as the sole means in which the oppressed can separate themselves from the oppressor.[53] Fanon adds, "the native must realize that colonialism never gives anything away for nothing. Whatever the native may gain through political or armed struggle is not the result of the kindliness or good will of the settler; it simply shows that he cannot pull off granting concessions any longer."[54] In Cuba, rebel fighters like Esteban Montejo faced a similar process of fighting colonization half a century earlier. During this struggle, Montejo comments "the Spaniards were shit scared of machetes, though they didn't mind rifles" and later stating how "they (the Spanish) thought war was a game."[55] The machete became the symbol of savagery that the colonizing forces were not prepared for. Usually illiterate and willing to join the armed resistance, black ex-slaves found it in their best interest to unite with local guerilla groups and enact their version of deconcentration.[56]

No matter the realities of war, Spanish colonialists manipulated the narrative that transpired. Viewed as an island full of savages, the war had been seen in a colonial context, between civilized and uncivilized man rather than a movement for liberation. Unlike the

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[49] Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, 99-100.
[50] Ricardo Batrell, *Black Soldiers Story: The Narrative of Ricardo Batrell and the Cuban War of Independence*, 8.
[51] Esteban Montejo, *The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 175.
[52] Montejo, *Runaway Slave,* 175.
[53] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 73.
[54] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 113.
[55] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 179-181.
[56] Montejo, *The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave*, 186-190.

wars of independence in South America, whose population differed between whites, Indians, and blacks, Cuba lacked that semblance of the populace.[57] South American leaders, such as Simon Bolivar, were able to gather the people throughout the continent and build a unified identity through miscegenation.[58] Cuba, having eliminated their Indian population, formed a recognizable caste system between creole whites, slave black, and a growing mulatto population. As Ada Ferrera notes, "the distinction is a meaningful one . . . the nation was imagined not as a result of physical or cultural union [but] as the product of a revolutionary cross-racial alliance" later adding "a formulation that ostensibly acknowledged the political actions of nonwhite men and therefore carried with it powerful implications for racial and national politics in the peace and republic to follow anticolonial insurgency."[59]

It is important to acknowledge and differentiate the narratives produced by both the colonizer and colonized. Piedra, now in his early adulthood, writes about the fighting he endured as soldier. He says:

> la linea Mariel-Majana, o trocha de Mariel a Manjana, como de un valladar formidable, que habria de encerrar las partidas insurrectas que se encontraban del lado occidental de la misma, impidiéndoles toda comunicacion y contacto con las que operaban del lado oriental [the line of Mariel to Majana, or fortified line of Mariel to Manjana, a formidable obstacle meant to enclose the insurgent parts who were found on the western side, stopping all communication and contact with the operation on the eastern side].[60]

Using Piedra's words as evidence, he counters the narrative of the colonizers. While race played a significant factor between 1868-1878, it mattered much less during the subsequent wars. Furthermore, he identifies the fortified line between Mariel to Majana described by Ciges earlier. This collaboration amongst sources implies the movement of fighting on the island towards the western portion into Spanish plantations and sugar cane fields by a multi-racial force fighting. The *mambises* accomplished their primary goal of blocking the Spanish towns from the wealth of the country as American forces intervened.[61]

In a legislative document published in 1896, the United States recognized the Cuban independence movement. This document states, "as we officially know, [Cubans] have organized, equipped, and maintained in the field, sufficient forces to baffle the exertions of 200,000 Spanish soldiers."[62] First trying diplomatically to purchase Cuba from Spain, these

[57] Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, 20-21. Lynch describes the treatment of Indian and Negro slaves on the American continent prior to South American revolutions, including the social limits of these outcaste groups and the origins of their names.
[58] Ferrera, *Insurgent Cuba*, 14; Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, 25.
[59] Ferrera, *Insurgent Cuba,* 14.
[60] Piedra, *Mis treinta primeros años*, 307.
[61] Tone, *War and Genocide in Cuba*, 200.
[62] U.S. Congress, "Recognition of Cuban Independence," (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1896), 24.

attempts proved fruitless as Cuban liberation forces interjected their plans into the imperial discussion. Realizing their limited timeframe to enter Cuba, American politicians quickly worked to diplomatically bypass any illegal actions by reverting back to the Monroe doctrine.[63] This 1822 doctrine broke the chain of European expansion in the Western hemisphere by instituting a clear message of retaliation. With only the exiled Cuban government to communicate with, American politicians felt they were hearing the voice of the people. The document continues, "there is no reason to suppose that any portion of the Cuban people would be dissatisfied by our recognizing their representative in this country."[64]

As news of the *Maine* reached the United States, newspaper outlets, such as *World* and *Journal* provided enough biased coverage to break any logjam in Congress over Cuban intervention.[65] American journalist Davis also falls victim to this tendency throughout his travels, interpreting how the Spanish viewed the United States. His comments reflect a dismissive position towards Spanish retaliation: "The United States is rather a large mouthful even without the insurgents who taken alone seem to have given the lion some pangs of indigestion."[66] His disregard for the Spanish, coupled with yellow journalism in America ultimately "gave readers a clue on what to think."[67]

The arrival of American troops on the eastern portion of the island raises questions regarding how essential U.S. intervention actually was. When Montejo arrived in Havana, the rumors of armistice between Spain and the US were complete. In his memoirs, Montejo continuously remarks on the lost opportunity the native inhabitants had in gaining full independence instead of accepting American quasi-rule. He addresses American racism further, claiming that "the people of Havana seem to have thought the Americans were coming there for fun, but then they realized their mistake, that all they wanted was the biggest slice of the cake."[68]

Using policy to disguise their racial motives, American troops demonstrated a similar approach to Spanish forces in Cuba decades prior. In the most perverse way, the imperial practice of using infrastructure to concentrate *savages* into localized areas were effectively reused in the Philippines shortly after the Spanish-American War by American forces.[69]

When analyzing the implementation of institutional violence in the form of infrastructure, it is important to view it as an asymmetrical power relationship. In Cuba, the colonized fought to protect their families while facing physical limitations almost identical to what Fanon proposes. Isolated geographically, the multi-layered system of enclosure produced new and novel ways in which Spanish forces tormented their colonial subjects. Canel and

[63] U.S. Congress, "Recognition of Cuban Independence," 25.
[64] U.S. Congress, "Recognition of Cuban Independence," 24.
[65] Tone, *War and Genocide*, 241.
[66] Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, 99.
[67] Tone, *War and Genocide*, 241.
[68] Montejo, *The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave*, 215.
[69] See Victor Román Mendoza, *Metroimperial Intimacies: Fantasy, Racial-Sexual Governance, and the Philippines in U.S. Imperialism, 1899-1913* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015) for more insight into American oppression after the departure of Spanish colonists.

Weyler's reports help see at face value the extreme perverse uses of violence, while Conangla and Ciges's memoirs depict the horrors left behind when *necropolitics* is implemented. Through the various theoretical applications, violence and race can then be deconstructed layer by layer to include the voices from those who did not leave any written record behind.

As a global phenomenon, imperialism dwindled with the emergence of nationalism in all parts of the colonial world. *La trocha* and other physical barriers proved unsuccessful, but the direct experimentation of Spanish authority over native *bodies* can thus be viewed as a precursor for concentration camps in the twentieth century. The legacy of violence imposed on the population presented a major obstacle in Cuba moving forward. With death count figures reaching over 100,000, these events provide lasting details regarding the excesses of institutionalized violence in non-white colonies.[70] Unfortunately, this nineteenth century transatlantic war has often been viewed as an American story first, Spanish second, and Cuban third. But as Montejo and Batrell have explained, solely after Cuban forces significantly diminished the Spanish did intervention occur. Only through a global perspective can evidence surface in hopes of providing clear and accurate placement of agency throughout Cuba between 1868-1898.

[70] Tone, *War and Genocide*, 193.

Religious Assimilation and Adaptation in Ptolemaic Egypt

Michael Steele

Abstract: The religious exchanges that took place between Mediterranean cultures such as Ancient Greece and Egypt are among the most interesting in history. Aside from cultural similarities that enabled them to exchange and assimilate each other's religious beliefs and deities, it also enabled the creation of entirely new beliefs and deities that bear a resemblance to both cultures. The adoption of the Egyptian goddess Isis, and the creation of Graeco-Egyptian god Serapis serve as examples of this religious assimilation and adaptation, particularly during the time of Macedonian conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, and later during the Ptolemaic rule over Egypt.

Few institutions have been implemented as widely and used in more varied ways than cults and religions. Whether it is politics, culture, or architecture; religion has informed them all. While it may be easy to understand how a religious system finds a place in its country of origin, it is not always clear how a religious system can find an audience among those foreign to its point of origin. Yet this is what transpired in the interactions between Ptolemaic Egypt, and Greece. Each culture was unique enough to form its own religious beliefs, traditions, and institutions. At the same time, each culture was also close enough to the other that a cultural and by extension, religious blending and adoption was possible. Egypt was the root of many different cults and religious beliefs that went on to find large audiences around the Mediterranean. But how was this kind of blending and assimilation possible? Societal elements like politics, culture, and the malleable nature of polytheism itself proved to be some of the most important catalysts for religious exchange and adoption. As more cultural bridges began to be built between Egypt and the rest of the Mediterranean, the more opportunities developed for Egyptian ideas and beliefs such as the cults of Sarapis, Isis, or Zeus-Ammon to develop and to spread into the surrounding civilizations of the Mediterranean.

It is often difficult to understand the nature of religion in a polytheistic society, as it pertains to a mindset guided by monotheistic thinking. Indeed, the term "religion" itself may be an incorrect description of spiritual activities that took place in Egypt at this time. The task of defining what transpired in the era of antiquity is made more difficult by the fact that it is impossible to replicate the thought process of the participants of this time as highlighted by Siegfried Morenz in his book *Egyptian Religion* "we do not have enough facts about the divine cult, as distinct from the mortuary service. In the period before the

discovery of writing, we have no means of entering into the thought of the faithful."[1] The concept "cult" is an example of one of these challenges. A cult in Ancient Egypt was defined differently than it is today. Morenz defines the Egyptian cult as the practice of man upon becoming aware of the existence of God, and who claimed to have been touched by the deity in question.[2]

These cult practices would manifest in different ways. As Barbara Watterson points out in her book *The Gods of Ancient Egypt,* these cult practices could be divided into three categories; local gods, which consisted of inanimate objects like oddly shaped stones or hills, along with animals that might be seen as exemplars of qualities valued by Egyptians, both of which would be relative to specific regions of Egypt.[3] Next, are gods that were defined as universal in nature, gods who were embodied by forces that were recognized throughout all Egypt, like the sun, moon, or the stars.[4] Finally, there were personal gods, deities that held significance for specific individuals, but may not have been recognized by the greater population; this category could interact with both of the previous two categories.[5]

The maintenance of cults and related institutions was considered paramount to the preservation of both the political order of the country, and the cosmic order of the universe. Author Michel Chauveau sheds light on this belief in his book *Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra,* in which he talks about how, despite any political or economic turbulence in Egypt, if this ancient system of cults and religious institutions remained intact, and given enough leeway to adapt and evolve, Egyptian civilization under the Pharaohs could continue unimpeded. [6] There was also a cult dedicated to the Pharaoh himself, who was believed to be the representative of the gods on earth and was the chief of all priests for all temples and was responsible for being the advocate for the world before the Egyptian pantheon.[7]

It was this religious fluidity that would allow Egypt to assimilate and adapt new beliefs and concepts that were brought in when the Macedonians assumed control of the country. This began with Egypt's induction into the Macedonian Empire in 332 BC, after Alexander the Great seized control of Egypt away from the Persians. Alexander would go on solidify the allegiance of the populace by promoting the belief that he had liberated Egypt from the Persians, this proved to be an effective tactic to promote the idea of a universal empire. As stated by Gunther Holbl in his book, *A History of Ptolemaic Egypt*: "Furthermore, Alexander's grand design will slowly have come to encompass the idea that all peoples were to be subjugated for the formation of a new world order."[8] This new order would have to involve

[1] Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* trans. Ann E. Keep (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1973), 81-82.
[2] Morenz, *Egyptian Religion,* 82.
[3] Barbara Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt* (Facts on File Publications: New York, 1984), 35.
[4] Watterson, *The Gods of Egypt,* 35.
[5] Watterson, *The Gods of Egypt,* 35.
[6] Michel Chauveau, *Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra* trans. David Lorton (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2000), 100.
[7] Watterson, *The Gods of Egypt,* 36.
[8] Gunther Holbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire,* trans. Tina Saavedra (Routledge: London, 2001), 9.

both the uniting of people within a new political framework, religion would factor heavily in this drive for unity. Arrian spoke of awareness religion's importance in this new world in his accounts of Alexander's building of the city of Alexandria "A longing for the work therefore seized him; he himself marked,… how many temples there were to be and the gods, some Greek, and Isis the Egyptian, for whom they would be erected,."[9] It was apparent early on that these two cultures would meld religiously, and produce something new in the process.

The central role that religion played in Egyptian society dates to the founding of Egypt itself. It informed nearly every aspect of Egyptian life as stated by Serge Sauneron in his book *Priests of Ancient Egypt,* "Nothing was more foreign to the spirit of the Egyptians than the idea of a possible separation between Church and State."[10] The importance of maintaining the religious traditions and rituals, particularly those surrounding the title of "Pharaoh" was apparent to Alexander. He recognized the value of preserving a system that already placed great practical and religious value on his new role of Pharaoh, after he expelled the Persians. Being an expert propagandist, Alexander knew he needed to expel the Persians, without appearing to be simply another conqueror like the Persians in the eyes of the Egyptians.

To that end, Alexander spun his military triumph in a way that meshed perfectly with one of the religiously inspired duties of the Pharaoh, which was to preserve both the earthly and cosmic order of the universe and cast out chaos. When Alexander defeated the Persians, many Egyptians interpreted this as the rightful Pharaoh restoring order to the land, and ending the reign of the detested Persians.[11] Alexander's acceptance of roles of reestablishing order from chaos, and vocalizing his belief in being descended from gods serves as an example of the assimilation of Egyptian religious practices by another culture, as Alexander understood the importance of emulating the example of the Pharaohs of old, to further distance himself from the Persian conquerors he recently expelled, as stated by Holbl "the Egyptian pharaonic system presented a very suitable ideology that was well established and has been accepted for millennia."[12].

After the death of Alexander, the rule of Egypt would eventually pass to Ptolemy I Soter, one of Alexander's generals. Ptolemy would go on to establish the Ptolemaic Dynasty in 305 BC, which would rule Egypt the next 275 years. Over the course of this dynasty, Hellenization would continue to meld both Egyptian and Greek culture, creating a hybrid culture. Ptolemy had a powerful example to follow, as he had witnessed Alexander's skillful use of local tradition and culture to convince the population that he was fit to rule. The Ptolemaic style of ruling Egypt would draw from this example, in that they would employ a style of adopting of Egyptian religious tradition, mixed with military force.[13] This new

[9] Arrian, *History of Alexander and Indica,* trans. P.A. Brunt (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1976), 225.
[10] Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt,* trans. Ann Morrissett (Grove Press Inc: New York, 1969), 171.
[11] Holbl, *Ptolemaic Empire,* 77.
[12] Holbl, *Ptolemaic Empire,* 9.
[13] J.G. Manning, The Last Pharaohs: Egypt Under the Ptolemies, 305-30 BC (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2010), 92.

hybrid culture would provide an opportunity for the creation of a new cult that would be used to placate the population and provide the stability that the new dynasty required. Ptolemy would build on the idea proposed by Alexander, which was to add Greek religious influence onto the landscape of the Egyptian pantheon. One of these influences would take the form of a new cult that was created and endorsed by the new Pharaoh, the Cult of Sarapis. Sarapis or Serapis, as he would later be known, was a Hellenic deity that was a union of Greek and Egyptian influences. Sarapis was crafted as a multidimensional deity; he was revered as a god of not only the underworld but also the sun. Additionally, he was looked on as a bringer of healing and fertility. Sarapis was a unique entity, in that devotion to him was not immediate, as told by John E. Stambaugh in his lecture Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies, no myth from either Egypt or Greece mentions Sarapis until around the fourth century BC.[14]

How then, did a peripheral deity rise to a position of prominence amongst the Egyptian pantheon? The answer to this question lies in political expediency. The newly established Ptolemaic Dynasty sought to rally the support of the populace, which now included a steadily growing Greek population. It was imperative for the new regime to provide a deity that would appeal to as many groups as possible. Understanding that Pharaohs were thought of as intermediaries between the mortal and divine worlds, Ptolemy I devised an appropriate mythos around Sarapis to promote not only his worship in Egypt, but also to solidify the connection between this cult and the new dynasty. This was done by the promotion of a story told by the Graeco-Egyptian priest Manetho, in which Sarapis declared his will in one of Ptolemy's dreams: "Ptolemy Sotor dreamed that he saw the colossal stature of Pluto at Sinope, although he did not know what manner of shape it had, having never previously seen it; and that it bade him convey it with all possible speed to Alexandria."[15] Manetho goes on to state that Ptolemy sent trusted attendants to find the statue and bring it back with them to make further sense of this vision: "When it was brought to Egypt and exhibited there, Timotheus the exegetes (interpreter) Manetho, of Sebennytus, and their colleagues, judging by the Cerberus and the serpent, came to the conclusion that it was a statue of Pluto; and they convinced Ptolemy that it represented no other god then Serapis."[16] Adding to this, Ptolemy I was fortunate in that a portion of the work to promote the worship of a new deity had already been done, in that many of the Ptolemy's' Greek subjects had already taken to worshipping a deity known as the "great god" in a structure in Memphis known as the Serapeum.[17]

This structure contained several temples to several prominent Egyptian deities such as Apis, the sacred bull; Osiris, god of the dead, and Isis, the divine mother of the Pharaoh. This presented an opportunity that Ptolemy sought to take advantage of. It occurred to Ptolemy and his advisors, that Sarapis could assimilate all the qualities and attributes within the Serapeum, while also taking on the physical appearance that was common in Macedon

[14] John Stambaugh, *Sarapis Under the Early Ptolemies,* (E.J. Brill: Leiden, 1972), 1.
[15] Manetho, *Manetho,* trans. W.G. Waddell (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1940), 193.
[16] Manetho, *Manetho,* 195.
[17] Holbl, *Ptolemaic Empire,* 99.

at the time, such as the hairstyle, beard, and dress that was utilized during this time in Macedon. This hybrid deity was a means for assimilation and adaptation of Greek and Egyptian religious beliefs to create a uniform face for the new dynasty and common ground for the diverse subjects they ruled. In addition, Ptolemy was able to apply political importance to the new cult that many of his subordinates noticed. A simple yet effective way to gain the favor of the Pharaoh was to adopt the worship of the new cult. The system of bureaucracy that was established under the Ptolemies relied on a prestige system that was determined by personal ties that an individual had with higher-ranking members of the administration.[18] The more ties that were accumulated, the more prestige would be earned in the eyes of the court. Given the importance that was placed on the priesthood, and the close ties that the new Cult of Serapis had with the Ptolemies, it was essential for those seeking to rise in importance to make their connections to these groups well known.

With this narrative, Ptolemy and his advisors presented a well-planned initiative as J.G. Manning asserts in his book, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt Under the Ptolemies, 305-30BC "*The king, supported by well-developed state mythology, guaranteed stability and social order and collected surplus production through taxation."[19] In addition, the multilayered power that Sarapis wielded impressed upon the populace that the new regime had the backing of a truly powerful deity, and was thus worthy of loyalty from Egyptian subjects, and respect from other nations as Stambaugh implies, "(Sarapis) his power extended outside the boundaries of Egypt—at least, the prayer that he grant the king power and dominion over the whole world indicates the view of him as a transcendent god working on a cosmic scale."[20] Furthermore, Ptolemy enlisted the help of the Egyptian priesthood to help graft this new religious order onto the society at large.

The priesthood was one of the most important and powerful institutions in all of Egypt. While the Pharaoh was the supreme priest, he or she could not be expected to be in every temple all at once to oversee all the rituals and rites that were required. The priesthood therefore, would perform these responsibilities in the stead of the Pharaoh, and see to the proper care and veneration of each temple, and the gods they were dedicated to. It is important to remember that there is a significant difference between a priest of Egypt and a priest in the modern era.

Egyptian priests were not responsible for maintaining flocks of faithful or winning converts to the faith. Rather, they were task alongside the Pharaoh with maintaining the order of the universe as the gods had created it.[21] As one of the strongest pillars of social order in Egypt, the Ptolemies knew they would require the aid of the priesthood to maintain control of the country. The political relationship between the Ptolemies and the priesthood, especially the temple of Ptah in Memphis was noted to be quite strong.[22] Ptah was the Egyptian god of craftsmen, and the presence of this temple in the ancient capital of

[18] Manning, The Last Pharaohs,61.
[19] Manning, The Last Pharaohs, 34.
[20] Stambaugh, *Sarapis,* 1.
[21] Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt,* 34.
[22] Manning, The Last Pharaohs, 92.

Memphis was significant. Alexander had made a show of his stay in the city of Memphis and making it the site of his coronation, to demonstrate his respect for the importance of the city, an example that Ptolemy himself would also make use of.

As a group who had power and authority given to them by the Pharaohs of the previous dynasties, the words of the priesthood bore significant weight. Indeed, the priesthood was described as the conduit through which Egyptian culture could be understood and controlled.[23] An example of this can be seen in many of the priestly decrees that were issued over the course of the Ptolemaic dynasty. These decrees called for the people to respect the reign of the Ptolemaic rulers, and devotion to the gods they endorsed. The first of these decrees was called the Canopus Decree. Issued in 238 BC during the reign of Ptolemy III, the decree hails the piety of Ptolemy, and his devotion to the supporting and preserving the temples of Egypt.[24] A similar decree known as the Memphis Decree, was issued in 196 B.C. during the reign of Ptolemy V. This decree once again hails the Pharaoh as a protector and supporter of the temples and proclaims Ptolemy as the "Manifest God" of these temples.[25] This is one of the best examples of the Greek dynastic rulers of Egypt adopting and assimilating Egyptian religious tradition, by formally proclaiming the role of Ptolemy as the supreme priest and protector of Egyptian temples in the tradition of the Pharaohs of old. A third decree would also be released which was known as the Second Decree of Philae. This decree was released in Alexandria in 186 BC, during the reign of Ptolemy V. This decree celebrates the triumph of the Pharaoh over a rebellion that had taken place during this time. The decree also notes the creation of both a new royal cult and a festival to commemorate this victory.[26] These decrees tied a sense of religious significance to the victories and good fortunes of the new dynasty. They were a means for the new regime to cast itself in the light of the traditional religious trappings in Egypt, thereby assimilating these traditions into a ruling group that was of Greek origin.

The ultimate success of this strategy can be observed in the revival of importance and respect for the Egyptian kingship because of the Ptolemaic use of the priesthood. The prestige of the office had waned in the years of Egypt being occupied by numerous foreign forces, Darius III of Persia had treated Egypt as merely another possession of the Persian Empire, having little or no regard for its traditions and customs. While Egypt was still under control of a foreign faction in the Ptolemies, the new dynasty had distinguished itself by presenting a line of kings with divine lineage through its connection with Alexander, a generosity for the people, and perhaps most important, a respect for the religious traditions and gods of the land.[27] This political and religious partnership also made it possible for the Ptolemaic dynasty itself to be considered worthy of reverence and worship. Political shrewdness enabled the Ptolemaic rulers to wander the lines of both the traditional

[23] Manning, The Last Pharaohs, 93.
[24] R.S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* (Griffith Institute: Oxford, 1996), 2.
[25] Simpson, *Demotic Grammar,* 4.
[26] Simpson, *Demotic Grammar,* 5.
[27] Manning, The Last Pharaohs, 94-95.

Pharaonic kingship, and the Alexandrian dynastic rulers, thus securing the loyalty of both Egyptian and Greek subjects.[28]

It was a delicate and complicated task to take the religious themes of one culture and present them to the other in a manner that would have been understood and accepted. For the Egyptians, the cult names for the Ptolemies were translated from Greek to Egyptian and were endowed with new meanings. The name Sotor for example was assigned the meaning of "saving" and "protecting" which further solidified that name of the ruling dynasty with the religious tradition and importance of preserving the welfare of the country. Conversely, the qualities of the Pharaohs were interpreted for the Greeks as the qualities of conquerors and champions of Greek culture in foreign lands.[29]

The Ptolemies' use of the priesthood to propagandize their rule was inspired by the example set by Alexander, who sought out the oracle of Siwah, so that a powerful message could be sent to the populace using religious devices they understood. An oracle was believed to possess a connection with a divinity. So much so, that it was believed that these people were able to communicate directly with the divinity in question under the proper conditions, "Some of the terms …above introduce us to a whole area of personal piety which is closely linked to the temple, where men bring their personal affairs before God…the phenomenon of the oracle."[30] This provides a cultural link between Egypt and Greece, as both societies employed the services of oracles for such functions as to determine the will of the divinity in question. Alexander was aware of this knowledge, and thus it drove him to the oasis of Siwah to consult this oracle to clarify the will of Amun, or Zeus-Ammon, as Arrian highlights in his account of Alexander: "A longing seized Alexander to pay a visit to Ammon in Libya, …to consult the god, since the oracle of Ammon was said to be infallible, and to have been consulted by Perseus… and by Heracles."[31] This link between the Greek myths of Perseus and Heracles with the oracle Zeus-Ammon prompted Alexander to divert from his campaign to consult with this oracle. Alexander also wished to ask the oracle if he would be successful in his drive for world conquest, the oracle of Siwah was thought by some to be near infallible.[32] It was a fortuitous occurrence for Alexander that he was able to make a showing of communing with a god that had already crossed ethnic and religious borders.

Amun was one of the most prominent and powerful deities in the Egyptian pantheon; he was regarded as the king of the Egyptian pantheon, but he gained greater power and reverence when merged with Ra, the Egyptian god of the sun, to become Amun-Ra. Additionally, Amun was regarded as the patron deity of the Egyptian city of Thebes, which rose to prominence when the Egyptians expelled the Hyksos in the16th century BC, thereby raising the prestige of Amun to previously unmatched heights. It was this power of reputation that ensured that the worship of Amun would spread beyond the borders of

[28] Holbl, *Ptolemaic Empire,* 111.
[29] Holbl, *Ptolemaic Empire,* 111.
[30] Morenz, *Egyptian Religion,*23.
[31] Arrian*, History of Alexander and Indica* 229.
[32] Holbl, *Ptolemaic Empire,* 99.

Egypt. Greece, for example, had come to see many parallels between Amun and the chief deity of the Greek pantheon Zeus, which caused many to refer to him as Zeus-Ammon, "Zeus-Ammon of Siwah and Cyrene an offshoot of the Theban Amun, represented, furthermore, the best link to Macedonia in the cultic-religious domain: he was honored in all of Greece as Libyan Ammon and had a cult from the late fifth century onwards in Macedonian Aphytis (Chalkidike), where the temple was excavated; Alexander was thus visiting the god of his original home."[33]

A further selling point that Alexander had used to endear himself to the Egyptian populace was the story that he was in fact the son of Zeus-Ammon. Alexander needed a way to connect himself to the long-held belief of divine lineage among the Pharaohs, while simultaneously communicating the same idea in the Greek vernacular. Alexander accomplished this by having the story told that he was conceived because of a union between his mother Olympias, and Zeus-Ammon. [34] These tactics blended with Alexander's great success on the battlefield made for a compelling case in support of his claims. Interestingly, the Ptolemies did not apply nearly as much importance on a connection with Zeus-Ammon as Alexander had. This was because the skillful use of the priesthood, and the dynasty's endorsement of the Cults of Serapis and Alexander himself alleviated the need for reliance on Zeus-Ammon. Alexander required a deity that held significance for both Greeks and Egyptians to act as a stabilizing agent for his ever-growing empire. With the demise of the Macedonian Empire upon Alexander's death, this specific political and religious tool was no longer required.

Another means for assimilation and adaptation between Ptolemaic Egypt and other cultures of the Mediterranean was in the common cultural trends. Proximity between Egypt and other societies like Greece and Rome, combined with a common adherence to pantheistic religious institutions, provided a means for these cultures to not only share religious ideas and practices, but to alter and assimilate them into their own systems. Cultural common ground can be the start of long and deep ties between differing societies. The ability to relate to another culture due to shared philosophies or religious belief systems can open lines of dialogue where it may have been previously impossible.

In the case of the Greece and Egypt, the shared practice of polytheism, and having several deities presiding over similar attributes, established common ground for both cultures, and thus able to borrow and adapt the beliefs of one another as well. The forming of the cult of Sarapis demonstrates how cultural similarities can be used to create a concept that can be understood on a more universal scale. "It is generally agreed that the Ptolemaic theologians intended to endow Sarapis with appeal to the Greek population and to the Egyptian natives.[35] Instead of presiding over a single attribute or aspect of the afterlife, Sarapis was given dominion over several different spheres of Egyptian daily life and culture.

[33] Holbl, *Ptolemaic Empire,* 10.
[34] Holbl, *Ptolemaic Empire,* 78.
[35] Stambaugh, *Sarapis,* 36.

One aspect of both Egyptian and Greek culture that was given to Sarapis was the aspect of death. Sarapis was proclaimed to be the ruler of the underworld, and was equated to being interchangeable with Pluto, the Greek god of the underworld, and Osiris, the Egyptian god of the dead. Stambaugh writes of the connection made between Sarapis and Pluto by the Alexandrians: "for their conclusion that the statue of Pluto imported from Sinope was really Sarapis was based on the presence of Cerberus and the serpent."[36] Sarapis was given seemingly universal control over the underworld when he and Osiris were regarded as one and the same during the late Hellenistic era and into the early Roman period.[37] This in turn would prevent confusion, when Sarapis was named as consort to Isis, a role traditionally held by Osiris. As stated earlier, there was also an interest in endowing Sarapis with the attribute of fertility. This connection was made stronger with the many depictions of Sarapis wearing modius on his head, which was a cylindrical headdress common in both Egyptian and Graeco-Roman art.

The practice of addressing multiple deities by the same name and ascribing cultural perceptions to these deities continued with reinterpretation of the Egyptian deity Amun. The process of blending Amun with other deities was not a new occurrence, as after Egypt was liberated from the Hyksos, the practice of Amun and Ra to become Amun-Re became common. By the time of Herodotus writing his history on Egypt, around 440 BC, it was evident that the Egyptians of the time were aware of the Greek deity Zeus, and had begun to draw parallels between Zeus and Amun "Amun is the Egyptian name for Zeus."[38] This information is provided in part by the hymn that was produced by the Greek poet Pindar, which was written in honor of Amun "from this wave-beaten land, the daughter of Epaphus will one day be planted with the root of other cities…amid the foundations of Zeus Ammon."[39] The assimilation process of Amun into Greek culture can further be observed by comparisons of the depictions made of Amun from different areas around the Mediterranean, such as the amulet of Amun in Figure 1. This amulet from the Third Intermediate Period is a traditional depiction of Amun fused to the sun god Re to become Amun-Re. The form of Amun becomes quite different when compared to the bust in Figure 2, which is a depiction of Amun in the form of Zeus Ammon. This depiction found on a herm, or boundary marker from the first century A.D. depicts Amun with Greek attributes that resemble Zeus, such as the hairstyle and beard.

[36] Stambaugh, *Sarapis,* 27.
[37] Stambaugh, *Sarapis,* 37.
[38] Herodotus, *Herodotus: Books I-II,* trans. A.D. Godley (Harvard University Press. Cambridge, 1920) 327.
[39]Steven J. Willett. *Pindar, Pythian 4*. Perseus.Tufts. Edu. Accessed April 17, 2018.

Figure1 Anonymous. *Amun-Re. Between 1070 and 730 BC. Walters Art Museum. Baltimore, Maryland.*

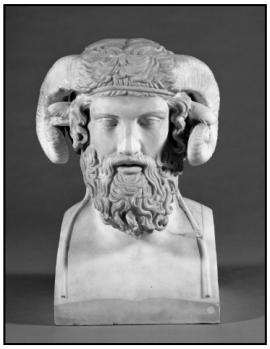

Figure 2 Anonymous. *Herm of Zeus-Ammon.* 1st Century AD. World Museum. Liverpool, England.

The trend of assimilation and adaptation of religious ideas was not limited solely to what was being imported into Egypt, but also to what was being exported. While many Greek ideas were being incorporated into the Egyptian pantheon, Egyptian ideas were also finding their way into other cultures. Arguably, the most successful of these ideas was the Greek and Roman adoption of the Egyptian cult of Isis. Isis was one of the most important deities in the Egyptian pantheon. She was associated with yearly flooding of the Nile which would re-fertilize the farmlands, and by this connection, Isis was tied with the existence and survival of Egypt itself, "Revived each year by Isis, the Nile unified the two Kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt."[40] Isis would go on to be associated with that of the Pharaohs. The Egyptians believed the Pharaohs to be the earthly manifestation of Horus, Egyptian god of the sky, and protector of the Pharaoh. According to Egyptian lore, Isis was the mother of Horus, so she was seen to be as a spiritual mother to the Pharaohs. Plutarch describes Isis as a keeper of both wisdom and mysteries, who dispenses both to those are "bearers of the sacred vessels and wearers of the sacred robes"[41] So how did the worship of the mother deity of Egypt develop in the lands beyond Egypt? The answer lies in the interpretations that have been attributed to her by other cultures. This includes the deep devotion to Isis that would be found in Greece and Rome.

The appeal and power behind Isis in Greece were twofold; First was the perception of Isis as the embodiment of Egyptian culture in the eyes of the Greeks, ancient and mystical. A Hellenistic style hymn to Isis from this time states that "I have taught reverence

[40] R.E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1971) 14.
[41] Plutarch, *Moralia.* Trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1957), 11.

for the gods' statues, I have established the gods' temples."[42] Clearly, she was thought to have been a deity of immense power and ample virtue. Second, was her ability to be used interchangeably with established Greek deities and figures from myth. This can be seen in the Greek myth of Io, a priestess of Argos, who was beloved by Zeus, and hated by his jealous wife Hera, who transforms Io into a cow and proceeds to harass her and chase her from place to place.[43] Her final destination is unknown, though many Greeks believed her journey ended in Egypt, where she assumed the mantle of Isis, due to her sometimes being depicted with cow horns. The writings of aretalogies, or divine biographies would have also impressed upon the Greeks the power and attributes of the subject deity. In the case of Isis, her aretalogy boldly proclaims that she is the source of civilization itself, and that she is solely responsible for what makes life worth living."[44]

The beginnings of the interaction between Egypt and Rome can be found in the combination of the political and cultural ties that were created when the cities of Rome and Alexandria first established diplomatic ties. This began in the year 273 BC when the Egyptian pharaoh Ptolemy Philadelphus reached out to the Roman senate seeking an alliance.[45] The deepening of these ties, and how Isis would come to factor into this equation are covered in greater detail by Witt "For one thing, Egypt was a main granary for a Rome that could starve for lack of bread, so that the identification of Isis, discoverer of crops, with the Italian Ceres seemed particularly fitting."[46] Here once again, we see how a shared polytheistic philosophy can bridge understandings between different cultures, and also provide a window for assimilation and adaptation.

The process of assimilation and adaptation of Ptolemaic Egyptian ideas across the Mediterranean produced one of the most fascinating cultural dialogues in the world. A world in which rigidity of religious belief is rare, and ideas can be shared and borrowed at will stands in stark contrast to the modern religious discourse. Artifacts that have safely made the passage through time give us a unique opportunity to see another culture with their eyes, and gain insights into what they saw and how they processed these sights. It remains a fascinating and incomplete challenge to discern how what came before has influenced all of our perceptions and thoughts on religion in the present and future. So the task of recovering the past continues, so that the gaps in understanding on these questions can further be filled.

[42] Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World,* 59.
[43] Friedrich Solmsen, *Isis Among the Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979), 16.
[44] Solmsen, *Isis* 41.

Gay Visibility and the Shift Underground: How Civil Rights Rhetoric Influenced the Working-Class Tolerances of the Black Gay Community

Laura Bricarello

Abstract: Before the 1950s Civil Rights movement, the black gay community had a relatively visible role in the working-class population. Around WWII and beyond, civil rights leaders changed the rhetoric surrounding the gay population and the preoccupation with the gay world, from neutrality to negativity, by injecting respectability politics and white masculine ideals into the national conversation. This was an organized effort to police and prep the community, specifically the black working-class, for the cause of integration. Prominent black gay figures within the civil rights movement were ostracized, and even those outside the movement were demonized by civil rights leaders, and local and national presses, both of which are exemplified by the stories of Bayard Rustin, a civil rights organizer, and Prophet Jones, a popular and flamboyant Detroit Minister.

The visibility of the black gay community and prominent gay neighborhoods prior to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s is difficult to trace due the lack of evidentiary records. However, some historians are working, utilizing black newspapers, to bring more attention to these areas. One of the most prevalent black gay enclaves was located in Harlem, a black neighborhood that saw a resurgence of art and literature during the roaring 1920s. However, records of typical gay entertainment, such as female impersonators and drag balls can be found all over the United States. The records suggest a curious penchant for normal society to view and participate in displays of homosexual acts and entertainment on a national scale. In the early to mid-1950s, homosexual visibility dropped in the black and white communities. In the black community, it coincided with a ramp up of civil rights activity. There was a rise in negative rhetoric and media coverage of homosexuality and the societal ills of immorality. Prominent leaders and representatives of the civil rights movement contributed to the negative push against black gay people. Leaders believed their existence hindered rather than helped the cause of integration. The way in which this was done was by policing the working-class black community that was

more accepting of non-heterosexual behavior.

The policing came in the form of rhetoric and the literal ostracization of people within the civil rights movement, as exemplified through the story of Bayard Rustin. Other prominent gay figures were similarly ousted in an effort to correct behavior deemed antithetical to the cause of integration, and were demonized by national and local presses; this is exemplified by the story of Prophet Jones, a Detroit minister.

The seed for this paper has already been examined by Thaddeus Russell in his paper "The Color of Discipline." Russell contends "that the civil rights movement, the project of attaining citizenship, was constructed upon heterosexuality and in opposition to non-heteronormative behavior."[1] Heteronormative behavior is defined as restricting one's behavior in a way that encourages heterosexuality and the adherence to typical gender norms, which were particularly imperative for men to follow. The "citizenship" he refers to is access to society in a way that the dominant white community already enjoyed. His article does not delve into the personal side of individual sexuality or the social constructs of masculinity. He merely looks at much of the media attention surrounding homosexuals prior to and during the civil rights movement. This paper, then, attempts to look at some of the transition points of visibility within the gay community and the fluid shifts of masculinity and sexuality within the black community in order to link the concepts together. Thaddeus Russell also suggests that the fight against homosexuality, or same sex sexual encounters, was a specific battle waged by civil rights leadership, when in fact, it is more likely that it stood within intersections found in family, shifting definitions of masculinity, and a collective desire for change. The fight against homosexuality was not a singular battle to correct behavior in men and women in the black community, but was one of many. In the end, the battle damaged the ability for homosexuals to be out in their city without becoming social pariahs, or in many cases, facing serious acts of violence, within the black community and beyond.

Homosexuality as a Construct and the Gay World

Homosexual and heterosexual were terms created and coined by doctors and scientists post WWI.[2] Jonathan Katz notes in his book, *The Gay and Lesbian Almanac*, the terminology used by doctors was introduced into society through mass media, primarily newspapers. He uses the example of the *New York Times*, but offers no claim about the national level on which these terms may have reached the general populace.[3] The stigma of homosexuality was almost non-existent until doctors and scientists defined those attracted to same-sex partners, or those who took on gender norms that were not aligned with their biological sex, as sexual inverts, perverts, and eventually, homosexuals.[4] The terms themselves

[1] Thaddeus Russell, "The Color of Discipline: Civil Rights and Black Sexuality." *American Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2008): 103.
[2] Jonathan Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac: A New Documentary.*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 138.
[3] Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, 138.
[4] Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, 156.

sounded alarming and created a culture of mistrust and self-loathing. Mass media distributed these new sexual ideas and verbiage to the laymen; however, they assigned the term of perversion to criminals as well as homosexuals, blurring the lines between the two.[5]

In aligning criminality with homosexuality, the media created a frenzy in which people feared the idea of "abnormal" sexual behavior, a concept of behavior that had once been limited to doctors. The media obsession with sexual criminals seemed to underpin the negative stereotypes and misinformation constantly and consistently printed by news outlets.[6] Jonathan Katz additionally suggests that the reason for regular working-class people's distaste for homosexuality stemmed from the oversaturation of negative media attention. Katz finally notes the change in the description of abnormality and normalcy and their relation to homosexuality and heterosexuality.[7] The idea of normal and natural applied specifically to heterosexuality and abnormal or unnatural applied to homosexuality. Katz's historical timeline of the vocabulary surrounding homosexuality is the backdrop in which the gay world existed prior to the 1950s.

The gay community, not well defined prior to WWII, was more recognizable and prominent than once considered, as illustrated by many relatively new scholarly works published in the past couple of decades. The very existence of the gay "underworld" was dependent on its ability to integrate with regular society. Homosexuals, pre-WWII, typically congregated in bars and restaurants and mingled with heterosexual men, who frequently engaged in sexual acts with "fairies," effeminate looking and acting men.[8] James Baldwin's highly personal essay "Freaks and the American Ideal of Manhood," echoes the sexual activity by perceived straight and gay men. Baldwin writes that many men who fit a stereotypical masculine build sought male company despite having wives or mistresses.[9] Gay men were able to seek out other gay men through the use of physical markers and behavior.[10] This implies a certain amount of visibility that homosexual men recognized as they crossed each other on the street. The ability to congregate and gather in public places allowed them not only a safe place to meet, but created a display in which those parts of the "normal" society were able to view and engage with homosexuals, usually for entertainment purposes.

Drag balls which included interaction with female impersonators became a prominent nighttime entertainment for the middle class and working class alike, suggesting an interest in the gay world that bordered on tolerance.[11] Black gay culture however, remained a

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[5] Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, 165.
[6] Kevin Allen Leonard, "Containing 'Perversion': African Americans and Same-Sex Desire in Cold War Los Angeles." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 3 (September 2011): 559.
[7] Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, 167.
[8] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940.* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 44-45.
[9] James Baldwin, "Freaks and the American Ideal of Manhood," in *Collected Essays,* 820-821. New York: Library of America, 1998.
[10] Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 56.
[11] Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 310.

stereotypical endeavor, frequented by a white audience like a foray into a zoo. Laura Grantmyre has done research into the visibility of female impersonators in the Hill District, a predominantly black neighborhood in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. She notes that the community was rather accepting of female impersonators, or at the very least, tolerant; however, the white community did not necessarily have close social connections to them.[12] Grantmyre argues that the ability of Hill District's residents to cross "ethnic, class, sexual, and racial lines facilitated female impersonators' social integration."[13] Female impersonators were able to appear as women in the street, even when not performing, because of the tacit acceptance of their existence. New Orleans also had many visible female impersonators, although they were not always tolerated.[14]

Urbanization and the Breakdown of the Family Unit

Even with mild acceptance, the gay world (thought to only exist in the urban areas of the nation) and urbanization were to be blamed for the breakdown of familial relationships in the US. The focus on familial relationships and stability suggests a past preoccupation with progeny and heterosexuality. E. Franklin Frazier, a black sociologist, looked at the significant role of family in the black community. He noted that urbanization inevitably followed mass migrations from the south to the north and west and contributed to the breakdown in family. Because rural areas were so small, families and people were subject to whispers and communal gatherings that may have pushed them to police their own behavior for the sake of their family's reputation. The urban center created a disconnect between families in the community, because it provided a certain level of anonymity, freeing people to move in unexpected ways, socially and sexually.[15] Jonathan Katz also notes that this idea of sexual deviation, perversion, or abnormality helped form a "class" of people, many of whom congregated in large cities.[16] Large cities offered anonymity. Quickly expanding urbanization also afforded a relatively safe space wherein homosexuals were able to seek out anonymous same sex encounters and were, more importantly, likely to find others who were interested in the same thing.

The black middle class considered sexuality and its relationship to family to be the biggest ideological difference between them and the lower and working-class populations of Harlem. This difference and how it relates to the family is significant. The ability for gay men and women to be considered a family during this time was impossible, as they are unable to reproduce. Racial ideology and the expected roles of men and women played a part as well. Black men were considered lascivious and rapists, and black women, especially

[12] Laura Grantmyre, "'They Lived Their Life and They Didn't Bother Anybody': African American Female Impersonators and Pittsburgh's Hill District, 1920-1960," *American Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2011): 987.
[13] Grantmyre, *African American Female Impersonators,* 1005
[14] Marybeth Hamilton, "Sexual politics and African-American music; or, placing Little Richard in history." *History Workshop Journal* 46, no. 1, (October1998):167.
[15] Franklin E. Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 255.
[16] Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, 157.

single women, were considered overtly sexual, and a "symbol of the dangerous social disintegration that urbanization could bring;" single women were considered a threat to the idea of family.[17] Frazier, in his sociological study of the black family, found that unmarried mothers became a commonplace occurrence.[18] This was considered the essential reason for the familial breakdown. He finds that this primarily occurred in poor families.[19] Frazier acknowledges that those with means, economic and otherwise, could afford morality.[20] Moral underpinnings, based on his reasoning, would have prevented the idea of the "loose woman." Frazier saw the future of the black community in its adherence to moral manners and conduct that was already present in the white community.

The significance Frazier places on the family involves integration into the white world, the advancements of which should "be transmitted to the future generations through the family."[21] This idea would add to the misunderstanding of why the poorer class could not live by the same moral codes and manners of those in the upper and middle classes, supposedly because the significance of those morals was not recognized in working-class people. Their self-policing was almost non-existent, and immorality was evident was in the participation and fascination associated with homosexual activities and entertainment. How Frazier sees the family is as a stepping stone to continually improved race relations. The family, while allowing more integration into the white society, also created a line in which this progress could be passed, hinging the progress of the black community on the progeny of those that participate in society guided by these morals. The idea of living by a moral standard that included a rejection of homosexuality and emphasized familial ties was exclusive to middle class sentimentalities. As George Chauncey notes, in order to control the gay world, middle class reformers sought to create an "ideal social order centered in the family," [22] which would be anchored by a masculine, heterosexual patriarch.

Middle Class Black Masculinity and Family as Respectability

The concept of middle-class masculinity faced growing changes at the turn of the century, and forced the creation of a new masculine ideal in order to corral male insecurities. The ability of a man to engage and care for a family, (i.e. a wife and children) was the cornerstone of the working-class and even middle-class perceptions of masculinity.[23] This notion of masculinity, provided by outside factors (i.e. a wife) meant that sexual activity with a man, especially an effeminate looking one, was not a threat to the personal or public perception of one's masculinity. Up until the 1930s, gay men preferred to cruise for working-class men as opposed to middle-class men, mainly because they

[17] Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 253, 255.
[18] Frazier, *The Negro Family,* 265.
[19] Frazier, *The Negro Family,* 267.
[20] Frazier, *The Negro Family,* 280.
[21] Frazier, *The Negro Family,* 368.
[22] Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 139.
[23] Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 79.

thought working-class men would be more receptive to their suggestions for sexual contact. Gay men also believed that working-class men were likely to be viewed as the most masculine.[24] This suggests that working-class men were likely to feel and remain secure in their masculine identity, being unthreatened by potential sexual contact with a gay man, whereas middle-class men may have felt less masculine either because of their trade or societal expectations of manliness. This would eventually lead to a minor crisis in masculine identity for middle class men.

Around the turn of the century, intense industrialization and restructuring of the workplace, including the corporatization of many new fields, threatened the middle-class idea of masculinity.[25] This newfound economy moved from production to consumerism, removing the entrepreneurial element and self-deterministic attitudes of basic capitalism and forced many workers to a subordinate position within their particular firm or trade.

> One's manhood became more and more defined by the consumer goods one owned, the leisure practices one engaged in, and one's physical and sexual virility. Respectability, or the public performance of producer values, also became less important in middle-class constructions of masculinity. In this sense, the black middle class is defined more by its self-conscious positioning against the black working class— through its adherence to a specific set of social values and the public performance of those values— than by real economic and occupational differences.[26]

Here Martin Summers, in his book *Manliness and its Discontents*, notes a shift in what were considered masculine traits, because of the move from a producer-based economy to a consumer based one. Summers also notes the shift in "sexual virility," tangibly defined by one's family. He also sees the beginnings of a moral superiority as a defining characteristic of middle-class masculinity, since the black middle class could not measure its success necessarily in purely economic terms like the white middle class could.

Martin Summers' book on masculinity looks at how the defining characteristics of manhood changed for black men specifically. Summers acknowledges other scholarly work linking black masculinity to the hegemonic white power structures in place, and the ways in which that influenced black male identity. Black masculinity differed from white masculinity, due to racial injustices. For instance, in the Jim Crow south, many men were unable to provide for their families, forcing women to work as well in order to bring in more money. A working woman was considered a threat to the family order. As Martin Luther King Jr. stated in *Stride Toward Freedom* a "…working mother does violence to motherhood."[27] The idea of motherhood being threatened by working women ties into Frazier's idea that single women helped cause the breakdown of the family unit, since the role of women should have been defined by motherhood. Gender conventions blurred as

[24] Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 108.
[25] Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 111.
[26] Summers, *The Black Middle Class,* 17, 18.
[27] Martin Luther King Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story.* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), 198.

well because men and women were forced to gather together in train cars, while upper and middle-class white men and women were separated by sex. Jim Crow also blurred class distinctions in the black community, since race was the primary defining characteristic for southern black men and women, regardless of economic standing.[28] Summers's work however, attempts to go beyond this singular ideal of manhood, arguing that black male agency existed in constructing the ideal vision of black masculinity. Integration, however, the significant goal of the traditional civil rights movement, utilized a return to the white masculine ideal in an attempt to obtain similar status and be offered an invitation to join in the white male elite, which would provide opportunities for political, social, and economic advancement. So, while a similar crisis of masculinity would not have occurred as acutely in the African American community, it would have been, at least, a peripheral concern because of the access they could potentially obtain once segregation was overcome. In order to achieve this assimilation, adherence to family would have been paramount to the black middle class and elite, especially in relation to the ideal of a strong male patriarch.

Masculinity was also defined in terms of heterosexual leanings and in direct opposition to homosexual tendencies. In 1949, James Baldwin published an essay on homosexuality and gender roles entitled "The Preservation of Innocence." In it, he critiqued popular literature from around the time of the publication of his essay. Baldwin recognized the tacit acceptance of homosexuality prior to the 1940s, and suggests the argument of being "unnatural" is a false argument and that the "debasement [of the homosexual]… corresponds to the debasement of the relationship between the sexes; and that his ambiguous and terrible position in our society reflects the ambiguities and terrors which time has deposited on that relationship."[29] The crux of his argument is based on explicit feminine and masculine traits, and society's obsession, specifically in the literary world, with the idea of the "tough guy." He argues that the tough guy is in fact no man because his experience and understanding of women is based on these gender norms and the complexities of the male and female relationship are fundamentally misunderstood.[30] Baldwin's essay questions the preoccupation with homosexuality, when the breakdown of heterosexual relationships is a more primary concern. Baldwin's critique of heterosexual relationships and counterarguments to homosexuality were illustrated by the literary destruction of homosexuality, which was considered an obstacle to heterosexual love or family. What Baldwin identified in the late 1940s, the homosexual threat, civil rights rhetoric would pick up in order to challenge working class immorality.

[28] Summers, *The Black Middle Class,* 14-15.
[29] James Baldwin, "The Preservation of Innocence," in *Collected Essays,* 594-600 (New York: Library of America, 1998), 595
[30] Baldwin, "Preservation of Innocence," 597.

The Respectability Rhetoric of the Black Church and Media

Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham's work *Righteous Discontent* looks at the role women played in the church concerning morality between the 1810s and 1920s. She argues that "women were crucial to broadening the public arm of the church and making it the most powerful institution of racial self-help in the African American community."[31] She notes the significant role, what she has termed the "politics of respectability," that women played as a way to create "racial self-determination."[32] This idea outlines a course in which black men and women create self-determination by changing their behavior to follow proper morals and manners, not necessarily aligned with white America, but as a way to fight racial stereotypes and racial science.[33] The concept could be used however, as an integrationist tool, one that would provide proof that the black populace should be a part and parcel of America, alongside the dominant white culture. While Higginbotham argues that the church women of the early 20th century believed that both the upper and middle classes could benefit from such a concept, the idea that lower-class black men and women would be the gatekeepers to the manners and morals required for ingratiation of the black community with the white one would be misrepresentative. The women of the church spread a particular middle-class ideal of morals and manners that black men and women were meant to follow. Implicit assimilationist messages were encoded in the new values, ones that dissolved class divides and hopefully, eventually, would dissolve racial ones.[34] This was also a prominent tactic used during the Great Migration period post-Reconstruction. Rural southern blacks moved to northern city centers and in an effort to preserve respectability, northern black newspapers offered suggestions on how southern blacks should conduct themselves in the city.

Respectability politics was an ideal that dealt entirely with personal responsibility; however, in practice it was used by the middle and upper classes to police the behavior of the lower class. The idea of respectability politics hurt the homosexual community by promoting heterosexual behavior in relation to black masculinity and the formation of family. During the rhetoric of the early civil rights movement, the cultural and social policing undertaken by the black church, and even the black media, began.

Martin Luther King Jr. was the preeminent preacher of respectability politics, but moral policing was prevalent even before his rise. George W. Harvey, a reverend in Pennsylvania, made that excessively clear as he preached vehemently against jazz renditions of church hymnals. His sermon, published and endorsed by the *Pittsburgh Courier*, used extreme language to get his point across. He considered the practice "strictly sacrilegious,

[31] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1.
[32] Higginbotham, *Women's Movement,* 186.
[33] Higginbotham, *Women's Movement,* 187.
[34] Higginbotham, *Women's Movement,* 195-196.

disdainful, and uncalled for."[35] He quotes the bible noting that "Give not that which is holy unto dogs," implying that those who used the church hymns outside of religious ceremony were akin to animals. The view of black men and women as animalistic was held by the white community. His use of the white gaze to describe other members of his community suggests a tacit acceptance of that gaze, and in his sermon, he calls for a change. This implies a challenge, not only to his congregation, but to anyone who has read his sermon to check his or her behavior and make it more palatable to the white community so that they did not live as a representation of that negative white gaze. Harvey uses the end of his sermon to call upon other religious leaders to police their congregations, as acutely as he does.[36] His religious zeal was undertaken by many civil rights and religious leaders across the country, ironically by none other than King himself almost twenty years later. As King wrote to a young boy, "…you would be giving your life to a more noble purpose if you concentrated on the music of the church rather than rock and roll. Never seek to mix the two."[37]

King's rhetoric for uplifting the black community through changes in personal behavior is never more obvious than in his sermon "Some Things We Must Do." He begins by telling his audience that "we must make ourselves worthy of the respect of others by improving our own personal standards."[38] King argues that segregation is the cause for the debasement of the black community, but suggests that the quality in which a person lives has a profound impact on how he or she is treated. He continues on, offering statistics on black criminality, welfare, and illegitimacy of children. He even goes so far as to suggest that all black people should buy enough soap to be clean, as if personal hygiene was somehow the last vestige of civility and the first failing of his own people. Lastly, he tells the congregation that they must do a good job, which implies that some in his community are lazy.[39] What this all illustrates is an understanding of the white perception of black people, but also implies that the gaze is, at least partially, correct in King's eyes. King's rhetoric suggests that these stereotypes must be actively fought against, which means he must believe that not all in his community are doing everything they can to uplift themselves. In an advice column he wrote, published in *Ebony,* he uses conservative rhetoric with a young person who questions him about what black people can do to help themselves. King writes that "…there is a great deal the Negro can do to lift himself by his own bootstraps."[40] His choice of words implies that black people are partially to blame for

[35] Thomas C. Holt and Elsa Barkley Brown, "Rev. George W. Harvey, Baptist Minister, Denounces Swinging Spirituals, 1939," in *Major Problems in African America History, Vol. II: From Freedom to "Freedom Now," 1865-1990s,* (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, 2000), 190-191.
[36] Holt, "Denounces Swinging Spirituals," 191.
[37] Martin Luther King Jr. "Advice for Living," April 1958, King Papers, Stanford University.
[38] Martin Luther King Jr. "Some Things We Must Do," Speech, Montgomery, AL, December 5, 1957. King Institute.
[39] King, "Some Things We Must Do."
[40] Martin Luther King Jr. "Advice for Living," March 1958, King Papers, Stanford University.

remaining in their station, and he expects that, in their own right, they are capable of lifting themselves.

In "Some Things We Must Do" King also discusses economic disadvantages and how one must live within his or her means. He uses the example of the man buying a Cadillac to match the white man.[41] Ironically this is an example of traditional masculinity as it relates to consumerism, which fits in the hegemonic ideal of white masculinity. However, King offers a more traditional, moralistic Victorian idea of restraint as the proper conduct regarding financial matters. King decries the man who spends too much on consumer goods, including liquor. King was often explicit in his thoughts about the advancement of his own community and tied it to their ability to live in a way that was considered morally right. In the case of the aforementioned letter he also suggests that the black population should spend their money specifically within their own community, in an effort to economically help each other.[42]

While King's rhetoric and feelings about homosexuality were never explicitly stated, he has a single column relaying advice to a troubled boy who admits to King his homosexual inclinations and asks him what to do. King diplomatically replies that the boy has probably "culturally acquired" this way of being. He encourages the boy to find a psychologist to manage his problem. King is kind in his response but is clear that homosexuality is unnatural and wrong.[43] It is his belief that the roots of the problem are possible to find and correct with proper help, and that any homosexual individual can become heterosexual once again. The only other known interactions King had with gay men were with Bayard Rustin and James Baldwin. Rustin was invited into King's inner circle, and Baldwin also remembers being welcomed warmly in his very first encounter with King, but little else is suggested on King's personal feelings towards homosexuality.[44] King may have tolerated rather than accepted it, but he could not make room for gay men in the fight against segregation, as Rustin's story will illustrate.

Respectability politics was also recognized in national media, including news articles from Los Angeles such as Kevin Allen Leonard's article "Containing 'Perversion.'" Many of these articles spoke out against homosexuality explicitly. One of Leonard's arguments in his paper goes against Thaddeus Russell's assertion that the civil rights movement helped create animosity towards homosexuals; however, Leonard has many dubious counterpoints. Leonard, in his evidence, fails to consider who published the newspapers that he quotes. He also does not make any connections to the policing of the black working class by the black middle class. It is likely that those who published and edited the newspapers had some means and considered themselves middle class within the black community. In the various appeals and opinion articles Leonard quotes, he does not mention that these middle-class authors are using the same rhetoric Russell argues is being

[41] King, "Some Things We Must Do."
[42] King, "Advice For Living," March 1958.
[43] Martin Luther King Jr. "Advice for Living," January 1958, King Papers, Stanford University.
[44]James Baldwin, "The Long Road Before Martin Luther King," in *Collected Essays* (New York: Library of America, 1998.) 638.

used to create adherence to certain moral standards for its readers. Leonard quotes one article in particular that "…decried African Americans for their tolerance of homosexuals…"[45] This quote suggests that there was in fact at least some tolerance for homosexual activity within the black working-class community, and that it required a middle-class voice to appeal to morality. The author of one such opinion piece, Almena Davis, went on to write that African Americans "…accorded more importance to drag balls than other groups of people."[46] This implies that those who were tolerant of drag balls, to the extent of attending and condoning them, were limited to the black population, and others, such as those in the white community, did not tolerate such activity. In order to fit within the moral standard of the white community, this author potentially recognized that the drag balls had to go.

By 1950, one newspaper in particular, the *Sentinel*, even asked its readers to do literal policing by publishing information on criminals and encouraging those who saw them to contact local law enforcement.[47] It is significant to note that black newspapers in LA started with heavy handed anti-homosexual rhetoric after white newspapers had already made these negative statements. This shows a correlative connection between the two anti-homosexual concerns. The fact that it may have suddenly seemed significant to influence the behavior of the black working class when the white working class had already been "contained," in regards to homosexuality, should be noted as significant in the timeline of integration. If civil rights leaders were looking to white notions of moral standards, this one would have been an important one to adhere to. Leonard also notes that the newspaper's call to "community leaders to become more fully committed to the identification and elimination of 'perversion' in African American churches" occurred in 1953, just a year before *Brown v. Board of Education* and two years before the Montgomery Bus Boycott.[48] One of these "perversions" could very well have been Prophet Jones, a prominent and flamboyant Detroit minister. Tim Retzloff, in his article about Prophet Jones, notes the role of "mass media in constructing, and constricting, the boundaries of sexuality…"[49] This suggests that the role of rhetoric was doubly important once spread through media outlets, and could have lasting effects on those it targeted. This idea is well-exemplified by Jones's story.

The Stories of Bayard Rustin and Prophet Jones

The stories of Bayard Rustin and Prophet Jones illustrate the lengths to which the rhetoric of the civil rights movement pushed its singular agenda of integration at the expense of gay men. Prophet Jones was immensely popular, with luxuries afforded to him

[45] Leonard, "'Containing 'Perversion,'" 554.
[46] Leonard, "'Containing 'Perversion,'" 554.
[47] Leonard, "'Containing 'Perversion,'" 559.
[48] Leonard, "'Containing 'Perversion,'" 561.
[49] Tim Retzloff, "Seer or Queer?" Postwar Fascination with Detroit's Prophet Jones." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 3 (2002): 272.

by his congregation, who were mainly part of the black working class.[50] In a 1944 *Life* article, pictures of his home and church reveal a broad disconnect. His church, a small and simple wooden structure, paled in comparison to his lavishly decorated mansion, furnished by friends and parishioners.[51] There had always been rumors and whispers of Jones possible homosexuality, but it never detracted his followers.[52] As long as his sexuality remained suggestible rather than provable, he found success within his community on a local and national scale. Jones was the first Detroit African American Preacher to have a weekly television show. However, the extra media attention also increased the amount of negative attention he received. In reality, his extensive reach enraged those who felt his influence was harmful to the perception of black Americans. Some of those who had once welcomed and supported him were now his biggest detractors. [53]

In 1956, Jones had moral charges leveled against him after making an "indecent proposal" to an undercover vice officer.[54] His arrest received national press attention. "The *Detroit Tribune* lamented that whites looked on Jones as a leader of African Americans simply because of his skin color and worried that they would feel that the entire African American race had been 'under the guidance of a sex deviate,'" a derogatory catchall term for homosexuals.[55] Middle class voices in the local newspapers bemoaned the fact that the public face of black churches that would be associated with such an immoral and problematic character. Jones was eventually found not guilty by a court of law; however, media coverage of him continued to be negative, and what followed was a huge decline in personal wealth and status.[56] Many of his followers remained mostly loyal through his trials and tribulations. Retzloff implies that the end of Prophet Jones's career coincided with the "…falling out of fashion of drag revues…which had long been showcased by local African American nightclubs." [57] Marybeth Hamilton, in an article about sexual politics and African American music also notes the decline of female impersonators and the homosexual black community, as both moved into a less visible space in the mid-1950s, as a by-product of respectability rhetoric.[58] This also coincided with ramped up rhetoric against homosexuality and gay entertainment.

Like Jones, Bayard Rustin, a prominent civil rights leader who instilled in Martin Luther King Jr. the non-violent philosophy that would define King's civil rights leadership, also experienced a negative backlash because he was a homosexual and former communist. His work within the civil rights movement would end up being quite limited. In 1953, Bayard Rustin was picked up under vagrancy laws in Los Angeles, California. According to

[50] Retzloff, "Prophet Jones," 274-275, 278-279.
[51] Herbert Brean, "A Life Reporter Visits Prophet Jones in Church and at Home," *Life*. November 27, 1944.
[52] Retzloff, "Prophet Jones," 277.
[53] Retzloff, "Prophet Jones," 281.
[54] Retzloff, "Prophet Jones," 282.
[55] Retzloff, "Prophet Jones," 283.
[56] Retzloff, "Prophet Jones," 284.
[57] Retzloff, "Prophet Jones," 286-287.
[58] Hamilton, *Sexual Politics,* 174.

the felony report, Rustin had offered to fellate two white men in a car.[59] He was charged and spent about 60 days in jail. This occurred long before Rustin had met and worked with Dr. King, but the arrest would follow him every place he attempted to work. John D'Emilio notes that Rustin was prone to cruising for sex since his work life took him everywhere. The lack of stability created an environment wherein Rustin would look for short-term companionship.[60] Rustin eventually began working closely with King and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or SCLC. However, because of his sexuality, he was sidelined on multiple occasions for various planned civil rights protests.[61] Eventually Adam Clayton Powell Jr. threatened King by intimating that King and Rustin were in a homosexual relationship together. Rather than stand by Rustin, King panicked and Rustin was forced to resign from the SCLC.[62]

The *Pittsburgh Courier* published an article about the ousting of Bayard Rustin, and it illustrates Rustin's ability to use the press to his advantage. Rustin remarked that Adam Clayton Powell should take more time to help the civil rights movement, possibly implying Powell's contributions had been minimal at best. Rustin also makes clear that Powell is the reason he was being pushed out, and calls him out for referring to Martin Luther King Jr, and A. Phillip Randall as 'captives,' suggesting Powell's out of touch sensibility. Rustin's exit was not of his own doing. He made that clear to the press, perhaps in an effort to create sympathy for his dilemma, for which he was not successful.[63] King's misgivings about Rustin were later recorded by the FBI during a phone call in which King suggested that Rustin was let go because he had conducted himself poorly around young college students, who then complained about his behavior. King suggested alcohol was to blame for Rustin's homosexual dalliances and those acts reflected poorly on King's person.[64]

The ousting of Rustin and Prophet Jones were for similar reasons but were handled differently. Rustin was forced out by the inner circle of the civil rights movement, making his ousting more personal than Jones's. Jones was similarly ousted but through negative press coverage over his implied homosexuality and his arrest for attempted sexual acts with other men. Both men, whether out to their inner circle or not, were free from persecution when their homosexuality remained implied. However, once they were arrested, there was no doubt as to their true nature. Rustin was able to work briefly on the outskirts of many major civil rights protests, including the March on Washington of 1963, but he was delegated to invisible roles. Jones never recovered from his arrest, even when acquitted. The articles surrounding Jones' arrest were cruel and many newspapers lamented the fact that he continued to have followers, a final middle-class reproach of the working class.

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[59] D'Emilio, John. *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin.* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2001), 191.
[60] D'Emilio, *Bayard Rustin,* 195.
[61] D'Emilio, *Bayard Rustin,* 232, 270.
[62] D'Emilio, *Bayard Rustin,* 298.
[63] Thomas C. Holt and Elsa Barkley Brown. "Civil Rights Leader Bayard Rustin is Forced Out," in *Major Problems in African America History Vol II: From Freedom to "Freedom Now," 1865-1990s* (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, 2000), 295.
[64] D'Emilio, *Bayard Rustin,* 372.

The stories of Bayard Rustin and Prophet Jones also illustrate that there was a tacit acceptance of homosexuality as long as the person in question remained outside the law. Once they were arrested, their secrets, however ill-kept they were prior to their arrest, were made public, and their reputation was ruined. This explains the liminality of James Baldwin. Baldwin was unabashedly gay, but was insulated from much overt criticism. His writings and musings on race meant that he did spend much of his time making appearances on television and in person to speak on race issues but usually not for any particular organization. Because he remained outside the main leadership, especially the church leadership, he was able to participate, however peripherally, in the civil rights movement. He also managed to escape major media scrutiny because he was never arrested for sexual acts involving other men. He was able to straddle both the gay world and the civil rights movement by never fully participating in either.

Conclusion

The visibility of gay communities and the evolving middle-class ideals of black masculinity changed the landscape on which the civil rights movement was fought. Men no longer had sex with men because of availability, and industrialized shifts in the economy forced people from the role of producer to that of consumer, changing the middle-class idea of masculinity in the process. In an effort to maintain their masculinity, middle class black men emphasized classic patriarchal roles and heterosexuality as it applied to family. Moral leaders also sought to cement this role for other black men, echoing white morality and values in an effort to uplift their own people. Some of this rhetoric, the idea of respectability politics, was damaging. The outright negative media attention of homosexuals led to a decrease in visible homosexual activity, illustrated by the sudden drop in entertainment offered through night clubs and drag balls. Martin Luther King Jr. personified this rhetoric, using it in many of his sermons and advice for his followers and congregants. He and the media attempted to police the working-class black men and women, in order to assimilate them with the dominant white culture by using white morals such as heterosexuality and family as a platform. The lasting effects of this rhetoric harmed Bayard Rustin and utterly devastated Prophet Jones. In order to achieve integration, civil rights leaders saw that acceptance would only come in the form of imitation, and they pushed for personal change in their attempt to achieve political, economic, and social equality.

Creating Agents of Change: The Mexican-American Education Project at CSU Sacramento

Yozantli Lagunas Guerrero

Abstract: During the Chicano Movement in the late 1960's and early 1970's, a federally-funded innovative new program emerged at California State University, Sacramento, known as the Mexican-American Education Project (MAEP). The program received $1.5 million from the U.S. Department of Education during its existence. The MAEP trained over 125 fellows providing instrumental training for future and experienced educators to address the needs of Mexican-American students. The purpose of this research is to comprehend the significances of the program by utilizing oral histories and archival materials that explore the challenges, impact, and legacy of the project.

"I think there should be a Mexican American Education Project at every state university and at every state college. We need something to hold Chicanos together more and make them feel like we belong. We have to make colleges relevant to Chicanos. The project helped to mold the rest of my life."[1] (1974)

During the 1960's Civil Rights movement in the United States, diverse minority groups sought liberation through social, economic and political activism. Through consciousness-raising and community-building efforts, countless Mexican-American individuals and organizations reclaimed the derogatory term "Chicano" and fought for progressive change in their communities in what historians now refer to as The Chicano Movement. As the Chicano Movement began to take shape, education remained at the forefront of the movement's concerns. High on the list of educational concerns was the need for better access for teachers to learn how to best address the needs of Chicano students. To begin correcting this problem, from 1968-1973, the Mexican-American Education Project (MAEP) at California State University, Sacramento served as a progressive and innovative model for institutions of higher education to provide a culturally-competent teacher training program in order to improve educational

[1] California State University, Sacramento, *The Mexican American Education Project: Final Report,* (California State University Sacramento, 1974), 85.

opportunities for Mexican-American students in public schools. This paper uses archival sources from California State University, Sacramento and original oral histories of fellows from the program to illustrate that by working with educators, the MAEP helped mold a new generation of Mexican-American teachers who could help bring better education to the community. This model provided a foundation for Chicano Movement activists to demand better education opportunities for students who had not been provided with the best opportunities or education.

Mexican-American students in the United States endured poor educational conditions in the twentieth-century. That century defines the educational barriers Mexican-American students have faced and helps scholars understand the historical context leading to the demands made by educational advocates of the Chicano Movement. In *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation,* historian Gilbert G. González explains that Chicano education can be divided into four different eras. González located the first era from 1900-1950, during the era of *de jure* segregation, which allowed segregation. The state allowed schools to make decisions about where students were placed based on their cultural and linguistic differences.[2] The second era (1950-1965) emphasized the need for Mexican-Americans to acculturate, ridding themselves of their ethnic identity. In this same era, the judiciary eliminated segregation in public schools through the Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education* of 1954, which confirmed that the practice of segregation created inherently unequal conditions. The third period that González identified is from 1965-75 and occurred when political activism and militancy emerged and educational advocates began calling for "bilingual and bicultural education, affirmative action, integration, curriculum reform, special admission to higher education, and financial aid."[3] The Mexican American Education Project at California State University, Sacramento was formed in this era and began to address these demands by training teachers first-hand with supporting Mexican-American students. This paper will focus on the third era of Chicano education from 1965-1975 which coincides with the rise of the Chicano Movements and the creation of the MAEP at California State University, Sacramento. It will bring to light the significance of the Mexican-American Education Project and its positive impact within the Chicano Movement overall. This signifies a period in Chicano activism that sought to implement the changes needed for Mexican-American students in schools by creating an innovative model that would serve educational needs while simultaneously positively impacting the fellows of the MAEP—and the Chicano Movement in Sacramento.

[2] Gilbert González, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (Texas, University of North Texas Press, 1990), 2.
[3] González, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation,* 2-3.

Realities of Mexican-American Education

Scholar Ruben Donato argues that Mexican American segregation in schools occurred because "State officials reasoned that Mexican children needed to correct cultural and linguistic deficiencies before mixing with their 'American' peers."[4] For many Mexican-American students, their quality of education diminished as the state allowed for their Americanization in the classroom. In schools, Mexican-Americans received treatment that made them appear less able than their white peers. Richard R. Valencia further supports this idea by arguing, "The establishment of segregated, inferior schools for Mexican-origin children reflected this socially racialized arrangement of White dominance over Mexican Americans."[5] This system of segregation allowed for the experience of Mexican-Americans to be reduced because of their ethnic identity. Efforts to address the injustices were taken through the court system, a venue for desegregating racially separated schools, where demands to implement a better educational experience for these students could be heard.

Historians argue that the earliest court case discussing the racialized system of segregation took place in 1925, in an Arizona case, *Romo v. Laird*, where a Mexican-American rancher Adolpho "Bebe" Romo Jr., sued Tempe Elementary School District No. 3 on behalf of his four children. In Arizona, two schools existed, one for white children and another for Mexican-American children. Romo attempted to enroll his children in the school for white children, but the district prevented him. The district sent him to enroll his children in the school for Mexican students. Romo challenged the district, arguing that the Mexican-American school had unqualified teachers compared to the white school.[6] He won his case. Historian Laura Muñoz explains that the findings of the case, "had the actual effect of limited integration, although it did not set legal precedent for desegregation."[7] The district admitted Romo's children in the school for white children because Romo proved that the teachers at the Mexican school were not qualified to teach because they were not certified teachers but were teachers in training. Thus, Arizona failed to meet the demands of Plessy v. Ferguson "separate but equal."

The state also often categorized Mexican-American as white on the census, but often forced them to attend schools with inferior educational conditions which included incompetent teachers, a lack of academic resources, and deplorable facilities often resembling barns. In 1931, another desegregation case emerged in California, *Alvarez v*

[4] Ruben Donato, *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era* (New York, State University of New York, 1997), 13.
[5] Richard R. Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Education Equality (*New York, New York University Press, 2008*),* 7.
[6] Facts of the case found in Laura K. Muñoz, "Separate but Equal? A Case Study of "Romo v. Laird" and Mexican American Education." *OAH Magazine of History* 15, no. 2 (2001): 28. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25163423.
[7] Muñoz, "Separate but Equal," 28.

Lemon Grove School District which Valencia argues "is the nation's first successful class action school desegregation court case."[8] In Lemon Grove, the school board voted to create a new school for Mexican-American children to attend because of overcrowding.[9] However, the district did not notify parents a new school was going to be built for Mexican-American students to attend which mirrored a barn.[10] Parents did not want to send their children to the new, yet inferior school. They argued that the Lemon Grove School district segregated the Mexican-American students from white students and did not provide equal education to what white students received. Parents mobilized to sue the Lemon Grove School district. Efforts to segregate the Mexican-American children were unsuccessful as the parents of the Mexican-American children organized to bring a lawsuit against the district, and they won.[11] The success of this desegregation case was important but short lived, however, as the struggle continued for Mexican-American students.

In 1947, *Mendez v. Westminster* would come forward and pave the foundations for the Supreme Court case of *Brown v Board of Education* in 1954.[12] In the case of *Méndez v. Westminster* the Méndez family attempted to send their three children to the Seventeenth Street School that the father Gonzalo Méndez attended as a child. However, because of the "separate but equal" doctrine the district did not allow the children to enroll.[13] Historian Vicki Ruiz illuminates preconceived stereotypes of Mexican-American children in education during the twentieth century. The family went to court where, "Judge Paul McCormick ruled that segregation of Mexican youngsters found no justification in the laws of California and furthermore was a clear denial of the 'equal protection' clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."[14] Many of the white administrators saw these students as, "dirty," and their difference in language meant the students were handicapped, unable to learn like the white students.[15] These court cases begin to unveil the deplorable conditions Mexican-American students experienced in education and highlight the inadequate resources the teachers had to support students. Those in positions of power lacked the qualifications to help Mexican-American students attain their educational goals. It would not be until the third era of education from 1965-1975 and the rise of the Chicano Movement that a broader call for better educational opportunities was made.

In the late 1960's, the Chicano Movement began to form, fostering political and social activism emerged. Chicano Movement activists demanded farm worker rights, voting and

[8] Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Education Equality,* 21.
[9] Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts,* 19.
[10] Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts*, 19.
[11] Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts*, 20-22.
[12] Vicki L. Ruiz, "South by Southwest: Mexican Americans and Segregated Schooling, 1900-1950." *OAH Magazine of History* 15, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 23, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25163422.
[13] Ruiz, "South by Southwest," 26.
[14] Ruiz, "South by Southwest," 26.
[15] Ruiz, "South by Southwest," 26.

political rights, restoration of land grants, and education. They also wanted to address the harsh educational conditions faced by many Mexican-American students in public schools. Historian Mario T. García and educator Sal Castro explain the conditions that Mexican-Americans experienced in schools: "The children received a limited education with a stress on vocational education, few learning resources such as books, and too many principals and teachers who, besides having no understanding and appreciation for the students' cultural backgrounds, possessed low expectations of the kids."[16] Teachers lacked the training needed to support Mexican-American children. In the late 1960s, students in East Los Angeles began to mobilize and call out these harsh educational conditions, demanding a better quality of education.

The "East L.A. Blowouts" occurred when Chicanos from different schools organized a walk out. Over 10,000 students walked out of East L.A. schools and the movement spread to other schools in the Southwest and across the nation. Students in higher education often came to the support of students in K-12 grades. These groups of Chicanos came together in politicizing their own community to call out the injustices that Mexican-Americans faced. Many of the students organizing the East L.A. Blowouts were seniors in high school, and local institutions of higher education began to actively recruit them to attend their colleges and universities.[17] As the increase of Chicanos in colleges and universities grew in California, questions around how to better support the needs of Chicano students came into question.

The book *Chicanos in Higher Education; Status and Issues* by Ronald W. Lopez, Arturo Madrid-Barela, and Reynaldo Flores Macias, examines the issues that Chicanos faced as the demographics of Mexican-Americans increased in higher education. Their findings indicate that Chicanos needed support in accessing universities and colleges in both undergraduate and graduate study enrollment. Drop-out rates of Chicanos in universities raised concerns about how universities could better support Chicano students' needs to complete their degrees.[18] Issues surrounding both diversity of faculty and administration began to be questioned by the limited number of Chicanos in these positions. Concerns emerged about the need to have people in positions of power who would reflect the increasing demographics of Chicanos in higher education.[19] Also, the lack of funding for student tuition was an issue for Chicanos and determined if they would be successful in their academic trajectories.[20]

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[16] Quoted in Mario T Gracía and Sal Castro, *Blowout!: Sal Castro and the Chicano Struggle for Educational Justice* (North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 110.
[17] Gracía and Castro, *Blowout!,* 188.
[18] Ronald López, Arturo Madrid-Barela, and Reynaldo Flores Macías, *Chicanos in Higher Education Status and Issues* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976), 24.
[19] López, et al, *Chicanos in Higher Education,* 26-27.
[20] López, et al, *Chicanos in Higher Education*, 28.

As the rise of Chicanos in systems of higher education grew, the need to address these gaps intensified. Scholar Ruben Donato explains – "Public schools, however, were oriented towards the white middle-class community. Moreover, Mexican American communities lacked sufficient political hegemony to be taken seriously by their schools."[21] As Chicano representation increased in higher education, the issues many Mexican-Americans faced as youth only intensified as judgements remained. Mexican-Americans needed to prove their worth in higher education while also navigating other barriers faced within academia. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the increase of Chicanos in higher education led many to activism as a way to address their needs for better educational outcomes.

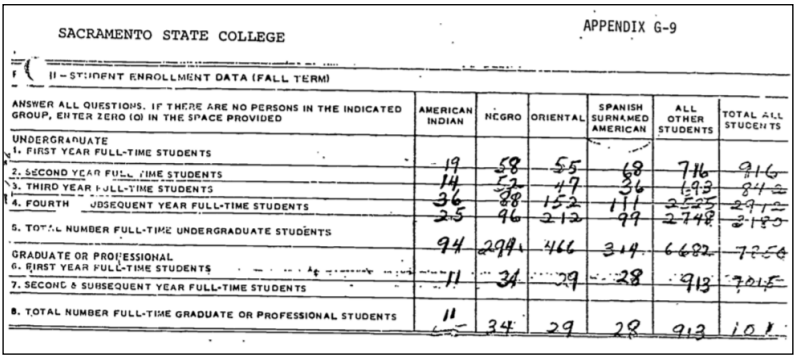
The Mexican-American Education Project

As greater numbers of Chicanos enrolled in higher education in the late 1960's and early 1970's, Chicano demographics became important to understand. Kenneth S. Washington drafted a report titled *Statement of Joint Committee* where he looked at the ethnic population in California and compared the percentages of Chicanos in California to those Chicano students enrolled in the California State University system. Analyzing the data from 1970-1971, he noted that Chicanos made up sixteen percent of the population in California.[22] However , only five point four percent of the students enrolled in the California State University system were Chicanos.[23] This abysmal number was even lower at California State University, Sacramento, with only about two point two percent of students enrolled being Chicano, far below the average in the CSU system.[24] In an official summary on *The Mexican American Education Project: Final Report,* the actual number of Chicano students enrolled in 1967, the year prior to the start of the MAEP, was approximately twenty-five out of 14,000 total students, and, by the end of the MAEP in 1973, the number of Chicano students enrolled grew to 540 per 18,000 total students.[25]

In the fall semester of 1971, John M. Smart, the Associate Dean of Academic Planning in the California State College system collected ethnic demographic information about students enrolled in the different California State University campuses. In figure 1.1. (*below),* Smart reported the demographics of "Spanish surnamed Americans" who often were

[21] Ruben Donato, *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era*, 58.
[22] Kenneth S. Washington, *Statement to the Joint Committee*, report prepared for the use of the CA State Legislature, Sacramento. Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education. 1972, 19. https://www2.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/usccr/documents/cr12m573rp1.pdf.
[23] Washington, *Statement to the Joint Committee,* 141.
[24] California State University, Sacramento, *The Mexican American Education Project: Final Report*, 5.
[25] *Final Report*, 5.

Mexican-American. The number of undergraduate students was 314 and graduate students was 28.[26]



SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE — APPENDIX G-9

II – STUDENT ENROLLMENT DATA (FALL TERM)

ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS. IF THERE ARE NO PERSONS IN THE INDICATED GROUP, ENTER ZERO (0) IN THE SPACE PROVIDED	AMERICAN INDIAN	NEGRO	ORIENTAL	SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN	ALL OTHER STUDENTS	TOTAL ALL STUDENTS
UNDERGRADUATE 1. FIRST YEAR FULL-TIME STUDENTS	19	58	55	68	716	916
2. SECOND YEAR FULL-TIME STUDENTS	14	52	47	36	693	842
3. THIRD YEAR FULL-TIME STUDENTS	36	88	152	111	2555	2942
4. FOURTH OR SUBSEQUENT YEAR FULL-TIME STUDENTS	25	96	212	99	2748	3180
5. TOTAL NUMBER FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS	94	298	466	314	6682	7850
GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL 6. FIRST YEAR FULL-TIME STUDENTS	11	34	29	28	913	7015
7. SECOND & SUBSEQUENT YEAR FULL-TIME STUDENTS						
8. TOTAL NUMBER FULL-TIME GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS	11	34	29	28	913	101

The final report indicated that student numbers did not grow significantly until years later when the Mexican-American Education Project grew and the program trained over 120 students.[27] The recruitment of Chicanos at California State University, Sacramento was a direct result of the implementation of the MAEP, which provided training for experienced and prospective teachers to become competent educators for Mexican-American students.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the innovative teacher training model known as Experience Teachers Fellowship Program in Mexican-American Education, mostly referred to as the Mexican-American Education Project (MAEP), emerged in direct response to unfortunate realities Mexican-American students faced in public schools in the twentieth-century. The program prepared teachers to become agents of change to support Mexican-Americans in public schools. The over-arching issues that Mexican-Americans faced in public school were lack of bicultural/bilingual education, ethnic isolation from white students, deplorable school facilities, and incompetent teachers. These findings are supported by research conducted about Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. The United States Commission on Civil Rights report on *The Mexican American* created by Helen Rowan compiled both quantitative and qualitative data on Mexican-American communities in the Southwest. Rowan identified solutions to support Mexican-Americans by increasing Spanish-speaking teachers and revising testing material for cultural biases.[28] These would

[26] John M Smart, *Ethnic Group Identification for the California State College Students,* report prepared for the use of the CA State Legislature, Sacramento. Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education. 1972, 141. https://www2.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/usccr/documents/cr12m573rp1.pdf.

[27] California State University, Sacramento, *The Mexican American Education Project: Final Report*, 69-76.

[28] Helen Rowan, *The Mexican American: a paper prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1968) 36,

be addressed in MAEP. In another report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, conducted in April of 1971, it is revealed that, "Mexican American Students in the State of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas attend schools in isolation from Anglo students."[29] These studies conducted about Mexican-American students were a reason for the MAEP to form at California State University, Sacramento. Their findings indicated that something needed to be done to better support Mexican-Americans on their educational journey because so many in public schools faced inadequate support.

The implementation of the Mexican-American Education Project began in 1969 with the support of former department chair of Anthropology Dr. Warren Snyder and the direct involvement of anthropology professor Clark Taylor, who drafted a preliminary proposal. Attached to the preliminary proposal was a letter from a local group in Sacramento, The Valley Instructional Television Association (VITA). The letter was from Charles J. Vento, the executive secretary of VITA addressed to Dr. Seattler, a professor in education. Vento informed Dr. Seattler that VITA fully supported the MAEP. "VITA is prepared to assist Sacramento State College in the development, coordination, and implementation of the instructional program for the Mexican-American community."[30]The MAEP received a grant from the Educational Personnel Development Act under the U.S. Department of Education, which awarded the program $1.5 million during its existence.[31] The National Endowment for Humanities awarded VITA a grant of $10,000.[32] Technical training manuals were published such as *Portable Video Tape Recorder: A guide for Teachers,* which taught teachers skills on using video cameras in their classroom for innovative teaching.[33] In the years of MAEP's existence, there was no direct collaboration between MAEP and VITA, though. However, VITA's willingness to support this program reflected the need to have competent educators address barriers that Mexican-Americans faced in schools.

Students interested in becoming graduate fellows in the MAEP were required to apply in April and received a notification of admittance in May, with the program beginning in June. Applicants had to express a commitment to support Mexican-American students in public school by improving their educational opportunities. Students who participated in the MAEP completed a special Master of Arts degree in Social Science concentrating on

[29] U.S. Commission of Civil Rights, "Mexican American Education Study Report I: Ethnic Isolation of Mexican Americans in the Public Schools of the South West, April 1971. https://www2.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/usccr/documents/cr12m573rp1.pdf

[30] Mexican American Education Project, 1968-1972, Folder 15-20, Office of the President, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Library, California State University, Sacramento.

[31] California State University, Sacramento, *The Mexican American Education Project: Final Report,* 15.

[32] The National Endowment on Humanities Grant awarded VITA a $10,000 grant although there is not description of the group. *Valley Instructional Television Association.*

[33] J. Robert McAdam and Charles J Vento, *Portable Video Tape Recorder: A guide for Teacher* (California State University, Sacramento, 1970,) 1.

Mexican-American education which was offered through the Anthropology department.[34] The program was one year, starting in June and ending in the following June, and fellows were required to complete a master's thesis focused on Mexican-American education. The MAEP provided financial assistant for each fellow up to $2,300 and allocated $400 for their dependents. Fellows were also required to attend a six-week trip to Mexico intended to help them gain first-hand experience in teaching Mexican children.

Utilizing the oral histories of two fellows of the MAEP, I documented the significant impact that the program had on past participants and connected their testimony to university archival documents related to the MAEP. Olivia Castellano participated in the MAEP in 1969-70 and subsequently became a professor in the English Department at CSU Sacramento. In discussing the project, Castellano mentioned the intensive responsibility the program required, describing a breakdown of what a typical day looked like for the fellows. "eight to ten, ten to twelve, break for lunch, twelve to two, four to six and then at six go and talk to the community. We would be taking buses to go talk to the community or some kid had gotten beaten by the cops and we would have to go protest at city hall. It was community activism to the max."[35] Juan Carrillo, another fellow from 1969-1970, went on to become a professor at Cosumnes River College. He recalled, "There were twenty seats for us. We became a core; we became a group with well-developed relationships. We challenged teachers. We took some knowledge and squeezed everything we could. We learned more than their intent."[36] This shows the dedication the participants had within the MAEP and their belief that they had to change things and create better educational opportunities for Mexican-Americans.

The participants enrolled in the MAEP believed in improving the lives of Mexican-American students. Olivia Castellano mentioned that her participation in the MAEP radicalized her to go into the community and become an "agent of change." When she attended Folsom prison along with another fellow José Montoya, a former art professor on campus, she remembers, "Five hundred men and two officers and as an agent of change you needed to help a young person to hear and feel they are somebody."[37] Those who participated as MAEP fellows became these agents of change with their goal being to improve the future for younger generations of Mexican-Americans. They wanted to empower youth that were often forgotten about. Castellano said that the MAEP, "Made me forever an agent of social change. It made me never forget that I was not going to do this teaching to get awards and money for me. I was going to do it for the them, the

[34] California State University, *California State University, Sacramento Catalog (*Long Beach, CA: California State University,1972)
[35] Olivia Castellano, interview by author, Sacramento, May 21, 2018.
[36] Juan Carrillo, interview by author, Sacramento, May 21, 2018.
[37] Olivia Castellano, interview by author, Sacramento, May, 21, 2018.

students."[38] Castellano was dedicated to creating change and supporting the Mexican-Americans neglected in schools. The MAEP allowed her to grow and become the agent of change who would provide support to Mexican-American students.

In Ella Diaz's book *Flying Under the Radar with the Royal Chicano Air Force: Mapping a Chicano/a Art History,* this discussion continues with members of The Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF). The RCAF was an art collective established during 1970, and some MAEP fellows were also part of the collective. José Montoya, a former professor in the art department and fellow in the MAEP, had direct connection with the creations of the RCAF which enhanced his becoming an agent of change in addition to his time in MAEP. "What they were intending was to ... train us on how to become agents of change. That was the word, 'agents'. The notion that wherever we came from, once we got our M.A. degrees, we were to go back and begin advocating for change—become agents of change."[39] He explained that the program created these agents of change to go into the community and support the needs of Mexican-American students.

Challenges

In the early years of the MAEP, the project was audited by the U.S. Department of Education. Questions surrounding the initial proposal emerged and concerns about their record surfaced. This caused tensions between the MAEP staff and the university administration. There were concerns of how the program handled funds for its fellows. MAEP staff often went back and forth, through correspondence, claiming that Eugene Morris, the director of the Sacramento State College Foundation who also served as a fiscal agent for the MAEP, often "[acted] beyond your responsibilities as a fiscal agent."[40] This caused strains within the program and with the university, and as the public became informed of the audit, it made the situation worse. The local newspaper, *The State Union: Oldest Daily in the West,* wrote an article on July 12, 1970 titled, "Sac State Project: Auditors Challenge Chicano Program" in which the author, Michael Fallon, reports on the audit of the MAEP in November 1968. Fallon wrote about the growing tension between California State University, Sacramento and the project. Fallon outlined the details of the audit that occurred and the steps to implement tighter control of the finances. Eugene Morris is quoted in the news article explaining that "new procedures–purchases orders and tighter control of travel expense – have been in effect in recent months for the Mexican-American

[38] Olivia Castellano, interview by author, Sacramento, May, 21, 2018.
[39] Ella Diaz, *Flying Under the Radar with the Royal Chicano Air Force: Mapping a Chicano/a Art History (*Texas: University of Texas Press, 2017), 72.
[40] Correspondence between Duane Campbell, Co-Director and Eugene Morris. August 27, 1970's found in Mexican American Education Project, 1968-1972, Folder 15-20, Office of the President, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Library, California State University, Sacramento.

project and for other projects administered by the foundation."[41] These were intended to address and fix the issues with the audit and the program. In a 1970 interview with the co-director of the MAEP, Duane Campbell, and scholar Ella Diaz on the Mexican-American Education Project, Campbell and Diaz spoke about university administration and the program. "The MAEP had growing pains and in the beginning, did some sloppy record keeping."[42]

These tensions between the MAEP and university administration continued and only intensified. Correspondences between university administrators and Dr. Warren Snyder often called out Eugene Morris for wanting the MAEP project removed at California State University, Sacramento. At the same time, MAEP fellows wanted to institutionalize the program and have more students receive the training MAEP provided. The project had received continued support but a turn-over of presidents within the early 1970s made it difficult to receive enough support to institutionalize the program. The university never intended to institutionalize the MAEP long-term. As the program was coming to an end in 1973, students vocalized their frustration because of the administration's lack of support.

In the final report, MAEP fellows were surveyed, and one student was quoted as saying,

> "I am very upset that the Project is being terminated at Sac State. I know that all Chicanos will lose out because of this. The administrators of the Project could have done more to try to keep the Project in California where it's most needed. I do believe that the training that the Project offers is the most relevant to today's education."[43]

Students expressed their discontent with administration and the following question was asked of them:

> "Question #16: What Is Your Perception of Administrative Support for the Philosophy and Objectives Set Forth by the Project?
>
> [Response:] I think it's lousy and C.S.U.S has only shown support of tokenism. One of giving in inch by inch. If change is coming, it will have to come from a higher level within our state government. Eugene Morris followed an all-out effort to destroy the Project. He was always negative about the Project. Wanted to change the program. Carter and the Board of Trustee were out to kill the program, regardless of its worth or not. Never once did they make any move to try to save

[41] Michael Fallon, "Sac State Project: Auditors Challenge Chicano Program" (Sacramento, July, 12, 1970).
[42] Campbell, Duane. Interview by Ella Diaz. Sacramento, October 4th, 2010.
[43] California State University, Sacramento, *The Mexican American Education Project: Final Report,* 83.

> the program in terms of solving any of its problems but totally to get rid of it. If the Project is not continued, or does not expand and grow, then we have an educational system in California that has not opened its eye and ears to the pleas of the Chicano community and throws the program aside. A report of the Project should be given to our national legislatures to call for an investigation to find out why a program which has shown so much success is being left dropped like it has been. And why the program hasn't been initialized by the university as contracted."[44]

This response emphasizes the lack of overall support given to the MAEP. Despite the obstacles from the administration, the Mexican-American Education Project had a profound impact on many students at the time. The program facilitated change by equipping future and experienced educators with tools to support Mexican-American students—it created agents of change. As years continued, the fight for faculty diversity on campus rose, and students of color vocalized and organized within their student organizations to diversify the faculty demographics to represent the students of color that attended California State University, Sacramento.

The work Chicana women did during the Chicano movement has often been silenced and erased from dominant history narratives which often highlight the work of men. Historian Maylei Blackwell explains retrofitted memory which, "assumes that the project of hegemony is never complete and must be constantly re-solidified and re-narrated in history."[45] This is essential in understanding the history of the MAEP which had a positive impact of those who participated. There are still many more stories of other participants whose voices remain hidden. Sexism was often experienced by the Chicanas during this time, although it was not often discussed. Historian Vicki Ruiz speaks about the lack of conversations addressing sexism during the Chicano Movement in her book *From Out of the Shadows* stating that, "literature has been reduced to a cursory discussion of sexism within the movimiento by the authors of the leading monographs on the Chicano Movement."[46] Men often trivialized the sexism present in the Chicano Movement. Sexism existed in the MAEP, although it was not often spoken about. Olivia Castellano shared her experience as a woman in the MAEP stating that, "There were about eighteen men and only four women," in her cohort. Castellano describes that, "The men constantly hustled the women, the sexism in the MAEP was unbelievable."[47] Juan Carrillo also spoke about issues with sexism, mentioning there was a clear division between women and men. He mentioned that they did not come together, "issues of gender roles were really raised a lot in the

[44] California State University, Sacramento, *The Mexican American Education Project: Final Report,* 91.
[45] Maylei Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2011, 2).
[46] Vicki Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 100.
[47] Olivia Castellano, interview by author, Sacramento, May 21, 2018.

Chicano Movement."[48] There is much more work for future scholars to do in order to fully uncover the intersectionality of Chicana women's experiences in the moviemiento in Sacramento.

Impact

California State University, Sacramento became a hub for Chicanos to grow into agents of change in the new program. The program not only trained new generations of equipped educators, but it also provided agency for the fellows to advance in their career. The MAEP also brought prominent Chicano Movement activists to California State University, Sacramento. Reies Lopez Tijerina gave a lecture for a Cinco de Mayo event on campus, and Cesar Chávez provided trainings to the MAEP fellows. Figure 1.2 (*below)* is an image of when Cesar Chavez was on campus; pictured with him are student leaders who participated in the MAEP.

The positive outcomes of the program were recorded by Henry Torres Trueba, who examined bicultural and bilingual education in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and focused on the Mexican-American Education Project at California State University, Sacramento. His findings show that about "75.6 percent feel that the project made a significant change in their careers because: (a) it made them aware of their social responsibilities and personal capabilities; (b) it gave them the opportunity to obtain a master's degree and help them to orientate their education towards the Chicano community."[49] This program had a

[48] Juan Carrillo, interview by author, Sacramento, May 11, 2018.
[49] Henry Torres Trueba, *Chicano Bilingual-Bicultural Education* (New York: Mouton Publishers, 1979), 176.

profound positive impact on those who participated. It prepared them for understanding issues Mexican-American students were experiencing.

Legacy

One particularly influential group that left a legacy within the MAEP were Chicano artists. The Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF) art collective also emerged within the time period that the MAEP existed. Juan Carrillo spoke to the beginnings of RCAF, and he remembers, "José Montoya is in the program and so we connected and during that year the project hired Esteban Villa to assist with graphic design work." [50] He continued that students on campus wanted more representation. "The previous year they talked about more staffing more faculty that came out of our community and of course those voices just grew stronger as the years went on and now, we had José and Esteban teaching."[51]

As Montoya and Villa began teaching in the art department their presence became known; Chicano visual artists would soon find a space within the art department. Carrillo mentioned, "it was a creative time because it was bantering playing on words and telling stories. This was occurring and they were this centrifugal force that brought all these people together. Esteban was in the art department teaching poster making and muralism and these young artists began making work that reflected consciousness raising."[52] The MAEP supported the work of these artist and recruited them to create flyers for their program. Figure 1.3 (*below)* shows an image of a recruitment flyer for the MAEP. The artwork was created by Ricardo Favela to recruit the next group of MAEP fellows. It reads:

> "Mexican-American Education Project Sacramento State College Announces 20 Participants will be selected for 71-72 academic year. Program will prepare participants for bilingual, bicultural public school teachers receiving B.A. degrees in Ethnic Studies with teaching credentials. A stipend of $2,300.00 in ten monthly payments to cover basic living expenses-plus $400 per dependent."

This poster shows the use of Chicano art being utilized to recruit students in the program. It allowed for Chicano artists to gain a platform and to transform what Chicano art represented in the early 1970's.

[50] Juan Carrillo, interview by author, May 11, 2018.
[51] Juan Carrillo, interview by author, May 11, 2018.
[52] Juan Carrillo, interview by author, May 11, 2018.

The impact of the Mexican-American Education Project was profound for past fellows in the program. Juan Carrillo, recalled, "I would not have become a faculty member of a college if I had not gone through this program and gotten a master's degree. They would not have hired me with a bachelor's degree so it gave me that opportunity to spend seven years of my life in a classroom teaching."[53] Olivia Castellano spoke about her experience in the program and about becoming an agent of change. "It was magical. It was transformative as a professional, educator, and later as a full professor here at Sac State. It was the singular most important program of my life."[54] The personal and educational impact MAEP had on both Carrillo and Castellano show how the program helped students at California State University, Sacramento. The Mexican-American Education Project of 1968-1973 served as an innovative model to train and create culturally-competent educators provide skills to empower Mexican-American students. Although the program came to an end at California State University Sacramento, the MAEP allowed for the Chicano Movement in Sacramento to flourish. The impact of the MAEP continued years after with

[53] Juan Carrillo, interview by author, Sacramento May 11, 2018.
[54] Olivia Castellano, Interview by author, Sacramento, May 21, 2018.

two universities in Oregon and Colorado modeling a teacher training program for bilingual and bicultural teachers after the MAEP.[55] The intentional effort to create a culturally competent teacher training program not only has an impact on the students but also the educators that experience the training first hand. The MAEP's legacy remains for many who participated in the program and whose stories have been shaped and transformed because of their participation in the MAEP. The program influenced both women and men to become scholars, artists, and agents of change in advocating for Chicanos. As the history of the Chicano Movement continues to grow, we must remember whose stories are missing and whose are being memorialized in present day.

[55] California State University, Sacramento, *The Mexican American Education Project: Final Report,* 121.

An Exercise in Forgetting: Charles M. Goethe, Eugenics, and the Founding of CSU Sacramento

Liam Dodson

Abstract: Eugenics—the practice of selectively encouraging certain human traits through controlling reproduction—is widely seen today as a dangerous pseudo-science. Through the late 19th and early 20th century, eugenics enjoyed a large following in the United States, particularly in California where 80% of the country's sterilizations took place. The Conservation and Progressive movements existed contemporaneously with that of eugenics, and this awkward marriage was perhaps best personified by the work of Charles M. Goethe. Goethe was one of CSU Sacramento's largest benefactors in its foundational years, and the institution willfully ignored his history of promoting eugenics, instead showering him with praise for his conservationist efforts. This paper explores Goethe's legacy within the context of these movements and shows how it became intertwined with that of CSU Sacramento.

Charles M. Goethe, a historical figure who played an influential role in the formation of CSU Sacramento (also known as Sacramento State University), funded the university's building projects and other scientific programs. Along with this philanthropic work, he gave a substantial amount of financial support and political backing to the eugenics movement in California, which persisted all the way to his death in 1966. During the 1950s-1960s, Sacramento State University courted Charles M. Goethe for his money, showering him with praise for his work in parks, education, and charity while consciously obfuscating his support for eugenics. After Goethe's death, the university went through the process of extirpating its benefactor. Sacramento State University actively removed Goethe from its historical narrative because the administration did not want to acknowledge its past ties to the eugenics movement. This stymied critical discussion of Sacramento State's history.

In this paper, I will attempt to fill in some of these critical gaps. I will first delineate the history of the eugenics movement and demonstrate how it related to the Progressive and Conservation movements. Second, I will expound upon Goethe's own legacy, as he epitomized the symbiotic relationship between these movements and worked tirelessly to legitimize eugenics. Finally, I will detail how Sacramento State

inextricably tied itself to Goethe and his legacy and then subsequently came to suppress these ties under the pressure of student activism.

History

The history of eugenics is crucial to understanding how California fits into a larger national picture. Ideas of eugenics were widely popular in America before World War II. Throughout the nation, eugenics laws legalized the sterilization of "undesirables." The underlying concern was the fear over the "growing recognition that poorer women produce more children than wealthier women."[1] The assumption was that moral degeneracy and intellectual inferiority were traits of people in lower economic classes, which tended to be immigrants and other minority groups. Some reformers were even willing to explore sterilization as a method for fixing these assumed moral and class issues, and the U.S. Supreme Court case *Buck v. Bell* in 1927 made compulsory sterilizations of unfit people legally acceptable. As a result, the case paved the way for other states to create more sterilization laws while allowing them to continue with their programs of coerced sterilization unimpeded by the federal government.

California had sterilization laws on the books long before the *Buck v. Bell* case and already had a long history of eugenics, being the third state to legalize the practice. In 1921, California was responsible for 83 percent of all recorded sterilizations within the United States.[2] California's creation of sterilization laws began with the American Progressive movement between 1890-1920. Americans faced new problems brought on by industrial cities, some being crime, immorality, and pollution. One branch of the resulting Progressive movement favored a stronger role for government in all branches of life, including reproduction.[3] This pseudo-scientific slant proved popular with many of the self-styled intellectuals of the period, who supported the movement to address societal issues. These efforts were praised as ways to manage societal problems in the country by sterilizing sections of the population who were deemed harmful to society. The push for eugenics mainly came from the efforts of some doctors and other professionals of typically white and protestant descent who agitated for laws to the detriment of non-white racial groups.[4] Eugenicists' overriding concern was the preservation of white America, which was deemed racially superior to non-white segments of the population.

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[1] Wendy Kline, *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 97.
[2] Janet Simmonds, "Coercion in California: Eugenics Reconstituted in Welfare Reform, the Contracting of Reproductive Capacity, and Terms of Probation," *Hastings Women's Law Journal* 17, no. 2 (2006): 271.
[3] Garland E. Allen, "'Culling the Herd': Eugenics and the Conservation Movement in the United States, 1900-1940," *Journal of the History of Biology 46,* no. 1 (2013): 35-36.
[4] Simmonds, 270.

After WWII, the specter of Nazism forced eugenicists to push for their views with more subtlety. Skirting around eugenics' underlying racist philosophy, Goethe—in a 1963 letter to workers—asked whether there could be "UNDERPOPULATION WITHIN OVERPOPULATION" and suggested that "social inadequates" were having far more children than the "prudent taxpayer."[5] By appealing to people's economic insecurities, eugenicists effectively refashioned the eugenics brand for a more racially sensitive public.

Conservation

Charles M. Goethe fit perfectly in this model of California eugenics' marriage to conservation efforts. To Goethe, the natural processes of the world were deeply connected to human life, and eugenics was at the center of both.[6] After joining the Save the Red Wood League in 1918, Goethe remained active within the organization throughout his life.[7] Goethe's work was informed by his view that environmental conservation and eugenics were inherently connected, later writing that it was necessary for humanity's survival to start "breeding humans as carefully as racehorses and roses."[8] Considering his deep involvement with the California conservation movement, this analogy's invocation of nature was likely not coincidental. It was through the language of conservation that people like Goethe understood eugenics. Conservationism invoked ideas of preserving the natural state of the environment to promote harmony, and eugenicists like Goethe argued on similar grounds that it was necessary to sterilize groups which harmed the "common good" to foster social harmony.

With the hope of promoting a more industrious and culturally unified public, Goethe invested heavily in the conservation movement. In his writings, he often referenced other countries and the effects parks had on each respective population in affecting positive change. Likewise, Goethe cited how Germany's industrial leaders looked towards nature to "further their desire for world power through commercial profits."[9] One of Goethe's goals in creating parks was to teach future generations commercial skills that would give them a competitive edge in the global economy. This

[5] Goethe to Dear Fellow Worker, March 2, 1963, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987(1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.
[6] Danielle Peck and William Schoenl, "Advertising Eugenics: Charles M. Goethe's Campaign to Improve the Race," *Endeavour* 34, no. 2 (2010): 75-80.
[7] "Guide to the Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966)," Online Archives of California, accessed April 29, 2018, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt100031mt/.
[8] Charles M. Goethe to Dear Fellow Citizens, March 19, 1965, Folder 4, Box 17, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987(1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.
[9] C. M. Goethe, *National Parks Nature Guiding's Beginning,* December 4, 1940, 1, Folder 5, Box 11, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987(1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.

nationalistic appeal to Social Darwinism invoked the idea that America needed to dominate other nations through its industrial might, or otherwise fail in a world determined by the survival of the fittest.

Natural parks to Goethe were as much about promoting a certain type of behavior in people as sterilization laws were aimed at breeding out negative traits, as he envisioned that they would allow for America's "Nordic" race to assimilate into one national identity. Goethe pointed out the success of Switzerland's nature study field trips in causing "loyalty [to] cement in a nation speaking three different languages and with two rather conflicting religions."[10] The wilderness —in its separation from urban society—created space for white Americans of different national backgrounds to become Americanized. Parks were a source of consensus in the public sphere, as they would promote a patriotic spirit by way of defending a common land. Goethe promoted the idea of nature guides in America to enshrine the American wilderness as part of the American patriotic experience, and this was specifically aimed to foster a common cultural heritage within the country's white population.

Goethe's work seems benign when viewed outside the context of eugenics. A supporter of the international recreation movement, Goethe aimed to create public spaces for people in urban centers, and wanted to preserve them for future generations.[11] Goethe also coined the phrase, "Learn to read a trailside, as one does a book," and wrote tour guides for sites such as Lake Tahoe and Yosemite National Park.[12] These efforts made Goethe's name synonymous with conservation, and Sacramento State would eventually become complicit in perpetuating that image.

Eugenics

Men like Goethe do not exist in a vacuum, as they are shaped by their respective cultural contexts. Goethe came from a family of German Lutherans who moved from Australia to Sacramento in the 1860s, where his father would find success in banking and real estate.[13] His status in a white Protestant upper class immigrant family shaped his understanding of his place in society, while exposing him to an America that still practiced Jim Crow. Goethe, by emphasizing his whiteness as a precondition for becoming American, set himself apart from non-white immigrant groups and downplayed his status as a second-generation immigrant.

In the American college system, Goethe was taught to categorize both race and civilization. In his college anthropology notes, Goethe delineated the races by

[10] Charles M. Goethe, "Early Boy Scout Memories," 3, Folder 5, Box 11, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987(1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.
[11] Biographical Note, C. M. Goethe for California Historical Society, Folder 5, Box 11, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987(1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Library, California State University, Sacramento, 1.
[12] Eugenics Pamphlet # 68, n.d.: p. 12.
[13] Garland E. Allen, "Culling the Herd", 21.

referring to black people as "negroid."[14] One title of his history notes reads, "Subjugation of backwards people. Easy, but!-."[15] Goethe's offhanded disregard for the South American civilizations as "backwards people" foreshadows Goethe's later support for eugenics, but we can also infer that his education did little to dispel these notions. Europe's apparent ease in conquering the Aztec and Inca empires would have fed into Goethe's understanding of whites as a superior race, particularly as more nuanced analyses surrounding European disease came much later.

America was a bastion of intellectual justifications for racism, and eugenics provided one of them. Eugenics was a social fad that swept across the country throughout the 1920s, as people of various ethnicities held contests over the best babies and fittest families at state fairs.[16] The popular culture status of eugenics helped to perpetuate racial division, and the participation of different ethnic groups in these fairs demonstrates that eugenics had a popular base beyond white people.

Eugenics would come to define Goethe's work above all other considerations, and he reportedly spent $1,000,000 to fund its study.[17] He also helped to found Northern California Eugenics, and spread its gospel across America to the tune of over 100,000 leaflets.[18] Politically, Goethe's goal was the registration and eventual deportation of any undocumented workers who were not of the Nordic race. His flagrant racism was on full display in a 1935 letter to Dr. Ellsworth Huntington, in which he proposed an immigration policy: "This [appropriations' bill] should include a registration of aliens act…[n]o other nation but ours [America] would appropriate $4,000,000,000 for relief, which at least here, goes overwhelmingly, to alien morons."[19] The combination of pushing for the registrations of "alien morons" and their eventual deportation was a thinly veiled attempt at practicing social engineering within America. Furthermore, by arguing that immigrants were dependents on the state, Goethe could claim they were draining public resources and rationalize the need for deportation and sterilization laws. By employing an economic justification, eugenicists could sell these ideas to a broader audience.

Eugenicists devoted a great deal of time to studying the mental capacities of other races and categorizing them. The most common claim used to justify

[14] Goethe College Notes, W 11-12, Folder 3, Box 12, Charles M. Goethe papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.
[15] Goethe College Notes, W 30, Folder 4, Box 12, Charles M. Goethe papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.
[16] Byrnes W. Malcolm. "Racial Thought and Racist Thinking: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives," *Journal of African American History* 101, no. 1-2 (2016): 152.
[17] Charles M. Goethe to Dr. Lewis L. Holladay, February 13, 1953, Folder 6, Box 14, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987(1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Achieves, Library, California State University, Sacramento.
[18] Charles M. Goethe to Dr. Ellsworth Huntington, September 26, 1935. The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849- 1987(1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Library, California State University, Sacramento.
[19] Charles M. Goethe to Dr. Ellsworth Huntington, September 26, 1935.

sterilization was that a person was "feeble-minded." In a 1963 letter, Goethe stated, "Latin America, tragically hybridized, lacks leadership."[20] In Goethe's mind, miscegenation led to the inability of a country to produce intellectual leaders who could transform them into modern nations. In 1929, Goethe referred to Mexicans as, "…eugenically as low-powered as the Negro... He not only does not understand health rules: being a superstitious savage, he resists them."[21] This alludes to the eugenicist belief in strict racial hierarchies, in which Nordic whites were considered to possess the greatest capacity for rational thought.

In Goethe's letter to Dr. Ellsworth, he further praised the "…cautious way the German sterilization program is proceeding."[22] To propagate the "white race," Goethe also lauded the idea of building female and male dormitories next to each other so, "…the girls again could entertain their boy acquaintances."[23] Eugenicists assumed that educated people were innately smart because of their genetics and not because of external environmental factors; by contrast, they believed that the uneducated poor simply lacked the genetic disposition for education. Social Darwinists further believed that the endemic poverty of minority groups was both material and intellectual—that it was simply another manifestation of "survival of the fittest." Eugenicists—by arguing for measures to increase the birth rate of the educated class—were really arguing for the continued marginalization of poor minorities who were deemed incapable of being educated. Deportation and sterilization were natural complements in the pursuit of whitening the nation, both in theory and in practice.

Eugenics' began to lose steam after WWII, as the scientific community ceased to advocate eugenics as an actual science. The horrors of Nazi concentration camps, new advancements in psychiatric sciences, and greater optimism in the treatability of mental illness all challenged the ideas of eugenics.[24] Support for the movement seemed to be on the decline, and Goethe even warned Dr. Lewis L. Holladay against investing in eugenics, stating that, "...the eugenics field constitutes no Utopian Dream."[25] Nevertheless, eugenics laws still carried enough support to stay on the books without scientific backing.

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[20] Goethe to Dear Fellow Worker, March 2, 1963, Folder 4, Box 17, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Library, California State University, Sacramento.

[21] Peter Schrag, *Not Fit.for Our Society: Nativism and Immigration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 126, accessed May 10, 2018, www.csus.edu/cshpe/eugenics/docs/goethe report.pdf.

[22] Tony Platt, *What's In A Name? Charles M. Goethe. American Eugenics, & Sacramento State University: A Report* (Self-pub, 2004), 13. This book is found in the Special Collections of CSUS Sacramento.

[23] Charles M. Goethe, *Recollections of Architecture Julian Morgan,* in Memoirs and statements by Goethe, 1919-1964, Folder 5, Box 11, Charles M. Goethe papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966), Department of special collections and university archives, California State University, Sacramento.

[24] Randall Hansen, and Desmond King, *Sterilized by the State: Eugenics, Race, and the Population Scare in Twentieth-Century North America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 102-103.

[25] Goethe to Dr. Lewis L. Holladay, February 13, 1953.

Goethe was thus able to argue for eugenics until his death in 1966, and people nonchalantly continued to associate eugenics with him. California even had sterilization laws as late as 1979, under the pretext of being "therapeutic."[26]

Sacramento State University

Eugenics remained Goethe's *raison d'être*, and Sacramento State University tacitly accepted this when it accepted his money. For a fledgling university like Sacramento State, funding from any source was a welcome sight. Old philanthropists like Goethe were prime candidates for funding sources. Sacramento State desperately needed funding in the 1950s, and university president, Guy West (1947-1965), was willing to court anyone who could provide these funds. Due in part to Goethe's donations, after five years of paying rent to operate at the Sacramento Junior College, Sacramento State would move to its modern-day location.[27]

Under great financial stress, a figure like Goethe was a more than welcome benefactor for the new university. Guy West remarked on Goethe's 84th birthday that a person would have to undertake the construction of an entire institution to appreciate "…the help given Sacramento State College by this great friend and benefactor."[28] West's remarks suggest that Goethe played a large role in the creation of the university and was close to those in charge of the institution. Ultimately, Sacramento State was the largest beneficiary in Goethe's will, receiving an estimated $653,000 after his death in 1966.[29] By accepting this money, the university entwined its early history with Goethe, and left a stain on its own legacy.

To soften the image of its founding father, Sacramento State attempted to whitewash Goethe's record. The building of the Goethe Arboretum was the university's attempt to obfuscate his legacy of eugenics and instead emphasize his connection with the conservation movement. Many would honor Goethe by way of the arboretum, including the mayor who proclaimed that, "The C. M. Goethe Arboretum was established on the campus of the Sacramento State College to perpetuate the name of one of Sacramento's most outstanding citizens and one of the nation's most devoted conservationists."[30]

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[26] Simmonds, "Coercion in California," 272.

[27] "About Sac State: History," Sacramento State University, accessed May 9, 2018, http://www.csus.edu/about/history.html.

[28] Guy West, "Remarks on the Occasion of the 84th Birthday of Dr. C. M. Goethe," 2, Folder 6, Box 7, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.

[29] Platt, *What's in A Name?,* 36.

[30] James B. McKinney, "Mayor Proclamation Issued by the Mayor City of Sacramento," Folder 6, Box 7, Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.

Eventually, the student body began to take notice of the university's cozy relationship with Goethe. The final straw for students was the plan to name the new science building after Goethe. While the arboretum had been true to form in acknowledging Goethe's conservationist legacy, the scientific building contained no mention of Goethe's support for eugenics. Students were quick to notice the motive of the university in showering Goethe with effusive gifts and praise. One radical student organization spread around a leaflet entitled "Sacramento State's Own Doctor Strangelove" noting that the college honored Goethe merely because he was, "…immensely wealthy. Because he gives money away. And most importantly because he is very old and will soon leave his money away."[31] Another leaflet brought attention to Goethe's connections to eugenics, but the university quickly censored this. In the context of the Civil Rights Movement, students were horrified by their benefactor's racist legacy, and this caused the university to control Goethe's public image.[32]

Initially, Sacramento State rebuffed the students' demands. By not renouncing Goethe while he was alive and doubling down to defend him after his death, the university thus entwined itself with Goethe's legacy. The legacy proved to be more resilient than the university had hoped, making any attempt to control his image a Herculean effort.

Unable to whitewash Goethe, the college attempted to hide its past associations with him. This campaign to forget Goethe and omit any involvement the university had with him began soon after Goethe's death with a new science building in 1968, now omitting his name. This marked the first step in the school's efforts to sanitize the university's history from its so-called founding father. The Goethe Arboretum fell into such disarray that it became symbolic of the university's attempt to feign ignorance at its associations.[33]

I argue that the university's attempt to distance itself from Goethe after his death is a wrongheaded approach, as failing to acknowledge his legacy simply perpetuates historical blindness. Today Sacramento State University's policy of strategic amnesia seems to be very much alive, with Goethe being completely omitted from the Sacramento State History web page.[34] Goethe's absence on the web page is made markedly worse, considering the University had referred to him as "a philanthropist

[31] Sacramento State's Own Doctor Strangelove," 6, Folder 10, Box 17, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.
[32] May Second Committee, "Banned At Sac State!," Folder 10, Box 17, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.
[33] Glen S. Carson to Dr. Bernard L. Hyink, September 3, 1971, Folder 6, Box 7, The Charles M. Goethe Papers, 1849-1987 (1948-1966), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento.
[34] About Sac State History," Sacramento State University, accessed May 9, 2018, http://www.csus.edu/about/historv.html.

and educator" a mere 15 years prior.[35] While the Sacramento State archives has a bevy of information on Goethe, the degree to which the university has extirpated him from the public record is inexcusable. Today, Sacramento State's pretense of ignorance about Goethe—found morally objectionable even in the 1960s—hinders the public's ability to be critical of the University's past.

While Goethe was a crucial figure in the early patronage of Sacramento State and the preservation of the California redwoods, these feats should not elevate his reputation. Historical figures like Goethe should be portrayed with nuance and contextualized within their time, in such a way that their historical legacies become transparent. Sacramento State University needs to publicly acknowledge its past mistakes to be accountable in the present. Furthermore, the marriage of conservationist and eugenicist ideologies, which Goethe exemplified, needs to be explored further. By acknowledging its past misdeeds and facilitating discussion, Sacramento State would greatly bolster its reputation as an institution that encourages critical thinking.

How we choose to remember Charles M. Goethe is a question of collective memory. While Goethe was only one individual within a much larger eugenics movement, he still left an indelible mark in the history of Sacramento State University. Throughout Goethe's life, he gave both vocal and monetary support to eugenics, with the goal of racially purifying the country's genetic makeup. By sweeping Goethe's history under the rug, the University does an injustice to critical thinking and memory. Instead of being a focal point for collective amnesia, Goethe's legacy should invite discussion around crucial matters of politics, race, and history, particularly as they relate to Sacramento State University.

[35] Platt, *What's in A Name?,* 39-40.

Haig's Folly: The Battle of Passchendaele and the Failure of Generalship in WWI

Valor Nash

Abstract, The Great War of 1914 caused mass casualties on both sides. Generals were ill-equipped to strategically and humanely win the war. This paper endeavors to critique the wartime decisions of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, specifically at Passchendaele. Haig's inability to learn from previous offensives and his continued insistence on a campaign in the Ypres region of Belgium caused the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives for no gain. Additionally, this article seeks to exhibit the hellish conditions that troops experienced on the western front during World War One.

On the eve of the Third Battle of Ypres, fighting in Belgium had been continuous for nearly three years. Initiated in 1914 by the German invasion that started World War One, the German occupation of Belgium was continuous for the entirety of the war and resulted in multiple failed offensives. The region and city of Ypres was hard fought over, as Germany sought to eliminate the Allies from Belgium. There were at least five different Ypres offensives launched during The Great War, and each was significant. For example, the First Battle of Ypres marks the "race to the sea" and is one of the first examples of fortified trench warfare.[1] The Second Battle of Ypres saw the first use of chemical weapons during the war, when the Germans tried to circumvent the Hague Convention of 1899 by opening canisters of gas in front of their lines, allowing the wind to blow towards the allied trenches.[2] The Third Battle of Ypres, also known as Battle of Passchendaele, is remembered for its mud and degradation of life.[3]

[1] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 5.
[2] Prior and Wilson, *Passchendaele*, 15-16. The Hague Convention of 1899 outlawed the use of projectiles with the sole intention of diffusing gas but did not outlaw the use of gas itself. "Laws of War: Declaration on the Use of Projectiles the Object of Which is the Diffusion of Asphyxiating or Deleterious Gases; July 29, 1899" The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/dec99-02.asp
[3] *Flanderschlact* in German, *Deuxième Bataille des Flandres* in French. Jack Sheldon, *The German Army at Passchendaele* (Great Britain: Pen and Sword Books, 2007), XIV.

Flanders Flooded

The conditions for troops on the ground at Passchendaele were horrifying, even by The Great War's violent standard of warfare. Based on statistics, Passchendaele's casualties were similar to other offensives during The Great War. The differentiating factor between it and other offensives was the overwhelmingly wet conditions. During August of 1917—the first month of the offensive—there were only three days without rain. The month of August received 127 millimeters of rain, nearly double the average.[4] Sir Douglas Haig, Field Marshal of the British Expeditionary Force on the Western Front, had General Charteris describe the situation to him by stating, "Every brook is swollen and the ground is a quagmire. If it were not that all the records in previous years had given us fair warning, it would seem as if Providence had declared against us".[5] Those warnings went unheeded.

To make matters worse, the consistent bombardment of the low-lying region of Ypres throughout the three years of war destroyed the drainage system in Flanders. Even during a relatively dry September, a mere 5 millimeters of rain flooded the landscape. The Germans, still dealing with the rain, occupied the high ground on the ridges overlooking Ypres and thus were spared from much of the flooding. The Allies could have withdrawn from Ypres and arguably held firmer ground, but Ypres held political and moral value. It remained the last Belgian municipality under allied control and hence meant that Belgium had not yet conceded to the Germans. This salient, or outward projection in the line, became a holding point of British defiance to the German war effort and a launching point for the British offensive in 1917.

Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig had no way of knowing how heavy the rain would fall in 1917, but his plans at Ypres were ambitious even in the best of weather conditions. Passchendaele was the only city captured, and even that claim was tenuous. The heavy rain exacerbated his already overreaching plans. However, it was his failure to call off the offensive that resulted in the deaths of over 275,000 British troops, striking a blow to the morale of the entire British Army.[6]

The Schlieffen Plan

After enacting the Schlieffen plan, expectations were that the hammer of the German army was going to roll through Belgium and close around the French army. However, Germany quickly ran into issues. It encountered unplanned resistance that destroyed the German supply lines. The Belgians fought heroically and caused the northern German division, *1. Infanteriedivision*, to outrun their supply lines ahead of the center two divisions.[7] Furthermore, the Russians had mobilized much quicker than anyone had expected. Faced

[4] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 97.
[5] Neil Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers: The Story of the Missing of the First World War* (Vintage eBooks, 2007), section 9.
[6] Approximations from multiple sources range in this area, and this source is the most reliable and consistent. Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 195.
[7] Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 11.

with supply shortages and a two-front war looming, the Germans instead tried to swing south-east in order to close the growing gap between the First and Second German armies. The attack was a disaster.[8] Instead of closing the gap, the German army became extremely disorganized. French Marshal Joseph Joffre took advantage at the Marne River and dealt severe damage to the German line.[9] Following further counter attacks by the British Expeditionary Force and the French on September 9th, 1914, German forces started to retreat northward out of France.[10]

Creation of the Western Front

Following the failure of the Schlieffen plan, the Germans replaced Moltke with Erich von Falkenhayn as their Chief of the General Staff.[11] Falkenhayn's most immediate plan of action was to straighten out the German lines and move north to look for a flank. The so-called "race to the sea" occurred, as both sides pushed northward in an attempt to find the flank of the other. Neither army was successful, both sides reached the sea simultaneously. The incident created a line of troops from the North Sea on the Belgian Coast to the Swiss border in the south.[12] The Germans quickly shored up their new territory and captured most of the Belgian channel ports. The most notable of these, as stated by Historian Phillip Warner were Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne, Ostend, and Zeebrugge.[13] The result was the creation of the Western Front. More specifically to Ypres, the front ran through the city with most of it lying in Allied controlled territory. The First Battle of Ypres occurred when both sides attempted to take the city and its surrounding municipality. As a result of the battle, and the lack of movement elsewhere on the Western Front, Falkenhayn moved away from the strategy of Vernichtungsschlacht and adopted a strategy of "Ermattungsstrategie," a strategy of attrition. Falkenhayn believed he could out supply the British and French in both human resources and material, the catalyst for offensives such as Verdun.[14]

There were scarce few offensives on the Western front in 1915. The Germans took a defensive posture, using their Ermattungsstrategie to wear down the Allies. Furthermore, Falkenhayn's attention mostly focused on the Eastern Front and the war with Russia. The only ground gained took place on the Western German offensive during the Second Battle of Ypres, but not enough to remove the British Expeditionary Force from the city. They

[8] Chris McNab, *Passchendaele 1917* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2016), 4.
[9] The famous "Miracle at the Marne" is famous for Joffre's clever use of Parisian taxi-cabs, which shuffled reinforcements from Paris. The plan kept French troops fresh and allowed the movement of supplies. Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 11.
[10] Chris McNab, *Passchendaele 1917* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2016), 4.
[11] To call this plan "The Schlieffen Plan" seems rather unfair, as Moltke changed quite a bit from the original plan designed by Schlieffen. A more appropriate title may be "The Moltke Version of the Schlieffen Plan".
[12] This created a continuous line of German, French and British for 400 miles. Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 11.
[13] Warner, *Passchendaele*, 11.
[14] Robert Foley, *German Strategy and the Path to Verdun: Erich von Falkenhayn and the Development of Attrition, 1870-1916* (Cambridge, 2005), 4. Ermattungsstrategie directly translates to "strategy of attrition."

had, however, succeeded in nearly surrounding it.[15] The most critical German action of 1915 was the start of unrestricted U-Boat warfare, which sought to cut British supply lines from the continent and the Americas. Typically, Germany launched U-Boats stationed at captured Belgian channel ports. British offensives went so poorly that the commander-in-chief of the British Expeditionary Force, Sir John French, was removed in favor of Sir Douglas Haig in December of 1915.[16] Haig's appointment in 1915 and his subsequent actions in 1916 are one of the reasons that he is such a controversial figure. The lessons of 1916 did not translate to the Battle of Passchendaele in 1917.

Within one week of taking the post as commander-in-chief, Haig had already planned a potential offensive in the Ypres region. Haig was, quite early on, pushing for an offensive in Belgium. It is quite easy to see why, as Ypres' position near the sea allowed German control of channel ports from which to launch naval attacks. Furthermore, its location near England allowed for a potential allied beach landing behind the front. It was a logical place to fight an offensive and to potentially find a flank. However, the failure of the 1916 offensives would not allow him to get his wish until 1917.

1916 had two significant offensives, one by the Germans starting in the spring and the other by the Allies starting in the summer. Neither Haig nor Falkenhayn were able to break through, and it seemed that military tactics were not going to be able to break the deadlock. The increase in artillery was the primary tactic used by both generals, though they used it in different ways.[17] The use of poison gas had already been shown to be ineffective. Not only were defensive measures such as gas masks quickly implemented, but poison gas did not distinguish friend from foe. The men charging on the offensive were just as quickly killed by it as those defending.

Falkenhayn attempted to use his artillery to significant effect at Verdun in February of 1916. Using the most massive bombardment used during the entire war, the Germans shelled the French fortress for ten months.[18] Falkenhayn, in his own words, had the ultimate goal of "bleeding France dry", this was not successful.[19] The artillery strike was devastating, wiping entire areas of forest in a matter of hours, but it did not break French moral. While French casualties were severe, almost 500,000 men, the Germans similarly lost 400,000 men and did not take the fort.[20] The French cry of *"Ils ne passeront pas"* was treasured by every Frenchmen and kept French morale at levels that still enabled them to resist.[21]

While Falkenhayn elected to use his artillery on a relatively narrow section of the front, Haig chose to use it over a wider expanse of the front. He was as unsuccessful in this

[15] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 15.
[16] Prior and Wilson, *Passchendaele*, 7.
[17] Prior and Wilson, *Passchendaele*, 19.
[18] Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 11.
[19]) Erich von Falkenhayn, *General Headquarters and its Critical Decisions 1914-1916* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1919), 286.
[20] George J. Hall, *Exchange Rates and Casualties during the First World War.* (Yale: Department of Economics, 2004), 1729.
[21] "Ils ne passeront pas" translates to roughly "They shall not pass." Translates to "One does not pass."

endeavor as Falkenhayn was at his. The quagmire should have shown Haig that both strategies did not work. Haig, a former cavalry officer, still believed that the key to the war was a series of sharp and swift maneuvers with cavalry or light troops into whatever space opened up in the opposing line.[22] The Battle of the Somme was devastating to the British despite its successes. On the first day alone, the British suffered 60,000 casualties, whereas the Germans only suffered 8,000.[23] Haig never used his cavalry to any effect and never broke the German lines. The Somme offensive continued for another four and a half months but resulted in minimal, and strategically unimportant, land gains.[24]

General Failure

Haig ultimately failed to learn from either of these experiences; he defended his losses at the Somme as not "considered severe.[25] In reality, the losses on the first day of the Somme were the highest total ever in a single day in British military history. Furthermore, Haig had pushed the campaign another six weeks into winter, causing troops to fight in wet and cold conditions that were not conducive to an offensive. The wet weather made the advancement of artillery and troops slow and painful. Worst of all the conditions made the trenches challenging to live in on a day-to-day basis. Haig would later ignore this when it came to Passchendaele.

Haig still held that it was possible to use artillery to break through the enemy line with cavalry or light troops. Both the Somme and Verdun used two different tactics of artillery fire, yet neither were successful in ultimately defeating an enemy. Instead, what was successful was the continuous use of the creeping barrage to push the enemy back slowly. A creeping barrage is the risky military maneuver of shielding advancing troops with their artillery. The tactic requires precise timing and accuracy. The artillery barrage would start in front of the troops and slowly move forward, shielding the troops from view and gunfire as enemy troops stayed under cover. If performed correctly, the artillery barrage would end immediately the instant the advancing troops were on top of the enemy trench resulting in close hand to hand combat with shocked defensive troops.

The potential dangers are numerous. If the guns fire too slowly or the troops advance too quickly, the advancing men would be shelled by their own artillery to devastating effect. Oppositely, but no less deadly, if the barrage advanced too quickly or the men too slowly, they would be stuck in no man's land with no cover and be easy targets.

In combination with the creeping barrage was a preliminary barrage of highly explosive shells that would be used to destroy enemy strong points and barbed wire, which was a particular hazard to troops. It was nearly impassible, and getting caught on barbed wire

[22] Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 13.
[23] George J. Hall, *Exchange Rates and Casualties during the First World War.* (Yale: Department of Economics, 2004), 1729.
[24] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 21.
[25] Sir Douglas Haig, *The Private Papers of Douglas Haig, 1914-1919,* ed. Robert Blake (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1952), 155.

rendered one a sitting duck to small arms fire. Enemy pillboxes were also favored targets, large concrete structures immune to smaller explosives and very costly to take on foot.

It is clear that artillery was essential to either side making advancements on the enemy. However, it put a limit on the amount of ground an army could cover in any given amount of time. If the defenses were too deep and the ground troops were out of range of the artillery, then the advancement stopped, and the troops were left exposed. It took time to move the guns forward. During the Somme, the weather was on Haig's side, as he said, "all that could be desired" during the summer.[26] However, the weather on the Belgian coast in the late summer and early fall was far different from the more inland Franco-German border in the summer.

Planning for 1917 was thought to be complete. Haig and French general Joffre agreed that the Somme offensive would continue, despite the losses. The French, meanwhile, would continue to counterattack at Verdun.[27] The news was not what either government wanted to hear. With no clear plan in place, mounting losses and a lack of victories the French replaced Joffre with Robert Nivelle. Nivelle had previously been successful at Verdun, where he launched a series of costly, but successful counterattacks. He was opposed to the current 1917 plan and instead proposed a vast sweeping offensive that promised successes in 24 to 48 hours.[28] The plan was popular with French civilian leaders. In Britain, David Lloyd George replaced Asquith as Prime Minister. George did not immediately propose any changes to the plan but was not a supporter of Haig's or the Somme offensive.[29]

Nivelle's new plan for the Western Front was a large-scale offensive primarily done by French forces. Starting with a massive artillery bombardment, creeping barrages, and widespread use of tanks to accompany the French attack.[30] The British would attack at Arras in order to distract some of the German divisions. Unfortunately for Nivelle, the Germans had captured a French officer who had the plans for this attack on his person. The detailed plan allowed the Germans to be fully prepared to defend against the offensive. They had withdrawn to the Siegfriedstellung in order to have a better defensive position, some 3 miles back from where the French thought they would be.[31] The move proved disastrous for the French. The plan called for an attack along a fifty-mile front, and the initial successes caused the French troops to outrun their artillery.[32] Soon after they ran into the real German front and were killed en masse.[33]

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[26] Sir Douglas Haig, *The Private Papers of Douglas Haig, 1914-1919,* ed. Robert Blake (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1952), 154.
[27] Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 25.
[28] Warner, *Passchendaele*, 25.
[29] Warner, *Passchendaele*, 26.
[30] Warner, *Passchendaele*, 12.
[31] Siegfriedstellung translates to Siegfried Line; the Allies called it the Hindenburg Line.
[32] Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 12.
[33] The Germans, while abandoning the original front and drawing up at the Siegfriedstellung, destroyed most of their fortifications. The destruction included filling in trenches, blowing up duckwalks and bridges, destroying buildings and bunkers, and causing general ruin to the entire area. The destruction avoided the advancing

The catastrophe during the Neville offensive further pushed Haig to launch an offensive in the Ypres region. Writing before the offensive on the 10th of December 1916, Haig claimed that an offensive on the Belgian coast was "practically the scheme at which I have aimed for the past twelve months[34] His constant insistence on an attack in Belgium caused him to launch a premature attack without adequate consideration for Allied circumstances.

The French Army had had enough. After nearly two years of offensives with no significant gains and heavy losses, a mutiny began to spread on May 3rd.[35] Following Nivelle's dismissal, in favor of Pétain, the mutiny was quickly put down, but the French still needed time to recover their forces and would not be able to launch any offensives for the rest of 1917. Haig argued that he needed to launch an attack somewhere in order to keep the Germans occupied, but the location of Belgium meant that he would receive far less French aid. Furthermore, attacking at Belgium meant a fight without the high ground, which was held by the Germans on the ridge. Ypres was not an ideal place to distract the Germans.

Haig's opinion that he needed to launch a full attack to distract the Germans was flawed. On May 25th, he wrote that he "had gone fully into the various aspects of what would happen if we did not support the French. I came to the conclusion that we *must* march to the support of the French".[36] Haig was not supported in this mindset by nearly anyone else that was involved with the army. His only support was from naval officers, who had their own reasons to want to capture channel ports in Belgium. Haig's plans did not impress the French, as it seems that everyone except for Haig himself knew that the Germans were not in any condition to launch an offensive.[37] Germany was too focused on knocking out Russia to focus an offensive on the Western Front. Additionally, Germany had drawn back the Siegfriedstellung and did not have the troops amassed to take advantage of the sudden French weakness.

Lastly, Haig did not want to wait for the Americans to arrive. The United States would finally declare war on Germany on the 6th of April 1917, a full two years following the sinking of the Lusitania. First Sea Lord Admiral Jellicoe claimed that maritime losses were reaching unsustainable levels. To keep Britain supplied, Jellicoe aided Haig in his arguments to Lloyd George. Though this was not a view held by the rest of the war cabinet.[38] George wanted to delay the Flanders campaign until 1918 when the Americans would be able to assist in driving the Germans out of Belgium.

French any cover and demoralized the French. They additionally booby-trapped anything left standing to affect French morale.

[34] Sir Douglas Haig, *The Private Papers of Douglas Haig, 1914-1919,* ed. Robert Blake (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1952), 184.

[35] Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 13.

[36] Sir Douglas Haig, *The Private Papers of Douglas Haig, 1914-1919,* ed. Robert Blake (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1952), 184. Emphases, not mine.

[37] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 33.

[38] Chris McNab, *Passchendaele 1917* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2016), eBook, found in the section "The Build-up to Third Ypres."

George advocated for either full delaying defensive tactics, stalling until help from the Americans arrived, or supplying the Italians with weapons and ammunition against the Austrians. George's ideas went as far as the dispatch of some troops and arms to stabilize the Italian front after the disaster at Caporetto in October. George did not implement the plan. Instead, many of the men and ammunition were wasted at Passchendaele.

Despite the dissenting views from most of Haig's contemporaries and peers, Haig had the upper hand in his negotiations with Lloyd George. Not only did he have the navy on his side, but he also had the political clout to override George. In Haig's view, the backing by the monarch, conservatives, and the press was sufficient to protect him from any disagreements with George.[39] George had become Prime Minister by forming a coalition in the government, instead of staying with the Liberal Party. Ultimately, George gave the go-ahead on the Flanders campaign, though he cleansed himself of all responsibility. Thus, Haig decided to shoulder responsibility for the outcome of the entire campaign.

Haig's planning for the campaign was just as disjointed as his operating. The plan changed several times, and Haig seemed most inclined to listen to whatever officer under him had proposed the most novel ideal. The two original ideas submitted to Haig for the original assault disagreed on the issue as to when to attack the three ridges to the southeast of Ypres, Pilckem, Gheluvelt, and Messines.

The first idea, put forward by Rawlinson, proposed that an initial attack would secure the ridge in Messines, followed by attacks on Pilckem and Gheluvelt within two to three days.[40] This plan, if done successfully, would enable the artillery to be focused in one area, then be quickly moved to support the other and thus provide full support. The downside was that it would give the Germans extra time to shore up their defenses on the other two ridges. The second plan, set forward by Plumer, called for a simultaneous attack on all three objectives at once.[41] While there would be a limited amount of artillery fire on each ridge, the Germans would not have had time to shore up their defenses. Additionally, the presence of Allied explosives under the German trench lines could potentially lift some of the weight off the artillery in that sector.[42]

Haig chose neither of these plans. Inexplicably, he called for a seven-week gap between the two attacks. It is here that the Passchendaele plan and Haig's generalship can come into question.[43] Despite his eagerness to start the campaign, Haig argued that a seven-week gap was created to deceive the Germans into pulling troops from the Ypres region. In Haig's

[39] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 37.
[40] Prior and Wilson, *Passchendaele*, 47.
[41] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 48
[42] While Messines will not be covered thoroughly in this paper, background information must be given to provide a further understanding of the Allied victory. The Allies had been digging under Messines since 1915 and created multiple mineshafts stocked with explosives under the German lines. On June 7th, 1917, 19 of the 26 mines were fired resulting in the largest non-nuclear explosion of all time. More than 10,000 Germans died instantly, and it created what is considered the loudest human-made noise of all time. Three of the unexploded mines are still missing, while a 4th exploded in 1955. Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), chapter 4.
[43] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 51.

delusions, he had hoped the Germans would view the attack on Messines as the single attack in an offensive to straighten the line.[44] Additionally, aggressive action was supposed to continue at Arras in hopes that the Germans would fully reinforce that position. In reality, the British attack at Messines, though successful, alerted the Germans to expand their defenses at Ypres and Haig did not have the human resources to continue "deceptive" attacks at Arras. All that Haig's planning had done was make it difficult for the Allied armies to win the ridges at Pilckem and Gheluvelt.

Haig's official war plan aimed to remove the Germans from Belgian soil altogether.[45] Following the attack on Messines in the middle of June, a full-frontal assault on a twenty-mile front would take place on the 31st of July, to penetrate 5,000 yards in the first day. This first move would take place in a series of "jumps" where troops would move with a creeping barrage to the enemies' first line, hold for 30 minutes as the artillery moved, then move to the enemies second line, and so on.[46] This first movement would capture the high grounds surrounding Ypres and allow the British to attack further on. Haig further intended to capture Passchendaele Ridge, followed by Klerken Ridge. Following those actions, Haig envisioned swinging towards the Belgian coast while simultaneously having an amphibious landing behind the German position and capturing Ostend and Zeebrugge. Further still, this army would push the enemy past the Dutch border.[47] It was preposterous to plan such a complicated endeavor. Haig envisioned a grand breakthrough and encirclement akin to Hannibal at Cannae. In many ways, this was not all that different from the Schlieffen plan that started the war, just on a smaller scale.

The decision to cover such a large area of land despite Haig's past experiences in 1916 puts him at fault for the carnage that occurred. As mentioned previously, it became increasingly apparent that the only way for troops to advance without being slaughtered was the use of the creeping barrage. Haig's plan would not allow for this. The immense amount of land that was to be covered meant that Haig planned for two potential outcomes.

One possibility amounted to sweeping the Germans out of Belgium before the winter took hold. The initial attack was launched on the last day of July, meaning that the troops would have to cover the entirety of Belgium in less than two or three months. Such a quick advancement meant the lack of support from artillery, which would not have been able to be moved quick enough to support the troops. The only way to do so without the cover of a creeping barrage would be to cause a full and total route of the German army and then break through. Haig thought this was possible despite his experience at the Somme.

Alternatively, Haig may have planned for a slow war of attrition through Belgian territory and a fight through the winter. The second plan could have been done through a series of creeping barrages to provide cover for advancing troops. Again, however, Haig

[44] Prior and Wilson, *Passchendaele*, 52.
[45] Michael S. LoCicero, *A Moonlight Massacre: The Night Operation on the Passchendaele Ridge, 2nd December 1917* (University of Birmingham, 2011), 17.
[46] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 75.
[47] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 45.

did not learn from his experience at the Somme. Namely, he should have known the impossibility of moving artillery through the mud in the winter.

Haig's ignorance of the rain cannot be forgiven. As mentioned previously, the Allies were well aware of the immense amount of rainfall that regularly fell onto the Ypres region. One of Haig's most trusted aids noted that previous years should have given the Allies warning, but Haig ignored the warning.[48] While the rain was nearly double the average, historian Philip Warner notes that "even a moderate rainfall would have turned the battlefield into a swamp once the drainage pattern had been destroyed".[49] The initial bombardment in the middle of July went on hold due to bad weather that hampered the gunner's range. The dark skies grounded aerial reconnaissance, a new but essential tool to bombard unseen enemies. When the first day of the offensive began, the troops found the first sector to be relatively easy to take. Pounded by an artillery barrage, the German defenses were sparse.[50] However, after the 30-minute window before the second attack, the British artillery bombardment was scarcely present. The soldiers had not been able to move their guns forward on account of the mud.

The rain effectively stalled the Third Battle of Ypres before it even started. Haig's vision of a grand first day of movement had only made one of its four jumps, and even then, the taken land was open to counterattacks by German forces. Haig should have called off the offensive at this point. Although they were irrelevant to the broader plan, the gains he had made would have been significant for the Western Front. The Allies had taken up to 3,000 yards in some places and had secured part of the ridge at Pilckem.[51] Additionally, their victory during the Battle of Messines gave them valuable defensive positions, which they might have held and fortified in anticipation of eventual American aid. However, Haig's impatience in such hostile conditions would ultimately ruin British morale.

The fighting from this point forward was fierce. To Haig's credit, successful advances were made at Menin Ridge Road, Polygon Wood, and Broodseinde, but only during brief periods of clear weather.[52] However, the conditions on the ground were horrifying. No Man's Land turned into a swamp. The ground the artillery rested on sank in many places. Most of these artillery batteries suffered from 100 percent casualty rates during the four-month offensive.

Things were worse for the troops advancing. In a typical advance, troops at least took solace in the availability of shell holes for cover. Passchendaele offered no such luxury. Already filled with water from constant rains, the lack of drainage from any of the shell holes created a toxic mud that pulled men down with it. Human excrement and the poison gas residue mixed with the water in hellish sludge.[53] Many soldiers died in the attempt to

[48] Neil Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers: The Story of the Missing of the First World War* (Vintage eBooks, 2007), section 9.
[49] Philip Warner, *Passchendaele: The Story Behind the tragic Victory of 1917* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 53.
[50] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 91.
[51] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 92.
[52] Michael S. LoCicero, *A Moonlight Massacre: The Night Operation on the Passchendaele Ridge, 2nd December 1917* (University of Birmingham, 2011), 20.
[53] Neil Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers: The Story of the Missing of the First World War* (Vintage eBooks, 2007), section 10.

rescue their comrades, who often died slowly over the course of several days. Others opted instead to shoot their comrades in the head, to end the screams which were destroying the morale of both armies.[54] To compound the problem, the wet conditions and abundance of fecal matter caused widespread dysentery, gangrene, and trench-foot.[55]

Despite these reports from the front, Haig would not stop the offensive. The Tank Corps sent a letter to Haig stating that, "From a tank point of view, the Third Battle of Ypres may be considered dead… From an infantry point of view, the Third battle of Ypres may be considered comatose. It can only be continued at a colossal loss and for little gain".[56] Haig ignored it, but ultimately called off the offensive on the 20th of November following the capture of Passchendaele.[57]

The capture of Passchendaele allowed Haig to claim his victory. It was, after all, one of his many objectives. However, the cost made it a pyrrhic victory. Haig's overly ambitious plans resulted in an offensive that failed to exceed his short-term goals. Even so, Haig was not finished. He still pushed for a continuation of the offensive in 1918, with the continued belief that a breakthrough would occur. In spring of 1918, the Allies lost everything it had gained at Ypres, as the German Army launched its final desperate offensive. Even here, the breakthrough could not be successful, as the German army was eventually stopped by its own exhaustion rather than Allied ingenuity.

Haig's complete disregard for his past experiences stained his generalship. His planning brought about over 95,000 casualties at the Somme in 1916, 60,000 of which were during the first day.[58] While the British public was not likely to forgive those losses, Haig may have faced a more forgiving population had he learned from the mistakes of his first offensive. However, his stubborn nature led him to launch Passchendaele with unachievable goals in mind.[59] Furthermore, his failure to call off the offensive made him culpable for the fate of his men.

In four months of combat, the British lost roughly 275,000 men while the Germans suffered roughly 200,000. Most of those who died on the British side were the country's best troops, specialists, gunners, and noncommissioned officers, who all died heroically in the pursuit of unobtainable goals. Haig genuinely believed that he could win the war with more men. Thankfully, cooler heads prevailed, as the rest of the war council feared the loss of more men to the slaughterhouse of Passchendaele.

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[54] Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers*, section 10.
[55] Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers*, section 10.
[56] Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers*, section 10.
[57] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 179.
[58] George J. Hall, *Exchange Rates and Casualties during the First World War.* (Yale: Department of Economics, 2004), 1732.
[59] The reader may note that the Germans broke through the Allied line in the spring of 1918 in a similar fashion to Haig's goal. The difference with the German breakthrough was the use of specially trained troops, Stosstruppen (or Stormtroopers) to push through Allied lines with high casualties. Additionally, the Allied defensive lines were much thinner than German lines, as the Allies main focus was to take back land the Germans conquered in the opening offensive of 1914; the Germans were quite content with holding it.

THE IMPETUS FOR INVASION; CONTENTION SURROUNDING THE 1960 CONSTITUTION OF CYPRUS

Noah Ocker

Abstract: The 1960's brought great change in the political power dynamic of Cyprus. A sovereign constitution of compromise was composed between the majority, Greek Cypriots, and the minority, Turkish Cypriots. Mediated by the United Kingdom and the United States, the constitution was conditional. Contingencies allowed for Turkish invasion of the island under the circumstances of Greek violations of the constitution. The balance between opposing Greek and Turkish ideologies was lost and the consequences included terrorism, human rights violations, degradation of religion, and territorial annexation.

Resting north of Egypt, west of Israel, south of Greece and Turkey, Cyprus is an island nation in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. Cyprus became immersed in uproarious nationalist rivalry during the latter half of the twentieth century. The island was split between Cypriots influenced by Greek heritage and Cypriots with Turkish heritage. Turkish Cypriots were the minority with a population of eighteen percent of the country in the 1950s. The ethnic divide influenced the constitution drafted in 1960 and favored the Greek Cypriots over the Turkish Cypriots. The rivalry between Turkey and Greece is traceable to their respective prominent empires and still lingers in the form of animosity between their two cultures.

Without certain provisions placed within the constitution, the Turkish Cypriots would have faced persecution by the overwhelming Greek Cypriot majority. According to the Turkish government, the gradual attempts at chipping away at these provisions is what prompted their invasion of the island in 1974, in order to come to the aid of the Turkish Cypriots in what was veiled as a humanitarian effort.[1] Turkey had made several treaties in reaction to the Greek Cypriots' reconstructed constitution. These treaties reserved Turkey's power to invade the island. The Turkish army and government took advantage of the reserved rights to invade and went beyond the invasion of Cyprus, as a stabilization effort. The Turkish invasion, conducted primarily in the interests of the Turkish Cypriots,

[1] Public Information Office of Nicosia, *Cyprus Intercommunal Talks: Following the Turkish Invasion of July-August 1974* (Nicosia: Public Information Office, July 1981), 5.

expanded and dominated territory in the interest of creating an ethnically, culturally, and religiously homogenous sphere of influence in the Mediterranean.

The Ottoman Empire, which later became Turkey, signed a few key treaties and agreements over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries despite the Greek Cypriot majority. These treaties were the Anglo-Turkish Treaty of 1878, the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, and finally the London and Zurich agreements of 1959.[2] From the perspective of Turkish officials, it justified a sort of responsibility towards the island that had been culturally recognized by them since at least the late sixteenth century. It was these treaties and agreements that gave Turkey the legal impetus and justification to take the chance to invade Cyprus when the opportunity came.

The Anglo-Turkish Treaty of 1878 was the first internationally recognized legal document that bound Turkey as a steward of the Turkish Cypriot community. In essence, this treaty gave the British Empire formal control of the island, but it gave the Ottoman government the authority to administer it as a cultural overseer with power over schools and religious establishments in certain Cypriot communities.[4] This was certainly a win for Ottoman foreign policy; however, it was very short lived. Not long after this gain was made, it was stripped away during World War I, when Britain annexed Cyprus outright in 1914.

The British annexation led to the stripping of most of the Ottoman Empire's Mediterranean territory. The action was ratified by a reluctant Turkey in 1923 with the Treaty of Lausanne.[3] This treaty was a devastating blow to Turkey as it also stripped Turkish Cypriots of their Turkish nationality. Imperialism was set in place, thus completely nullifying the gains that had been made since 1878 in turning Cyprus into a de jure extension of Ottoman sovereignty.[4] The Ottoman Empire was no more; only Turkey remained.

These documents and their combined negative impact on Turkish geopolitical influence both in Cyprus and in the Mediterranean as a whole, set the stage for what would happen later in 1974 when the Turkish government would intervene directly to take back what they perceived to be rightfully its own. The question at this point for Turkey was how to gain back its lost empire.

This is where the London and Zurich agreements come in. These agreements eventually served as Turkey's foot in the door to reestablish itself as an imperial entity in the Mediterranean. It is necessary to discuss the historical context in which the agreements were written as well as the movement that necessitated their creation. Annexation by Britain, while it certainly did not favor the Turkish or Greek Cypriots to any significant degree, was not a satisfactory middle road for either side.

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[2] M. A. Ramady, "The Role of Turkey in Greek-Turkish Cypriot Communal Relations," in *Essays on the Cyprus Conflict,* Van Coufoudakis (New York: Pella Publishing Company, 1976), 1-2.

[3] Great Britain and its Allies and Turkey, "Treaty of Lausanne" (Lausanne: The Convention Respecting the Regime of the Straits and Other Instruments, 24 July 1923), in Murat Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2007), 5-8.

[4] "Treaty of Lausanne," 5-8.

The stripping of territory and identity spurred the Greek Cypriots' movement for *Enosis*, or unification with Greece. This was an increasingly strong sentiment in the years between British annexation and the independence compromise. Enosis was the vehicle of the greater Hellenic community, including Greek Cypriots. It aspired to bring the *Megali Idea*, or "Great Idea," in which all Hellenic peoples would be reunified under a resurrected Byzantine empire to fruition[5]. This movement was rallied, intensified, and spearheaded in Cyprus primarily by figures within the Orthodox Church. The church had previously been allowed to exist without intervention when the island was under Ottoman supervision but now faced political undermining under the British, who staunchly believed in the separation of church and state.[6]

Riots ensued as the British continued to clamp down on cultural control of the island, and they eventually necessitated the aforementioned Zurich and London agreements, which would later prove beneficial to control of the island. After some back and forth amongst Cyprus, Britain, Greece, and Turkey, it became clear that exclusive allegiance to any party did not serve the best interests of the collective island population. If Cyprus had remained under British rule, tensions between Cyprus and Britain, fueled by Enosis would have radically, and possibly violently, intensified.

If Cyprus had unified with Greece, the Turkish Cypriots would have been more severely marginalized than they were at the time, which could have led to more conflict on the island as well as conflict between Greece and Turkey themselves. Unification with Turkey likewise would have certainly been met with hostility from the Greek Cypriot majority as that would be the ultimate worst-case scenario for the proponents of Enosis. Thus, the only clear answer that minimized potential bloodshed was complete sovereignty for the island. The London and Zurich agreements were the framework for an independent Cyprus. The documents essentially outlined the framework for what would eventually become the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. It vested powers in a way that would ensure that neither Greek Cypriots nor Turkish Cypriots could have absolute control over the other.[7]

The third and final treaty that people hoped would put the "Cyprus Problem" to rest was known as the Treaty of Guarantee. The Treaty of Guarantee served essentially as insurance for the London and Zurich Agreements. It imbedded the option for militaristic intervention by either Greece, the United Kingdom, or Turkey should the conditions of the London and Zurich Agreements be violated by any governing party on the island.[8]

[5]Kyriacos Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic* (London: Yale University Press, 1977), 5-21

[6] Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic,* 5-21.

[7] United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey, "The Zurich and London Agreements" (Zurich, 1959), in Murat Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2007), 31-39.

[8] Republic of Cyprus, Greece, the United Kingdom, and Turkey, "Treaty of Guarantee," (Zurich, 1959), in Murat Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2007), 39-41.

Turkey manipulated this particular treaty to justify taking over the Turkish portions of the island.[9]

Turkey had finally found a weakness in the island's governing structure that it could exploit in order to assume the control it so desired. An example of abuse of power by the Greek Cypriot majority was all the excuse needed to invade, essentially unimpeded, under the guise of humanitarian efforts. Though the London and Zurich Agreements and the Treaty of Guarantee allowed for Turkey to invade the island so long as the right conditions were met; the question was now when that would come about. In order to fully explain how everything began to fall apart, it is important to observe the impact that the new constitution had of the island as well as how the actions of the newly elected President of the Republic of Cyprus and of the Greek Junta shaped the geopolitical landscape. The combined conditions fueled, rather than settled, the age-old animosity between the two ethnic groups residing there.

Ratified in 1960, the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus followed roughly along the lines of what was laid out within the London and Zurich Agreements. It was designed to be a bi-communal republic with the power of the state divided roughly along ethnic lines. It was designed to have communities essentially govern themselves while adhering to a federal bureaucracy that was mandatorily comprised of both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. It mandated that there was to be a Greek Cypriot President and a Turkish Cypriot Vice-President.[10] While this may sound like a fair compromise given the presence of two starkly different communities thrust together into the same geopolitical space, it proved to be a primary point of contention within the Greek Cypriot community. The Greek community believed that the Constitution of 1960 gave the Turkish Cypriots disproportionate representation within the governmental structure when compared to their relatively low population as it related to the Greek majority.[11]

Examining and contextualizing the constitution's articles centered on the actions of the Greek Cypriot community after its ratification help illustrate the institutional divide between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities. This also further helps to contextualize the actions of Turkey and its ultimate impetus for invasion. The provisions set within the constitution would set the precedent for what would become a constant and perpetual state of 'othering' that the communities would engage themselves in, and thus fan the flames of desire for partition, or at least, revision of the constitution.

Essentially, the constitution was weighted in Turkish Cypriot favor. While it provided short-term stability between the two communities, Greek Cypriot discontent elevated to the point where they would try to readjust the power to a more proportionate manner. This adjustment would spark the events that ultimately led to the Turkish military seizing the

[9] Public Information Office of *Nicosia, Cyprus Intercommunal Talks: Following the Turkish Invasion of July-August 1974* (Nicosia: Public Information Office, July 1981), 5.
[10] Republic of Cyprus, "*Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus"* (Nicosia, 1960), in Murat Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2007), 41-87.
[11] PATRIS, "The Akritas Plan", (Cyprus, 1963), in Murat Hakki*, The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2007), 91.

opportunity to invade the island to establish its own control under the guise of maintaining the London and Zurich agreements. Ultimately, Turkey was seeking to reestablish the cultural control of the region it had lost following the Treaty of Lausanne. To illustrate the various levels of discontent, the following paragraphs will iterate numerous examples where the Turkish Cypriot community is given equal or near equal footing with the Greek Cypriot community within the constitution. The following was done despite the Turkish Cypriots' composing approximately eighteen percent of the population.

The first and thirty-eighth articles, which established a Turkish Vice President and vested him with veto power, became a point of contention within the Greek Cypriot community.[12] The constitution allowed a representative of less than one-fifth of the population to trump the remaining four-fifths of the Greek Cypriot community. However, there were several more factors within the 1960 Constitution which caused further tension towards the Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriots.

Executive power was further perpetuated, in a disproportionate manner, by the established ratio of 3:7 Turkish Cypriot to Greek Cypriot ministers within the executive branch of the Republic of Cyprus.[13] While the proportion did lie closer to the one-to-four, Turkish Cypriot to Greek Cypriot, population ratio, it still gave the Turkish Cypriot community a disproportionate advantage compared to its overall population. Another disproportionate ratio was the 3:7 ratio of Turkish Cypriot to Greek Cypriot representatives in the legislative branch of the republic as established in Article 63. [14] To further exacerbate the separation of the communities, only Greek Cypriots could appoint or elect people to Greek Cypriot positions, and likewise, only Turkish Cypriots could appoint people to Turkish Cypriot positions.[15] Article 51 of the Constitution gave the right to the Turkish Vice President to return any legislation of his or her own accord to the House for revision if he didn't like it. While the President had the same power, because of the Turkish Cypriots' lesser population percentage, this power was more concentrated and thus more effective within the hands of the Turkish Cypriot Vice President. Greek Cypriot outrage continued over disproportionate representation.

The starkest example of the 1960 constitution was an established precedent for partition along with its establishment of the Communal Chambers of the Republic of Cyprus's House of Representatives. The division of power between the two communities further creates and reinforces the idea that these two communities, who share a new government, are ultimately incompatible and are destined for partition. For example, the fact that the communal chambers had authority over religion, education, culture, the courts, recreation, and taxation, within their own respective communities alone severely limited the ability of a central government to be the glue that held the two communities together. A lack of influence from either community on the other would certainly add to the

[12] "Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus,"47
[13] "Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus,"47.
[14] "Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus,"54-55.
[15] "Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus," 41-87.

sentiment of necessity for partition. This would further fuel Greek Cypriot dissatisfaction towards the established constitution, thereby causing Turkey to respond to Greek Cypriot aggression as an excuse to reestablish Turkish hegemony in the region.

Finally, the last major point in the Constitution of 1960 that created imbalance was the provision for military service. In Article 129, it was established that the composition of the army would be forty percent Turkish Cypriot with the rest being comprised of the Greek Cypriot community.[16] This is over double the representation that the Turkish Cypriot community should logically get given their eighteen percent of the population. Article 129 was likely implemented within the Constitution of 1960 in order to arm the Turkish Cypriot community sufficiently in order to defend themselves from the Greek community should the occasion ever arise that the Turkish Cypriots should be overwhelmed by Greek Cypriot forces. Similarly, in Article 130, the police force was also over representative of the Turkish Cypriot community, yet again mandating a composition of 3:7 Turkish Cypriot to Greek Cypriot ratio.

These articles within the Cyprus Constitution were designed with the Zurich and London agreements in mind. The Constitution serves to protect the Turkish Cypriot minority from the overwhelming Greek Cypriot majority by vesting disproportionate powers of governance in the hands of the Turkish Cypriot community. This, of course, was of benefit to the Turkish Cypriot community in that the constitution now protected them from the Greek Majority.

The Turkish Minority also, according to Van Koufoudakis, "…saw these documents (the Constitution and the London and Zurich agreements) as the minimum guarantee of their rights short of the actual division of the island."[17] However, what this constitution did not pose, was a satisfactory governmental solution for the Greek Cypriot majority, who already felt as though they were being suppressed by the international community from the London and Zurich agreements, let alone this constitution.[18] Keep in mind as well, that within all of this, now that the Constitution had been established, Turkey was looking for any violation of said constitution that would constitute a violation of the London and Zurich agreements which, as previously established above, would legitimize an invasion.

The dissatisfaction of the Greek Cypriot majority was vested primarily within supporters of the aforementioned *Enosis* movement.[19] This was likely due to the fact that Cyprus's independence was a step backwards for the unification movement which had been building up steam over the previous few decades.[20] The signing of the agreements was contrary to the overall character of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop

[16] "Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus," 73.
[17] Van Coufoudakis, *The Dynamics of Political Partition and Division in Multiethnic and Multireligious Societies: The Cyprus Case* (1975), in Van Coufoudakis, "Essays on the Cyprus Conflict" (New York, Pella Publishing Company: 1976), 39.
[18] Murat Hakki, "President Makarios's 13 points, 30 November 1963" in Murat Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2007), 89.
[19] Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic* 76-80.
[20] Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic,* 76-80.

Makarios III, who would prove to be a pivotal character in the events leading up to the Turkish invasion of 1974.

To understand the attitude of the Greek Cypriots towards the independence of the island and its governance, it is important to understand the fundamentals of Makarios III's personality and the cultural significance of his position as both the president of the new Republic, as well as the ethnarchic leader of the Greek Cypriot community. Makarios III was a precarious and peculiar character. His position as both the Archbishop as well as becoming the newly elected president of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 proved to be a potent mixture with regards to rallying the Greek Cypriot community under a single, near universally recognized authority figure.[21]

Antithetical to Turkish political desires, Makarios III was also a staunch proponent of the *Enosis* movement during the 1950s, and was thus heralded as its ultimate purveyor when he ascended to the presidency in 1960, despite the fact that the signing of the London and Zurich agreements by his hand was seen generally as a step away from the momentum the movement had been gathering over the last century with the advent of the *Megali Idea*.[22] Because Makarios had never lost the spirit of *Enosis*, the fact that he legally denounced it with the London and Zurich agreements went generally ignored by the Greek Cypriot populous due to their overall faith that Makarios would still deliver on his promises.[23] This acceptance of the institutionalized state of compromise between the two communities, as established by the London and Zurich agreements and the Constitution of 1960 however, was short-lived.

As discontent over the constitution and the state of the Cypriot government grew within the Greek Cypriot community over the constitutional articles outlined above, so too did the pressure for Makarios III to do something about the discontent. Only after three years of existence, the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus came under fire as Makarios III introduced his infamous 13 points to the then Vice President Dr. Fazil Kutchuk on November 30, 1963.[24]

These points were proposed amendments to the constitution that were designed in order to establish representation within the new government that was more representative of the distribution, influence, and population composition of the island as a whole. In other words, they were to give the Greek Cypriots the dominance they felt they deserved. For example, the first of the thirteen points was to abolish the president and vice president's veto power.[25] While on the surface this may seem mundane, if the Turkish Cypriot minority's power was lost, the Greek Cypriot majority would essentially have the power to pass any legislation they wanted without fear of Turkish Cypriot interference.

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[21] Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic*, 35.
[22] Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic*, 26.
[23] Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic*, 26.
[24] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963" in Murat Hakki, The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007 (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2007), 89.
[25] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 89.

The second of the thirteen points attempted to essentially allow for the roles of the president and vice president to be modified to allow their positions to be more interchangeable.[26] This would not be as seriously detrimental to the Turkish Cypriots as the first point would have been, but because of its nebulousness and because of the fact that Makarios III wasn't specific as to how the roles would be modified, Vice President Kutchuk was right to be wary of its ultimate intent.

The third point called for the president and vice president to be elected by the population of Cyprus as a whole and not elected by their respective communities.[27] Up until this point, as mentioned above, the Greek Cypriot portion of the house including the president could only be elected by Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriot portion of the house and the vice president could only be elected by Turkish Cypriots. What this means, is that the Greek Cypriots could vote based on their own interests without interference from the Turkish Cypriots, but it also means that the interests of the Turkish Cypriot minority were protected from the massive influence of the Greek Majority. With this provision combined with the loss of veto power, the interests of the Turkish Cypriots might as well be abolished completely as the eighty percent of Greek Cypriots would surely overwhelm the remaining eighteen percent Turkish Cypriots in a purely democratic process. As the fourth point is essentially an extension of the third, it will not be subject to analysis.

The fifth and sixth points further blur the communal lines upon which the constitution was drawn by requesting the abolition of anything in the constitution that requires separate majority votes from both communities in order to enact new legislation.[28] The sixth point was to reincorporate then separate municipalities of the five main towns into the greater fabric of the republic itself, thus furthering Greek Cypriot influence throughout the island.[29] This action would further nullify provisions in the constitution that would protect Turkish Cypriots, now even in communities where they held majorities. Makarios III was actively trying to dismantle the bi-communal aspect of the Republic of Cyprus in favor of one that offered more opportunity for integration, but at the cost of the loss of the political integrity of the Turkish Cypriots.

The seventh and eighth points furthered political contention. The seventh called for the abolition of the provision that required Greek Cypriot courts to try only Greek Cypriots and for Turkish Cypriot courts to try only Turkish Cypriots.[30] This of course, would remove a major protection that the Turkish Cypriot community had against the Greek Cypriot community. No longer would the court systems be as untainted by bias towards individuals from either community as they had been previously. Makarios III's eighth point

[26] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 89.
[27] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 89.
[28] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 89.
[29] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 89,90.
[30] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 90.

proposed ending the communal segregation of the police and military.[31] While ending military segregation may well have proven to be beneficial, ending police segregation by community could have potentially increased the likelihood that a Greek Cypriot police officer would come into contact with members of the Turkish Cypriot community and thus potentially increase the likelihood of arrests made due to Greek Cypriots' inherent bias.

Point nine simply calls for the number of security personnel (both police and military) to be determined by legislation and not by the president and the vice president.[32] This point does little for either side compared to the others. Point ten however, does much in that it requests that the proportion of those serving in the army and police force to be changed from the six to four Greek Cypriot to Turkish Cypriot and seven to three Greek Cypriot to Turkish Cypriot respectively, proportions that are more representative of the overall population.[33] This would demolish the communal protection that the constitution provides the Turkish Cypriots. Were the Greek Cypriots to comprise 80 percent of the military and police force, the Turkish Cypriots would have no chance of survival should the Greek Cypriots choose to rise against them.

Points eleven and twelve work in tandem. The eleventh merely requests that the number of personnel on the Public Service Commission be slightly reduced and reduced to an odd number to eliminate the chance of a tie.[34] Point twelve however, amplifies the severity of eleven by requesting decisions made by the Public Service Commission be determined by simple majority, thus allowing the Greek Cypriots to once again take advantage of their sheer numbers against the Turkish Cypriots.[35] The political power pendulum was creating potential for a significant shift.

The final thirteenth point most starkly illustrates Makarios III's intentions behind crafting these points. It called for the abolition of the Greek Cypriot communal chamber itself.[36] The abolition of the Greek Cypriot communal chamber would establish politically the assumption of the Greek Cypriot Community, that it was the true keeper of the right to rule Cyprus outright as its majority. When presented these points for consideration, the Turkish Cypriot Vice President Dr. Fazil Kutchuk rejected them outright.[37] The failure of the thirteen points was the first nail in Makarios III's coffin and caused tensions to rise to the point that Turkey could justify its invasion and take its prize. The second failure was The Akritas Plan.

The Akritas Plan was essentially a blueprint that outlined how the Greek Cypriots planned on taking their self-proclaimed rightful control of the island. Having been written almost immediately after Makarios's 13 points, the Akritas Plan furthered Turkish Cypriot

[31] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 90.
[32] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 90.
[33] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 90.
[34] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 90.
[35] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 90.
[36] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 90.
[37] Archbishop Makarios, "President Makarios's 13 Points, 30 November 1963," 90.

outrage, and increased the chance of Turkish invasion of the island due to its outlining of exactly what the Greek Cypriots would do to break the London and Zurich agreements.[38] The plan was to use force, not diplomacy, to achieve the objectives of the 13 points.[39] The use of force was deemed necessary due to the actions of Vice President Kutchuk.

The formulators of the Akritas Plan deemed it unlikely that the Turkish Cypriots would accept their terms willingly. The Akritas Plan's stirring rhetoric, sparked a number of small-scale attacks on Turkish Cypriots by authorities from the Greek Cypriot community which, were taken by the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey itself to be a direct attempt to usurp the Constitution of 1960 through illegal action.[40] After these events, Turkey threatened to invade.[41] However, the Turkish governor knew that Turkey had no capacity to do so, yet. He instead opted to settle the dispute diplomatically, instead of using violent invasion tactics that Turkey did not have the means for at that time.[42] Instead, tensions continued to mount for another eleven years while Turkey waited for another opportunity exercise the power granted to them by the Treaty of Guarantee to invade the island.

It was at this point that faith in Makarios III began to wane concerning his ability to see *Enosis* through. Instead, faith began being stocked into various extremist organizations fueled by *Enosis* doctrine.[43] The failure of the 13 points being ratified combined with the disaster that was the Akritas plan, only emboldened Turkish Cypriots in their desire to partition the island, the Greek Cypriots to reclaim their position at the top of the political hierarchy, and the Turks especially, to reestablish hegemonic control of the island.

The Turkish Government was waiting in anticipation for one of the Greek Cypriot extremist organizations to make a move. That move finally came in July of 1974 when a Greek Cypriot terrorist organization called EOKA B, backed by the Greek based Junta dictatorship, attempted a coup of the Republic of Cyprus in the interest of *Enosis*.[44] Turkey had its opportunity. After years of military bolstering on both sides, the opportunity to invade was presenting itself on a silver platter to Turkey.[45] It was thought to finally be the opportunity for the Ottoman Empire to begin its revival. Finally, they would reestablish cultural/religious authority in the region and step forward as its leader and not simply its guarantor.

[38] PATRIS, "The Akritas Plan" 90-97.
[39] PATRIS, "The Akritas Plan" 90-97.
[40] Murat Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007,* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2007), 101.
[41]Murat Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007,* 97.
[42] Murat Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007,* 97.
[43] Kyriacos Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic* (London: Yale University Press, 1977), 81.
[44] Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic,* 122-177.
[45] Nancy Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt: An Account of the Struggle for Union with Greece* (London: William Clowes & Sons, Limited, 1978), 384.

Turkey promptly invaded Cyprus on the 15th of July in 1974.[46] Its proclamation for invasion was the power given to Turkey in the Treaty of Guarantee to regulate the status quo put forth by the London and Zurich agreements. However, the invasion became a coup attempt in order to dismantle the established constitution and was thus in violation of the agreements. The Turkish invasion itself was, from an international law standpoint, legitimate. What made the invasion illegitimate were the actions that the Turkish government and military took once they had invaded the island.

Instead of simply quelling the rebellion threat posed by EOKA B, Turkey opted to occupy the northern part of the island and establish total control of the region.[47] The invasion itself was comprised of approximately 40,000 Turkish military personnel, and according to Makarios Drousoutis, "Turkey used the 39th Division, which had been formed after 1964 exclusively for use in an invasion of Cyprus."[48] This detail is important. Because the Turks created a special military division whose sole purpose was the invasion of Cyprus, it is evident that the Turks were actively searching over that decade for an opportunity to utilize this asset, and thus can be accused of not invading the island for the reason that they stated, which was to protect the integrity of the Cyprus Constitution.

At the end of the invasion, 200,000 Greek Cypriots were forced from their homes and fled to the unoccupied western portion of the island to seek asylum.[49] The Turkish military had occupied about 40 percent of the island's total landmass and had created a partition that fell roughly along previously established ethnic lines in the more Turkish Cypriot northern portion of the island.[50] Following the invasion, the Greek Cypriots attempted to negotiate with Turkey.[51] These negotiations were perhaps put forward because the Greek Cypriots too preferred, and rightly so for their sake, the status quo orchestrated by the constitution of 1960 as opposed to Turkish invasion and occupation. Unfortunately for the Greek Cypriots however, this type of legal recourse is what ultimately led to Turkey legitimizing its invasion of the island.[52] Turkey took the push for negotiation as recognition of its victory in the conflict and used it to plead to the international community that because the aggressor, the Greek Cypriots, were coming forward, the Turkish invasion was ultimately legitimate.[53] There are several accounts of the Turks mistreating both the Greek

[46] Makarios Drousiotis, *Cyprus 1974: The Greek Coup and the Turkish Invasion* (Nicosia: Alfadi Publications, 2009), 314.
[47] Drousiotis, *Cyprus 1974: The Greek Coup and the Turkish Invasion,* 364-395.
[48] Drousiotis, *Cyprus 1974: The Greek Coup and the Turkish Invasion,* 398.
[49] Public Information Office, *Cyprus Intercommunal Talks: Following the Turkish invasion of July-August 1974*, (Nicosia, 1981), 5.
[50] *Cyprus Intercommunal Talks: Following the Turkish invasion of July-August 1974*, 5.
[51] Van Coufoudakis, *Cyprus: From Independence to Partition* (Washington D.C.: American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, 1984), 2.
[52] Coufoudakis, *Cyprus: From Independence to Partition,* 2.
[53] Coufoudakis, *Cyprus: From Independence to Partition,* 2.

Cypriots and monuments/places of cultural significance, making it hard to acquit Turkey of charges of human rights atrocities.

The first example of the Turkish government overstepping its power in efforts to reestablish the old 1960 Constitution, comes in the case of the several thousand missing Greek Cypriots following the invasion. Turkish officials claimed that they had no idea where these people went. The claim was made that the only reason Greeks went missing was because they were hiding from the Turkish authorities whom the Greek Cypriots had been taught to fear, irrationally.[54] This claim was an absolute lie. It was proven later that the Turkish military had known exactly where many of these people had been, as they had been captured by the Turkish military forces.[55] This knowledge came to light when a Turkish journalist had been captured by the Greek Cypriots and interrogated over photos that he had allegedly taken.[56] In these photos, Greek Cypriots who were missing and were being held in bondage by the Turkish military were identified. The journalist's testimony revealed that the Turkish military was indeed keeping at least four of the approximately two-thousand missing persons hostage, and that the Turkish government had outright lied.[57] The evidence negates doubt about the Turkish military's ulterior motives for the invasion and establishes that the Treaty of Guarantee was a false premise.

A theme within the testimonies of the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees was the abhorrent actions taken against them by the Turkish military personnel. Rape, theft, desecration, and physical violence were all common themes. In one testimony given by a victim of the Turkish occupational forces by the name of Christakis I. Mavris, he describes getting beaten by Turkish soldiers even though they had surrendered to them.[58] She said that, "They grabbed us then, and tied our arms behind us at the elbow, hit us with their weapons and boots."[59] She then describes how the Turkish forces took all of their belongings and were about to execute them, but instead opted to keep them prisoner in a local cinema.[60] A corroborating account presumably from the same group of prisoners, talked about the Turks pulling out the facial hair of the older male prisoners, and stamping on their heads.[61]

One instance of Turkish maliciousness towards the Greek Cypriot prisoners, was described by a woman named Christaki Neofytos, "They cut the trousers off a captured soldier…with a knife and stuffed them in his mouth and told him to eat them. They pushed

[54] PESK, *Cyprus Witness* (Cyprus, 1976), XV.
[55] Pancyprian Committee of Parents and Relatives of Undeclared P.O.W.s and Missing Persons, *The Case of the Missing Cypriots: an account of efforts to end human drama* (Nicosia, 1977), 39.
[56] Pancyprian Committee of Parents and Relatives of Undeclared P.O.W.s and Missing Persons, *The Case of the Missing Cypriots:* 39-40.
[57] Pancyprian Committee of Parents and Relatives of Undeclared P.O.W.s and Missing Persons, *The Case of the Missing Cypriots:* 39-40.
[58] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 4.
[59] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 4.
[60] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 4.
[61] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 5.

them in his mouth to try to make him swallow it and then blood started running from his mouth."[62] A third example of was the testimony of a prisoner, on his way to a Turkish prison, who said that the Turks beat him on a regular basis during this transportation to the prison, and even, "kept shooting continuously over the roof of the busses in which we were being carried in order to frighten us."[63] Other testimonies tell of horrific accounts of Turkish soldiers executing unarmed prisoners via firing squad.[64] These actions demonstrate not only the ruthlessness of the Turkish forces towards the Greek Cypriots, but also their inherent willingness to commit war crimes against those towards whom they had an ingrained racial prejudice towards. It also shows, quite starkly, that these ingrained racial prejudices were a primary motivator for the Turkish invasion and occupation.

Accounts like these are numerous within *Cyprus Witness*. There are many corroborated accounts like these that lead to the belief that there is more to the story than the Turkish government was telling the international community. Perhaps the Turks wanted vengeance against those whom they felt were responsible for decimating their Ottoman Empire only half a century prior – the British. Perhaps they acted in anger towards the Greek Cypriots because they truly believed the Turkish Cypriots to be a part of their greater community and thus wanted revenge for their people. Whatever their motivation for their abuse, there was yet another factor, the religious factor, at play.

There was a huge religious impetus to invade the island. Many people have already made the argument that the Turkish military invaded Cyprus for the sake of geopolitical control – that much is clear. What many don't focus on, however, and what this author believes to be a primary impetus for invasion, as much as a reclamation of territory, is the fact that the Turks actively tried to stamp out Greek Orthodoxy and replace it with Turkish Islam. This is evident within testimonies of individuals who watched helplessly as their religious tradition, symbology, and monuments were destroyed by the Turkish forces.

An example of the destruction of religious tradition came in the form of Turkish soldiers targeting Greek Cypriot Orthodox priests for particular abuse, aimed towards eliminating that which designated them as holy men.[65] The ripping out of hair and tearing of their cassocks (robes worn by Orthodox clergy), were their primary methods of doing this. One such account by Nicolas Kostas, a prisoner, describes Turkish soldiers doing exactly this during a routine search of the prisoners.[66] A Greek Cypriot priest from Trimithi, a village in occupied Northern Cyprus, described an event in which a Turkish Soldier threatened to rape him after cutting off his ears and forcing him at gunpoint to take off his cassock.[67] Little was done by the international community in defense of the religious sanctity of Greek Orthodoxy.

[62] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 5.
[63] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 9.
[64] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 14.
[65] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 11.
[66] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 11.
[67] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 16.

Despite much international response, the western press did cover the religious atrocities. English journalists, upon entering occupied Northern Cyprus two years after the invasion described the abysmal state of the churches they had visited.[68] They said, "The vandalism and desecration are so methodical and so widespread that they amount to institutionalized obliteration of everything sacred to a Greek."[69] They went on to describe how they had discovered countless desecrated cemeteries, crucifixes covered in urine, and Orthodox churches reduced to rubble while mosques still stood.[70] Clearly, these are acts of hate. Clearly, these are religiously motivated actions. Clearly, Turkey lied to the international community about having only Turkish Cypriot interests at heart.

To finish off the effort of suppression, there is one example that proves Turkey sought cultural and religious hegemony in Cyprus over *only* territorial gain. That is, that after the ousting of all the Greek Cypriots from Northern Cyprus, they imported Turks from the Turkish mainland to fill the vacuum that the Greek Cypriots had left when they fled the region.[71] Then, as if to proclaim to the international community that Turkey was not trying to be imperialistic, they choose not to annex Northern Cyprus, but rather make it into its own country in 1983 with the ratification of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.[72] This willingness to give up the direct territorial control of the northern portion of the island only *after* it had been cleansed of any and all things Greek, indicates the desire for territorial gain.

Had the Turks maintained direct control of the northern third of the island, the claim that this cultural objective was secondary would be plausible. However, given the totality with which Greek culture was destroyed and replaced by with that which was Turkish, as outlined above, one can conclude that hegemonic control of the culture and religion of the island was Turkey's true objective.

The Turkish government first began to lose its power in Cyprus in the nineteenth century, when Britain took control of the island from the Ottoman Empire. Following the stripping of all territory from its empire, Turkey was given the impetus to reclaim that which it had lost. Cyprus quickly became a hotbed of conflict. The conflict was mitigated through compromise between the UK, Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus through the London and Zurich agreements. The Treaty of Guarantee established the right of Turkey to intervene in the newly sovereign Republic of Cyprus should the constitution of 1960 be compromised. Attempts at constitutional amendment for enosis failed; Greek Cypriots lost faith in Makarios III and began taking matters into their own hands. The terrorist organization EOKA B gave Turkey the golden ticket to invade through the civil unrest that they started. Turkey demonstrated that through its desecration of orthodox monuments and other religious atrocities, that the true primary goal of Turkey throughout this entire

[68] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 4.
[69] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 4.
[70] PESK, Cyprus Witness (Cyprus, 1976), 51-53.
[71] Coufoudakis, *Cyprus: From Independence to Partition*, 3.
[72] *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History 1878-2007*, 200-243.

ordeal was the reestablishment of its cultural and religious hegemony. Turkey's willingness to give up the territorial gains that it had made in favor of establishing an independent Turkish Cypriot nation proved that territory was not the primary goal. Cyprus continues to be a divided country still today.

Stephen King's Monstrous Decades: The Evolution of Fear in America

Melissa Blandford

Abstract: Stephen King's literary monsters began to reflect American society's fears beginning in the 1970s. King's novels serve as a glimpse into Americans' views on the war in Vietnam in the 1970s, psychological constraints of the 1980s, the feelings of redemption and sin in the 1990s, and finally the rise of technology in the 2000s. King's works are a microcosm of American's fears, frustrations, and failings that encouraged even the most docile American to become a fan of King's style of horror.

The Gothic, or Horror, has always drawn society towards it. Mark Edmundson describes the gothic as the dark side of the world that revels in cruelty, lust, perversion, and crime that is hidden beneath societal conventions.[1] People are drawn to gothic literature and film because it allows them to experience the fears that they hold subconsciously due to the turbulent events that occurred within society and confront them in a safe environment. From the Cold War to the war on terrorism, one of the best horror writers who recognized societies' need to be scared was Stephen King. He describes a good horror story as one that functions on a symbolic level; allowing for people to use terrifying fictional events to work through their fears produced by the times during which they lived.[2] Audiences that came to be scared helped shape the monsters and gruesome images that we have come to see. Stephen King's continuous evolution of monsters within his novels, from the 1970s to the 2000s, influenced the American people to consume horror fiction as his works accurately represented societal fears held by America during these decades.

The horror genre began to rapidly expand in American culture with the turbulent changes that occurred during the 1950s and 1960s. These were the decades that first drew King's appreciation of horror. This time marked the rise of suburbia and the suburban dream was on the forefront of Americans' minds. The idea of owning a house with a white picket fence and living a wholesome life was seen as a possible utopia for the American family but subconsciously people recognized that beneath the facade there was a hidden

[1] Mark Edmundson, *Nightmare on Main Street: Angels, Sadomasochism, and the Culture of Gothic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 4.
[2] Stephen King, *Danse Macabre* (New York: Gallery Books, 1981). xiii.

layer that scared them.[3] The false sense of peace and safety only increased social fears during the Cold War period about what might be hiding in the dark. At an interview at the Billerica, Massachusetts Public Library in 1983, King talked about his fans and the reason on why people have been so drawn to his writings. His reply was "they [liked] it because of what's between the lines" and goes on to say that the subtext of imaginative horror fiction, in either literary or film form, is "like a dream" and compares it to Freud's theory of symbolic dreams.[4] The entertainment of horror is based on the fears that leak through these dreams. There are some obstacles when trying to create these fears in film, though, as people seek different things. Some people may not look past the surface of the gory violence of a cheaply produced film in order to identify with the message that the story is trying to convey.[5] The mediums used to bring these intangible fears to the surface as a result are constantly adapting. Clive Barker, a friend of King's as well as a well-known horror writer and film producer, remarks that "there really is the constant seeking for the new sensation, the new special effect."[6]

King's works are unique in the fact that instead of constantly trying to create more special effects or add more gore he captures his audience's attention by expressing their fears clearly through his monsters. He manages to draw people to his stories because his monsters are not found in space or in exotic and foreign lands but in American schools, homes, and factories.[7] The monsters in King's stories captured the people's everyday fears that lay within their minds as they talked to friends, listened to the news, and walked alone in darkened streets. In a news article, King was asked if he predicted that the horror genre would experience a downfall in the 1980s and his response highlights why his monsters became so popular. "I really think it depends on how bad things get."[8] The American people had to adapt to the ever changing political, economic, and social climate but the changes that occurred left their own scars on the American people.

The 1970s

The 1970s in America was a time of great change socially and politically. Anti-war sentiment cranked to an all-time high and people lost faith in President Nixon due to the

[3] Bernice M. Murphy, *The Suburban Gothic in American Popular Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 2-3.
[4] "An Evening with Stephen King at the Billerica, Massachusetts Public Library", 1983. Edited by Tim Underwood and Chuck Miller in *Bare Bones: Conversations on Terre with Stephen King* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1988), 5.
[5] Charles Derry, *Dark Dreams 2.0: A Psychological History of the Modern Horror Film from the 1950s to the 21st Century* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), 21.
[6] Stanley Waiter, "Clive Barker" in *Dark Visions: Conversations with the Masters of Horror Film* (New York: Avon Books, 1992), 11.
[7] Tony Magistrale, *Landscape of Fear: Stephen King's American Gothic* (Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), 15.
[8] William Wilson, "Riding the Crest of the Horror Craze" (New York Times, May 11, 1980), 42.

Watergate Scandal.[9] People lived with uncertainty in who to trust and King played with this fear in society to create one of his most well-known novels, *Carrie*. *Carrie* was written in 1974; a year before the war in Vietnam officially ended. Its story projects the evils of humanity that resonated with people as America was forced to confront horrors during the previously unknown war as they watched live footage of the war zone.

One of King's strengths that Magistrale points out is "his awareness of the pervasiveness of evil- indeed, that it exists in ourselves, our social and political institutions, in short, in everything human."[10] *Carrie* shows the inner most evil of the everyday American in the actions of the teenagers who ridicule and mock those that do not fit into society. In his novel, King's main character, a girl named Carrie, is alternatively sheltered and abused by her mother and mocked by her peers. At the beginning of his novel, Carrie is even described as "a frog among swans."[11] Carrie's experience as an outcast is something that many people fear and turns good people into an everyday type of monster. What is different about King's character is that she possesses the power of telekinesis and when pushed too far her power ignites in her rage and embarrassment resulting in the deaths of those who hurt her. In a literary profile of King by George Beahm, there is a review from Library Journal mentioned on *Carrie* before it was initially published that said that it was a "contender for the bloodiest book of the year" and not generally recommended.[12]

At the time when *Carrie* was published it did not do too well among readers but in 1975 it was re-published in paperback by New American Library under its signet imprint and sold 1.33 million copies within 9 months; a drastic change from its first year as it had only sold around 13,000 copies.[13] The increase of amount of sold copies of *Carrie* is tangible proof that though the novel may have been one of the bloodiest stories of the year it did not repulse anyone away from its pages; if anything the theme of bloody revenge that is taken by Carrie appealed to the people on a psychological level. Mark Edmundson describes the appeal of *Carrie* as "Vietnam Syndrome: a suitably modern gothic formulation, which suggests that the spirit of revenge is inseparable from the desire to change the meaning of the past, to make it different from what it was."[14] People who lived through the Vietnam war and what it represented to the American people found themselves drawn to a story that glorified revenge in an effort to change the past wrongs done to them. The Vietnam War had just ended, and the leftover feelings of the past twenty years came surging forward. King managed to create a character that spoke to the people's fear and the need to try and change their past. Carrie is not the conventional monster that haunts

[9] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005),1039-1040.
[10] Tony Magistrale, *Landscape of Fear: Stephen King's American Gothic* (Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), 16.
[11] Stephen King, *Carrie*, (New York, NY: Penguin Group, 1974), 4.
[12] George Beahm, *The Stephen King Story: A Literary Profile.* (Kansas City, MI: Universal Press Syndicate Company, 1992), 66.
[13] Ibid, 72.
[14] Mark Edmundson, *Nightmare on Main Street: Angels, Sadomasochism, and the Culture of Gothic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 139.

people's dreams, but she is one that people can relate to on a personal level that lives in our subconscious waiting until such a time that rage is needed.

During 1975, King published yet another novel that was twice as long as *Carrie* called *'Salem's Lot*. This novel is different compared to *Carrie* as it focuses on the darkness that takes over a town rather than revenge for past wrongs. In the novel, an author, Ben Mears, moves back to his hometown of Jerusalem's Lot in an effort to help him with his own personal demons and provide inspiration for his new book; only to find that his home is becoming darker each day as people start dying and the undead come after the living.[15] George Beahm states that King was influenced by many literary works when he started to create 'Salem's Lot but the one thing that stuck with King the most was the life of a small town; where people come and go but a town will stay forever.[16] Society during the 1970s valued community and it seems that the suburban dream that had risen during the 1960s still continued to exert much influence within King's writing. As I have mentioned above the fears that came from Suburbia were the result of striving for a utopia only to achieve the illusion of one. People had hidden the dark dangers and desires of humanity beneath a veneer only to find that they could never truly forget what truth lurks in the darkness. King writes that if he had to limit everything he has ever written about horror it could be summed up in a sentence by his character Mark Petrie in *'Salem's Lot* that "Death is when the monsters get you.[17] This quote by King tells us that horror to him is when the demons that exist either in society or within one's own mind come out and fully engulf a person is when they lose not just their life but also what makes them who they are. *'Salem's Lot* describes a small town that hides a vampire within its midst and it slowly tries to take over the town by killing the townsfolk and turning them into his undead minions. King's characters are fighting not just to remain alive but also to maintain who they are as people within the community. Society was just as drawn to *'Salem's Lot* as they were with *Carrie* as by 1976 over a million copies were sold. *'Salem's Lot* sales were even more bolstered when *Carrie* came to movie theaters selling about 2.25 million copies more within six months.[18] With King breaking into mainstream media of the 1970s his works of horror became more well-known and widespread.

With the rise in King's popularity due to *Carrie*, came one of his more iconic works of horror. *The Shining* was published in 1977 by Random House LLC and brought a different set of fears to the forefront of the people's minds. Instead of focusing on manifestations of the hidden horrors in society that took the form of monsters and supernatural ability, King focused more of the monsters that hide within the minds of people. *The Shining* not only held hints that the sexual revolution that America experienced from the 1960s through

[15] Stephen King, *'Salem's Lot.* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1975).
[16] George Beahm, *The Stephen King Story: A Literary Profile.* (Kansas City, MI: Universal Press Syndicate Company, 1992), 73.
[17] Stephen King, *Danse Macabre* (New York: Gallery Books, 1981), 205.
[18] George Beahm, *The Stephen King Story: A Literary Profile.* (Kansas City, MI: Universal Press Syndicate Company, 1992), 76.

the 1980s influenced his writing but also focused in on desires that led the common man away from his responsibilities.[19]

In *the Shining*, the main location was the Overlook Hotel where the Torrance family goes to live for Jack, the father's, job as caretaker during the winter while he worked on his novel.[20] The hotel seduces Jack by delving deep into his desires. The feminine aspect of the hotel that sways Jack into madness provides the role of a caretaker for his soul that nurtures the decay of Jack's mind and with it his relationship with his family. Magistrale mentions that King views the evil in his universe as only ever gaining a foothold at "the expense for the individual's moral conscience that cannot occur unless the individual allows."[21] It is the sins of man that led to Jack's downfall and with the sexual revolution and the rise of drugs in America in the 1970s the depth found within King's novel appealed to many. The character of Jack, and his own selfish desires that destroyed his family life, spoke to the masses as a relatable figure. The liberation and experimentation of the 1970s caused people to seek out things that they desired; whether it was sex or a new high that would distract them from the world around them. People recognized the destructiveness of such avenues to escape from the world around them, but King brought the reality of what society was doing to the attention of his readers.

The 1980s

King experienced a successful high going into the 1980s and it continued throughout the decade. His novels had managed to pinpoint the fear that was smoldering within the minds of the people during the 1970s going into the 1980s and with each success seemed to only gain momentum as he brought to life physical representations of their fears. A new American gothic had emerged that King described as a symbolic mirror.[22] People were becoming more drawn to horror as they began to identify with horror fiction characters such as King's. The U.S. population still felt the effects of the Cold War but with the coming of the Reagan administration prosperity had begun to flourish once more.[23] With the rise in prosperity, it held the added effect of pop culture spreading as not only technology advanced, but people could afford to go out and indulge in them; especially the youth.

One of King's more well-known novels was published in 1983 called *Christine*; which sold 303,000 copies within a year of publication.[24] The novel describes a lonely outcast, Arnie, who finds a 1958 red-and white Plymouth Fury that was named Christine by her

[19] Charles Derry, *Dark Dreams 2.0: A Psychological History of the Modern Horror Film from the 1950s to the 21st Century* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), 204.
[20] Stephen King, *The Shining* (New York: Random House LLC, 1977).
[21] Tony Magistrale, *Landscape of Fear: Stephen King's American Gothic* (Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), 65.
[22] Stephen King, *Danse Macabre* (New York: Gallery Books, 1981), 297.
[23] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005),1058.
[24] George Beahm, *The Stephen King Story: A Literary Profile.* (Kansas City, MI: Universal Press Syndicate Company, 1992), 109.

cantankerous owner as it rusted out in the neighborhood. Arnie buys Christine and fixes her up but soon becomes obsessed with the car. The twist in the novel is that the car was just as obsessed with Arnie as well and kills anyone who threatens to take him away from her.[25] Cars became a part of American society in the late 1800s but were not mass produced in the United States until the 1950s. The automobile in the 1950s became a mirror for America itself that represented the era's economic prosperity and its fascination with new frontiers of speed and space.[26]When the 1980s began people experienced more wealth once again, allowing teenagers, such as Arnie, to buy their own cars which gave them more freedom within society.

According to George Beahm, King stated that *Christine* is "a monster story. But it's also a story about cars and girls and guys and how cars become girls in America. It's an American Phenomenon in that sense. *Christine* is a freeway horror story. It couldn't exist without a teenage culture that views the car as an integral part of that step from adolescence to adulthood. The car is the way that journey is made."[27]Christine represented a stepping stone to freedom for Arnie to escape from under his parents as it had allowed him to travel anywhere, he wished. King's point that cars became girls in American also shows an added importance to the relationship between guys and their cars. This relationship becomes profound when considering Tony Magistrale's point that *Christine* is an example of technological betrayal.[28] King's use of a car as the monster is representative of the advancement of technology as well as the people's fear of such advancement. *Christine*'s popularity rose as people connected to the symbol of the American people and was able to confront their fears about what the advancement of technology meant for them.

King's last true monster novel*, It,* was published in 1980. It garnered as many fans as his previous works before it and was considered "the most powerful novel king has written" by critic Michael Collings; though there was some critics who found it to be an example of "literary self-indulgence" from a best-selling author.[29] In the novel, a group of children called the Loser club form a friendship and start to realize that children seem to be disappearing in the town of Derry, Maine. They soon find out that it is a true monster that is taking and killing them and that they may be next as they experience their fears come to life.[30] King's monster takes the form of a clown in order to lure in these children as it survives on childhood innocence. Magistrale points out that in most of King's fiction, youth is not just a force of physical vitality but also a psychic reservoir.[31] The innocence of children is something special that is lost once becoming adults and it is this loss that draw King's audiences to *It*. "To do battle against It as Adults, the Losers must rediscover their

[25] Stephen King, *Christine* (Gallery Books, 2018). (Originally Published in 1983).
[26] Tony Magistrale. *Landscape of Fear: Stephen King's American Gothic*, 46.
[27] George Beahm. *The Stephen King Story: A Literary Profile*, 109.
[28] Tony Magistrale, *Landscape of Fear: Stephen King's American Gothic*, 46.
[29] George Beahm. *The Stephen King Story: A Literary Profile*, 134.
[30] Stephen King, *It* (New York: Signet Publishing, 1981). (Copyrighted in 1980).
[31] Tony Magistrale, *Hollywood's Stephen King* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 185.

connection to adolescence, becoming, at least in their imaginations children again."[32] American society barely started to recover from the Vietnam war and with the continuation of the Cold War, children were forced to grow up and lose their childhood innocence. King's monster represents the evils of the world that adolescents face as they transitioned to the adult world. *It* was one of the last true physical monsters that King created before he turned to examine the inner demons that plagued the minds of Americans.

The last novel that was published in the 1980s by King was called *The Dark Half*. It was available to the public in 1989 by Pocket Books which was an imprint of Simon & Schuster, Inc but was not met with as much success as *It*. Though not as popular as some of King's other works it still connected to the people in a way that drove them to read King's newest work. *The Dark Half* was just one of King's newer novels that focused more on the inner crisis that people experience; in this case the crisis a writer goes through which King could draw from his own experiences. In the novel, it describes an author, Thad Beaumont, who kills off his old pen name, George Stark, once he finished his highly popular book series. Soon after the many people that were involved with the demise of the pen name are found dead and all evidence found points to Thad being the killer. During the novel it is discovered that the killer is Thad's alter ego that he had killed who refused to disappear and wanted to only have George Stark remain.[33] King takes a dramatic turn away from physical monsters and focuses more on the internal monsters within one's self. King describes Thad Beaumont as someone whose "dream of being a writer overwhelms the reality of being a man" and that "for Thad, delusive thinking overtakes rationality completely with horrible consequences."[34] The fear of losing yourself to your dreams is not damaging in a tangible way like in King's previous works like *'Salem's Lot* or *Christine* but it does leave scars within the psyche that are harder to see and harder to heal from. *The Dark Half* not only becomes King's own exercise in letting go but also his fans who live life in two different ways to gain success in their dreams.

The 1990s

The 1990s was a time of change. The Cold War ended in 1991 but it still left behind phantom feelings of anxiety. People tried to reconcile the past with the present and leaving many uncertain. Along with the end of the Cold War, the Gulf War also occurred from 1990-1991 adding to people's anxieties over the political climate at the time. People were forced to try to adapt to a different mindset in light of these political changes, it had only caused uncertainty.[35] At the end of the 1980s, King started to focus more on the human psyche and the fears and desires that motivated the people. This abrupt change from

[32] Magistrale, *Hollywood's Stephen King*, 185.
[33] Stephen King, *The Dark Half* (Pocket Books, 2016). (Originally published in 1989).
[34] George Beahm, *Stephen King: America's Best-Loved Boogeyman* (Kansas City: Andrews McMeel Publishing, 1998),133.
[35] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005),1058.

dealing with the evil external forces, like in *It*, in the world to the more difficult internal ones that King wrote in the 1990s forced American fears to examine their own motivations. After the publication of *The Dark Half* in 1989, the monsters that scared the masses turned from the external beings that sought to attack innocent people at random into internal monsters that developed from within one's own subconscious. In 1990, King published a book with four short stories called *Four Past Midnight*. One of his more well-known stories was called *Secret Window, Secret Garden*. This story follows a similar line to *The Dark Half* where an author, Mort Rainey, finds his life falling apart with the lack of inspiration for his writing and his wife leaving him. His situation just gets worse when a man named John Shooter comes to him saying that he stole his story and if he does not get compensated, he will destroy his life and the people he loves. It is not until the end that we realize that this man, who is stalking him, burning down his house and killing those he tries to gain help from, is really the author himself.[36] King once again explores the writer's psyche that focuses on "writers and writing and the strange no man's land which exists between what's real and what's make-believe."[37] The narrow focus of a writer's fear in the novel did not detract from its reach towards the audiences. Even with the approaching end of the Cold War, people still felt some anxiety in their everyday life and *Secret Window, Secret Garden* highlighted how everyday stressors brought out fear and anxiety in dangerous ways. The story only continued to show audiences that the fine line between reality and imagination people straddled, that King had managed to perfectly capture, highlighted hidden fears within one's subconscious.

In the next year King published another novel called *Needful Things*. In this novel, a stranger, Mr. Gaunt, moves to the town of Castle Rock, Maine opening up a shop called Needful Things. In the shop, everyone can find something they want at a price. This price is a person's own soul and deepest desires.[38] King's work this time focused on society's fear that they sacrificed themselves for something that would only bring them temporary pleasure and/or security. By this point, the Cold War was officially declared over, and the Gulf War had begun.[39] The anxiety of trading one war for another permeated society. The people began to go through personal changes as reconciliation between their past and the uncertainty of what the future would bring created fears about themselves and what they desired in life. The critic Michael Collings remarks that *Needful Things* "is a powerful tale of sin and redemption-sins past, long thought hidden and safe, as well as sins present; and redemption through trial and suffering and forgiveness."[40] King's novel perfectly illustrated the people's vulnerabilities at the time and it gave them an outlet that allowed them to confront their anxieties that were held.

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[36] Stephen King, "Secret Window, Secret Garden" in *Four Past Midnight* (New York: Signet, 2004). (Originally published in 1990).
[37] George Beahm, *A Stephen King Story: A Literary Profile*, 151.
[38] Stephen King, *Needful Things*. (New York: Viking Penguin, 1991).
[39] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005),1075-1077.
[40] George Beahm. *Stephen King: America's Best-Loved Boogeyman*, 158.

At the end of the 1990s, King published another novel that focuses once more on the psychological demons within a person's psyche called *The Girl Who Loved Tom Gordon*. This novel, while shorter and not as widely known than King's previous novels, was no less impactful than its predecessors. When a nine-year-old girl, Trisha McFarland, goes missing on the New Hampshire branch of the Appalachian Trail she is confronted by danger and terror within the woods. In order to combat the fears of her situation she turns to her Walkman for solace and listens to broadcasts of the Boston Red Sox baseball games and follows the performance of her hero Tom Gordon. Eventually imagining that Tom Gordon is with her in the woods protecting her from the dangers she faces.[41] This novel tells a tale of being lost and alone in a dangerous world, but it also presents the courage to find the inner strength to go on in uncertain times. The appeal of finding courage in dire situations through a little imagination, even if you are a child, drew in not only adults but also children to read and enjoy King's 1999 novel. At the beginning of 2000, The Girl Who Loved Tom Gordon had sold 1,075,000 copies and at the end of 2000 sold another 1,800,000.[42] The novel was not a typical horror fiction story nor did it become adapted to film but it became popular through its message that in the face of difficult situations one should never just give up but find motivation to keep going.

The 2000s

The American people entered the 2000s with as much anxiety as the previous decades of King's career. The Gulf War in 1990-1991 brought up feelings of unrest and terrorism had become more prevalent as well making people feel vulnerable to outside attacks. Along with these feelings, also came the prevalence of technology, prompted by the computer revolution, that society has constantly been improving that has led to the 21st century being called the Digital Age.[43] With everyone connected through the internet either through their computers or cell phones, people have been able to access more information than ever but it also came with consequences such as a decrease in personal relationships. The ushering of the new decade held both old and new anxieties for the American people and as always King continued to produce novels, short stories, and even screenplays to bring society on a journey to confront their deepest fears and conquer them. King's works in the 2000s by no means slowed down or lost many fans going into the new decade but the popularity of some of them seems to have not reached the same heights as previous works had done.

One of King's lesser known short stories was *Riding the Bullet*, published together with thirteen other stories in the collection called *Everything's Eventual* in 2002. The story describes a young college student, Alan Parker, who finds out his mother is sick in the hospital and hitchhikes to visit her. Along the way he is confronted by Death's messenger

[41] Stephen King, *The Girl Who Loved Tom Gordon* (New York: Pocket Books, 1999).
[42] "The Girl Who Loved Tom Gordon Statistics" 20th-Century American Bestsellers. 2016. Accessed December 12, 2018. https://bestsellers.lib.virginia.edu/submissions/379
[43] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005),1084-1085.

about the reality of life and death and is asked to choose who will die; himself or his mother?[44] *Riding the Bullet* shows influences from the 1990s turn towards confronting the more psychological demons within one's self. Alan's character feels a disconnection with life, and it is death's messenger that makes him confront exactly what death is. By doing this he gains a better appreciation for his life and the people he has in it. This story was surprising in the fact it was not popular with King's fans. A possibility for the lack of interest for this short story could have to do with the dialogue between life and death it presents. In the story, Alan is asked to choose between his mother's life and his own and he tells death "to take her."[45] His choice would seem unsavory to people as the decline of family values by the 2000s was increasing and the message behind the story has become obscured by a first impression.[46] Even with the lack of appreciation towards the story it still addresses some more focused anxieties that society had concerning life and death as well as the state of family units by 2002.

During the 2000s, society has experienced a technological boom in a time of prosperity resulting with everyone having either a cell phone or computer to become connected to each other in a more instantaneous way. The technological growth that is seen at the time is astounding but with most societies focused on their phones there is a lingering fear that people have become detached from reality; acting as a slave to our phones. King manages to perfectly expound on this fear in his 2006 novel *Cell.* In the novel, an artist named Clayton Riddell is on his way home after signing a comic book deal when a signal is sent to everyone's phone. This signal when heard changes the person as they become aggressive towards others and act as though they are part of a hive mind.[47] *Cell* manages to perfectly capture the instantaneous connection cell phones give to people when the signal that brainwashes them is sent to every phone and in an instant people are ensnared by it. This signal that enslaves the people and makes them detached from society as a whole is the representation of the fear that King tries to bring to the attention of the people. The detachment from society as people become more absorbed in their phones is an anxiety held by some but with the advancement of technology if one does not adapt to the technology they are left behind as well. Cell phones are used every day by people and King managed to shine a light on some of the issues that come from the new found use and consumption of advancing technology.

In the 1980s and 1990s, King had participated in writing screenplays with other writers for certain films and mini-series, such as *Creepshow* and *It,* but in the early 2000s he wrote a screenplay by himself that did not gain the popularity that he had hoped. The screenplay was called *Rose Red* and it came out in 2002 as a T.V. mini-series that was directed by Craig R. Baxley. In the mini-series, a paranormal psychology professor named Joyce Reardon gathers a group of psychics to spend a weekend in a haunted mansion called Rose Red

[44] Stephen King, "Riding the Bullet" in *Everything's Eventual* (New York: Pocket Books, 2002).
[45] Stephen King, "Riding the Bullet" in *Everything's Eventual* (New York: Pocket Books, 2002), 545.
[46] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005),1102-1103.
[47] Stephen King. *Cell* (New York: Scribner, 2006).

owned and built upon originally by Ellen Rimbauer. The mansion was known for its psychic events that caused deaths of those that entered it but was supposed to have become dormant after the 1950s. When the group arrives, they find that their presence there has jump started the houses psychic energy and it has become alive once more resulting in the death of most of their group. With each death it feeds on, Rose Red only continues to grow.[48] Rose Red tries to examine the fear when the past collides with the present which is represented by the old-time mansion from 1909 placed in the middle of a highly urban area. Though there were high hopes for this mini-series, it had received a lot of negative feedback that seemed to mainly be focused on how it was directed rather than the story itself.

In an interview with Tony Magistrale, King even mentions that out of all of the T.V. mini-series he has taken part in creating *Rose Red* was the one that was "just not as good" as the others.[49] With King's own acknowledgement that *Rose Red* lacked substance compared to his other works, it is easy to see why the audiences were not as drawn to the mini-series like others before. Magistrale suggests the primary difficulty with *Rose Red* was its over reliance on special effects, dramatizing the house's reanimation and not putting nearly enough effort in examining why the displays were relevant to the story's larger purpose.[50] Going with this line of thought, if the director had chosen to focus more on the storyline that King produced rather than the shock value of special effects the popularity of this mini-series would not have been so low.

Conclusion

American fear has always followed in the aftermath of events that produced great change within society. Within the changes that are experienced by the American people, a sense of displacement occurs, and it is this feeling that causes people to become uncertain and vulnerable to the past and to the unknown future. King writes that it is "the dark [that] provides the basis for our most primordial fears."[51] The dark is where our fears lurk metaphorically and at times literally. King's ability to reach into that darkness and draw out the fears people try to suppress is nothing short of masterful. Wes Craven, himself, believes that it takes an extraordinary person who can deal "with emotions such as rage, extreme anger, and other bizarre and irrational behavior," when it comes to working with the horror genre.[52] There is not many people that would be willing to reach into the dark depths of the human psyche and work out the fears that plague people to confront them like King manages to do in his written works.

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[48] *Rose Red*, directed by Craig R. Baxley. screenplay written by Stephen King (Greengrass Productions, 2002).
[49] Tony Magistrale, *Hollywood's Stephen King* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 15.
[50] Ibid, 214.
[51] Stephen King, *Danse Macabre* (New York: Gallery Books, 1981), 193.
[52] Stanley Wiater, "Wes Craven" in *Dark Visions: Conversations with the Masters of Horror Film* (New York: Avon Books, 1992), 49.

Some people would assert that the horror genre that people enjoy could be seen as somewhat sadistic in nature as more often than not people are stripped to their most vulnerable self and placed in situations where death is just a second away. Wes Craven goes on in his interview with Stanley Wiater to say that, for him at least, making horror movies is like "some sort of exorcism of the way you really feel about the horrors of life so that you can control it."[53] King's earlier works such as *Carrie* and *'Salem's Lot* were created with such thoughts as the characters recognized the darkness in their town and neighbors and fought against what was attacking them, mentally and physically, making them vulnerable. The American people had found King's works to be something that would allow them to safely confront their fears. Consumer culture was firmly placed in the American mindset since the 1950s and as a result when King's first film adaptation of *Carrie* was released in 1976 his talent of producing fears into tangible monsters that could be beaten had reached more audiences than ever before.

Later on, in the 1980s through the 2000s, King continuously adapted his writings to reflect the fears people felt as they were confronted with social movements, rapidly advancing technology, and war. By following the trend of fears these events produced, King shifted the manifestations of the people's fears into less physical monsters and more into the inner demons within people themselves that manifest in the world around them by the end of the 1980s. *Secret Window, Secret Garden,* that was published in the early nineties, had masterfully shown how it is not only external dangers that people worry about but also the internal ones that people try to keep hidden. This would change again as the computer revolution had taken globalization to new heights and cell phones became a standard item to have on hand at all times. *Cell* reflected the technological change and, though it was not as popular as some of King's other works, it managed to reveal the societal anxiety on how phones were tearing people away from living their lives.

King's works would not have been nearly as successful if people did not want to work through their fears of the fragility of life. King mentions in *Danse Macabre* that it takes a "suspension of disbelief" to not only understand the value of horror but also to enjoy it.[54] The suspension of disbelief is not just withholding judgement when reading or watching horror for pleasure but also removing oneself from their reality and completely immersing in the fantasy of the story. King's works not only help to accomplish this but also drew in more people who have found a connection with King's very honest writing style as he brings the people's nightmares to life.

[53] Wiater, "Wes Craven," 49.
[54] Stephen King, *Danse Macabre* (New York: Gallery Books, 1981), 104-105.

Through the KAWOOSH: *Stargate* as a Case Study of Science Fiction and the Treatment of "The Other"

Stephanie Kyles

Abstract: Western media often represents itself as a counterpoint to the femininity and exoticism of foreign cultures, with Ancient Egypt being an unusually common source of these negative characterizations. As a civilization, Ancient Egypt captured the imagination of generations with its unique culture, esoteric traditions, and architectural accomplishments, but these nuances are often ignored or suppressed. In the Science Fiction series *Stargate SG-1*, the enemy is explicitly coded as Ancient Egyptian, often being represented by seductresses or people of color. Given the progressive nature of the science fiction, how and why the enemy is represented this way offers a glimpse into western prejudices. This paper examines how femininity, exoticism, and Ancient Egyptian culture interact to drive one of the longest running science fiction series in history.

American media reflects the norms of popular culture; it demands that the subordinate cultures be suppressed for the comfort and entertainment of dominant cultural norms. In this way, popular science fiction, because it can represent a wider range of possibilities than mainstream media, is a rich source of information, not only of the beliefs of its consumers, but also of how those beliefs relate to the historical reality of cultures that the consumers might consider ancient or exotic. This is particularly true of Ancient Egypt. The representation of Ancient Egypt in modern entertainment reflects the deep fascination Western societies have with Egypt, but how this fascination translates to science fiction is unique. In the popular science fiction television series *Stargate SG-1*, Ancient Egyptian culture—at least as it is interpreted from the Western view—is used as the basis of the plot, setting, and character, but usually not in a strictly accurate way. The accuracies, and more importantly, the inaccuracies, of the representation of Ancient Egypt give us a window into

the mind of the layperson and their understanding of Ancient Egypt. Similarly, the series also reflects American racial and gender dynamics in a patriarchal Caucasian society, and through this dynamic, allows for an interesting peek into the American social landscape of the 1990s.

In modern society, there are many forms of education, both formal and informal. The most misinterpreted type of informal education in the modern world is popular media, specifically modern television. Analyzing aspects of modern entertainment can illuminate a society's values, moral prejudices, and cultural knowledge. How does television affect the viewer? What is the point in studying any television series if there is no effect from watching that series? In terms of influence, historians can look to cultivation research, which is the idea that television is the dominating influence in American society and therefore shapes perception of social reality.[1] Distortion pairs itself with the materialism that television portrays, creating a manipulative force that interacts with how knowledge is gained and stored in the zeitgeist of modern American society. The theory of cultivation consists of the idea that television presents a dramatic and distorted version of reality and that frequent viewing of this distortion results in distortions of one's worldviews.[2] Distortions on reality can come in the form of thinking the world is overly violent because television series represent the world as significantly more violent than reality. Another misrepresentation comes in the form of distortions of characters based on race, where good guys are portrayed by white males and villains are predominantly ethnic minorities.[3] Because of these cultural distortions, Americans perceive higher rates of violence and interpersonal mistrust from certain types of people, while also having greater faith in doctors based on the stereotypical portrayals in modern television series.[4] This concept of education in the format of television can be translated into modern science fiction as well; with the presentation of past cultures and mythologies to American culture, there is a direct link to the stored knowledge from television series.

Fascination with Ancient Egypt, while continuing to grow in popularity, has existed as long as the culture itself. As a civilization, it has captured the imagination of generations with its unique culture, esoteric traditions, and architectural accomplishments. Egyptomania is as old as the Ancient Greeks. Herodotus, the famous Greek historian, was intrigued by the history of Egypt and was interested in everything, from pictographic hieroglyphic art to mummification. Even a hundred years after Herodotus, Plato attributed the invention of writing to Egyptians.[5] Egyptomania continued in Rome when Caesar fell

[1] L.J. Shrum, "Television Viewing and Social Reality Effects and Underlying Processes," in *Social Psychology of Consumer Behavior*, 242.
[2] Shrum, "Television Viewing," 242.
[3] Shrum, "Television Viewing," 242.
[4] Shrum, "Television Viewing," 242.
[5] Briar, *Egyptomania*, 19-20.

in love with Egypt and its queen, Cleopatra VII. Even after the decline of the Classical cultures, Egypt has enthralled modern Western civilizations from as early as the 19th century, and this fascination has only increased with time. In Europe, Egypt has been a rich source of imagery including its usage by Napoleon for propaganda in 1798. He became so enamored with Egypt that he extended his stay in the area to bring back Egyptian artifacts.[6] Egyptomania, while having a noticeable place through much of recorded history, has become particularly potent after the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922.[7] It flourished as the stories of hidden treasures and mummies' curses ignited the imagination of the era. The opening and excavation of the tomb and related discoveries fueled Egyptomania. Egypt has enthralled the American mind in a way that no other culture has before or since. Even in modern times, Egypt is tied into American commercialism. In products like "Cleopatra's Cream" or "Nefertiti's Hand Lotion," we see how Egypt became a household name at almost every level of society.[8] However, with the rise of Egyptomania, the reflection of Egyptian culture in modern society becomes a parody of itself, the "exotic others" portrayed with elements of alluring women and villainous men. This is especially true in the form of the archetype that represented Cleopatra and other Egyptian queens: that of being both intelligent but also seductively evil.

Egypt has influenced many types of media but has been a constant source of inspiration for the movie industry. First, with Boris Karloff's version of a cursed mummy, then with more contemporary forms of media like the *Mummy* series which included several successful sequels. Hollywood movies have appropriated Egyptian cultural ideas to fill their screens. Cleopatra, alone, has had several movies, as well as hundreds of works of literature and poetry.[9] In recent years, Nefertiti has also become a highlight of many novels[10]. What about this great civilization conjures so many to think creatively and feel inspired by the exotic "other"? Over the centuries of Western cultural expression, Egypt has inspired artists and creators; therefore, it is only natural that one of the most fascinating cultures in the world should spread to science fiction. One of the most recent incarnations of Egyptomania in media is the long-running science fiction show *Stargate* SG-1.

The original 1994 film, *Stargate,* derives most of its main heroes and villains from Egyptian mythological figures. *Stargate*'s premise was that aliens played human gods that populated the universe and enslaved former humans of Earth. The film spawned an immensely popular television series called *Stargate SG-1*, which became a direct sequel to the storyline of the movie. In the ten seasons of this science fiction series, it represented many cultures as well as their respective mythologies, but Egyptian mythology was more

[6] Robinson, *Cracking the Egyptian Code,* 253.
[7] Smith, *Box Office Archaeology*, 283.
[8] Briar, *Egyptomania*, 12.
[9] Smith, *Box Office Archaeology*, 283.
[10] Moran, *Nefertiti: A Novel.*

widely represented than any other. The portrayal of the Egyptian characters, however, has a distinct orientalist emphasis, especially when considering the role of the "other" in the narrative.

The connection between cultures of the past and the present can be ascribed to our desire to understand and feel a part of the almost mythic reality of Ancient Egypt. The Western obsession with Egypt is even more clear when we consider that *Stargate SG-1* is the longest continuously aired science fiction series in history. *Stargate SG-1* is just the most recent example of how Egyptomania has taken the hearts of many Americans and spawned a new generation of media consumers who have been deeply influenced by aspects of ancient Egyptian culture and history. In this way, *Stargate SG-1* is the natural culmination of modern Egyptomania, but in the guise of science fiction. It borrows heavily from the most fantastic elements of Ancient Egypt and heavily derives its portrayal of women and people of color from its orientalist forebears. Because of this, the success of *Stargate SG-1* is a reasonable measurement of popular Western attitudes towards Ancient Egypt. Thus, an analysis of *Stargate SG-1* should lead to a greater understanding of the layperson's Orientalist-skewed view of Ancient Egypt as well as how that view differs from reality.

Anthropology and Historiography in Science Fiction

> "Uh, w-well, my translation's a little bit vague, um, I think the circle means 'the place of our legacy'…or it could be 'a piece of our leg', but the first seems to make more sense."[11]

To fully understand how the *Stargate SG-1* narrative overlaps with actual Ancient Egyptian culture versus the version of Ancient Egypt portrayed in Egyptomania, it is important that we identify the basic cultural elements of Ancient Egypt, especially those that are most likely to be skewed by earlier orientalist representations. For Egyptologists, understanding Egyptian language, written history, and material culture allows the historian to gain a fuller understanding of what pieces—like specific words or myths—mean in their proper context. These clues offer interpretations to how we understand these cultures through how they understood themselves rather than how outsiders understood them. Different creators can use the same elements to signal vastly different things about the cultures they are representing. How the public responds to these different representations can be used as a barometer for the public perceptions of these cultures.[12] It can be complicated when culture and media work together to create meaning, but it is especially

[11] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 2, Episode 15, "The Fifth Race," Directed by, Aired January 17, 1999, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[12] Silverman, *Ancient Egypt*, 231.

challenging when science fiction co-opts other cultures for its narrative; this can lead to misrepresentations and cultural appropriation. Specific elements of Egyptology are often copied either directly or indirectly in *Stargate SG-1* storylines, which lends authenticity via Egyptian material culture.

Language is one of the most crucial elements to understanding a culture, especially for an often-misinterpreted culture like that of Ancient Egypt. The branch of anthropology known as structural linguistics, which is focused on the way languages are formed and how they change over time, is a critical element for the modern mind to understand Ancient Egypt. Even for modern archaeologists much of what modern researchers know about Ancient Egypt comes from the basic language discoveries made during the initial translation of the Rosetta Stone. The Rosetta Stone was discovered in 1799 by French soldiers near the ancient town Rosetta.[13] The text on the Rosetta Stone is comprised of three different languages: hieroglyphics in the upper portion, Demotic in the middle, and Greek in the lowest portion. Thomas Young was the first to make any initial decipherment, but it was Jean-Francois Champollion who discovered that all three scripts were essentially the same message. This was the first step towards understanding the language.[14] With the discovery of the Rosetta Stone and the ability to read the previously undecipherable writing, a whole new level of Egyptomania was created. After acquiring the basics of the Egyptian language, historians and archaeologists could create a deeper understanding of the nuances of the culture through written sources.

Stargate purposely tries to mimic the idea of the Rosetta Stone in a series of episodes. One of the cast members becomes something of a living Rosetta Stone by having an alien language imprinted directly onto his brain. The alien language begins to override the English language in the affected person's brain and Daniel Jackson, the resident anthropologists of the group, must translate the meaning of his words in an effort to save his life.[15] Like Champollion, Jackson's ability to interpret language is portrayed as almost otherworldly in its accuracy, but critically, it is based on Daniel Jackson's ability to connect the unknown language to words and phrases he is familiar with. Just as Champollion figured out that Hieroglyphics were "all at once figurative, symbolic, and phonetic,"[16] Jackson has an uncanny ability to connect languages of Earth with foreign alien languages based on minute details coupled with academic research.[17] Later in the series, Daniel Jackson discovers that each symbol on the *Stargate*—the alien device that allows travel over

[13] Silverman, *Ancient Egypt, 231.*
[14] Silverman, *Ancient Egypt, 231.*
[15] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 2, Episode 15, "The Fifth Race," Directed by, Aired January 17, 1999, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[16] Robinson, Cracking the Egyptian Code, 2043.
[17] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 2, Episode 15, "The Fifth Race," Directed by, Aired January 17, 1999, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).

interstellar distances—represents a sound, and when the sounds are connected with each other, they lead to a particular locations across the galaxy.[18] Through his previous experience and his thorough knowledge of Ancient Egyptian languages, Jackson can slowly decipher the meanings of the sounds and connect them with other words and locations. Jackson also mimics Champollion in the personal details of his life. Like Champollion, Jackson was introduced to Egyptian culture at a noticeably early age, being the son of two archaeologists.[19]

Jackson and Champollion glean information from the distant past via their ability to discern tiny details of a written language, just as contemporary linguistic anthropologists' focus on the linguistic similarity between the fictional languages of the show and authentic Egyptian. For example, Goa'uld, the language used by the main antagonists on *Stargate*, was developed by a University of California, Santa Barbara professor of anthropology, Stuart Tyson Smith. Smith developed the Goa'uld language using his extensive knowledge of ancient Egyptian language and culture and has worked on several other *Stargate* projects including the original motion picture. Like Smith, Daniel Jackson is represented as someone who interprets language by reasoning out how similar sounds are made in different languages. For example, in the episode "The Fifth Race," *Stargate* shows how an anthropologist would go about learning a new language. Daniel Jackson is able to discover a shared linguistic root between Latin and a newly discovered alien language and utilizes this information to surmise that the alien culture must have some shared roots with Latin.[20]

Linguistic anthropology offers translations and interpretations of past cultures just as archaeology focuses on objects available for analysis. Archaeology can be defined in simple terms as the study of history and prehistory via artifacts and other physical remains, but it is important to understand that archaeology is also a unique mindset. When cultures modify their landscape in large ways, like building roads or dams, archaeologists classify these as "features" and any remaining material objects manipulated by human hands are classified as "artifacts."[21] Through the study of features, artifacts, and other embodiments of culture, archaeologists are able to piece together elements of history that cannot fully be derived from written sources. Together, history and archaeology create the picture that the contemporary layperson would think of as the past.[22]

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[18] *Stargate*, Directed by Roland Emmerich (MGM, 2009), Blu Ray, (Lionsgate, 2009).
[19] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 2, Episode 04, "The Gamekeeper," Directed by Martin Wood, Aired July 17, 1998, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[20] Smith, "Egyptologist Behind the Language of Stargate Origins", Stargate Command, https://www.stargatecommand.co/feeds/meet-the-egyptologist-behind-the-language-of-stargate-origins?req_type=html&k=d37d5f8296eceaab87ca50f4eac4f228283ed3ad27cbe73a29dc11774fbd3235
[21] Wilkie, *Strung out on Archaeology,* 44.
[22] Wilkie, *Strung out on Archaeology, 44*.

The sources for archaeological knowledge and analysis comes from the institutions of higher learning such as research institutions. In the *Stargate SG-1* episode, "The Curse," Daniel Jackson is working at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, where he received his Ph.D in Egyptology. This Institute is the penultimate destination for those who desire to unlock the truths of the past. The episode depicts the process of how archaeologists catalog artifacts, identifying each artifact meticulously with a lab catalog number,[23] including those that are on loan from other Institutes. It depicts Daniel Jackson and his colleagues at the Oriental Institute, carefully studying and cataloging each of the artifacts they have received. In this instance, the collection is on leave from the Egyptian government, and Jackson soon discovers that it is missing a canopic jar. Later in the episode viewers discover that this particular canopic jar was used to house an alien symbiote in stasis.[24] In reality, canopic jars would only house the major organs of a deceased member of high society, who could afford the most expensive version of mummification.[25] Another example of Archaeological methods is portrayed in the episode "The First Ones." In this episode, there is an actual dig site that uses accurate archaeological methods to unearth ancient artifacts. The researchers on the dig site create dozens of one by one-meter excavations which allow them to discover the remains of an alien symbiote. On this dig, one of the researchers uses proper archaeological taxonomic classification to catalog the artifacts found along with the remains.[26] The archaeological research in *Stargate* naturally leads to the exploration of many of the Egyptian myths, particularly those that concern the gods and goddesses.

Gods and goddesses feature prominently in all mythologies. Many definitions can be attributed to mythology. However, in anthropology, myths are sacred stories that explain how the world is passing on cultural knowledge and traditions.[27] G.S. Kirk's meanings and functions of myth, Kirk purposes three separate categories of Myth. The first category is meant for entertainment,[28] while at the same time as telling a sacred story.[29] Kirk's second category of myths included operative, interactive, and validator. In these versions of stories, the myths themselves are said to have the power to transform the real world. Kirk's third and last category is explanatory or science myths. More simply stated, these are myths that explain the origins of landscape, objects, or cultural customs. Egyptian mythos has been pieced together from various sources including written and visual. Considering that the

[23] Lightfoot, Kent, 2007, "Field Methods in California Archaeology: Fort Ross State Historic Park and China Camp State Park." Participant Handbook, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, May 3.
[24] Wilkie, *Strung out on Archaeology,* 413.
[25] Campbell Price et al., *Mummies, Magic, and Medicine in Ancient Egypt Multidisciplinary Essays for Rosalie David* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 250.
[26] Wilkie, *Strung out on Archaeology,* 408.
[27] Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 1-2.
[28] Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*, 24.
[29] Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures,* 23.

pharaonic culture dominated Egypt for 3,500 years these sources can vary greatly. Many myths focused on conflict and tragedy and because of their content, they are not displayed in formal art.[30]

Stargate uses mythological elements from Egyptian history in order to build a mytho-historical epic and attempts to incorporate and emulate elements from all three categories of myth to give meaning to the narrative. Science fiction has repeatedly used the mytho-history model to explore the hero's journey narrative. A hero's journey typically follows a pattern of a quest that has an encounter with an adversary and eventually leads to clarification. Science fiction often use meta-mythology to help aid viewers in transporting themselves to a different time.[31] As part of this hero's journey narrative, science fiction becomes a technique to bridge cultural differences such as American standards with alien beliefs. In anthropology, the idea of ethnogenesis (the birth of a culture) comes from an irrefutable ability to identify the start of a people or ethnicity, which can be directly linked to the introduction of ideas from conquering powers.

Egyptian Orientalism

> There is a tale of a primitive world the Goa'uld discovered millennia ago. The Tau'ri. First World where forms of this type evolved. It is said the Goa'uld harvested among the primitives, some became Goa'uld hosts, others became Jaffa; the rest were taken as slaves and seeded among the stars to serve them. But that world has been lost for centuries[32]

Colonization is an act of domination which shifts the power dynamics among groups and leads to instant and long-lasting effects on all sides. In Edward Said's *Orientalism*, he describes the Orient as the "Other" by comparing Europe against exotic creation. Often considered one of the seminal works on the socio-cultural study of the Near East, *Orientalism* argues that many of the Western concepts about eastern cultures, even among those cultures with little direct historical contact with the West, have been tainted and skewed by Western prejudices. Said gives examples of how Western works have painted the peoples and cultures as something other than normal, shaping these cultures and the people within them as the exotic "Other," in comparison to the civilized society of the Western powers. Orientalism fostered a power dynamic among countries like Britain, France, and the United States, and the East. Said noted, "The relationship between the

[30] Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 1-6.
[31] Johnson-Smith, *American Science Fiction TV*, 1-7.
[32] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 1, Episode 03, "Torment of Tantalus," Directed by Dennis Berry, Aired August 1, 1997, on Showtime. DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).

Occident and the Orient is one of power.[33]" With the creation of this difference between the East and the West and the structuring of the Orient as alien in a Eurocentric paradigm, the West gave life to a new discourse, which gave the West authority over the very subject at the heart of it.[34] Said focuses on Britain, France, and later the United States and their involvement in Orientalism, leaving out many other colonial European powers, including the Dutch and Germans.[35] His work would benefit from looking to the western perceptions of the Far East, as well as the Turkish and Persian societies.

One of the major limitations of Said's *Orientalism*, namely the lack of accountability for females, is supplemented by Reina Lewis' critical work *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel, and the Ottoman Harem*. This work focuses on the Western perception of the Oriental woman as an object to be moved either to the harem or under the veil, as the Western imagination sees fit. Lewis's book is primarily a counter-discourse focused on gender in Oriental conception as evidenced through autobiographies of women in the late Ottoman Empire. It touches on many of the same major themes of *Orientalism* but instead focuses on shifting to the female perspective instead of the male gaze. Thus, *Rethinking Orientalism* is a necessary puzzle piece for a full comprehension of orientalist frameworks.

Colonization and Orientalism are depicted in modern science fiction in many forms, starting with colonizers who oppress people by invading their lands and appropriating the subordinate culture and its practices. Science fiction frequently incorporates planetary colonization which mirrors historical experiences on Earth.[36] In "Children of the Gods," the first episode in the *Stargate SG-1* series, we find the earliest portrayal of how the Goa'uld, the alien antagonists, colonized other planets and populated them with human slaves. The Goa'uld are symbiotic creatures that inhabit human bodies and suppress the ability of their human hosts to think and move of their own volition. Viewers see the Goa'uld picking out their future bodies and the bodies of their children, hence the episode's title "Children of the Gods."[37] In this form of history, the aliens are seen as evil: the colonizing power that takes over the galaxy and enslaves all humans. The gods are represented as being all-powerful deities who use their technology to enslave humanity. In *Stargate*, foot soldiers of the Goa'uld are often represented by darker-skinned African-American actors, offering a visual representation that mirrors the history of slavery in the American South.[38]

Helen H. Jun, assistant professor of African American Studies and English at the University of Illinois, Chicago, explains a particular form of Orientalism, Black Orientalism,

[33] Said, *Orientalism*, 5.
[34] Said, *Orientalism,* 55-57.
[35] Lewis, "The Question of Orientalism," 52.
[36] Smith, *American Science Fiction TV,* 35.
[37] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 1, Episode 1, "Children of the Gods," Directed by Mario Azzopardi, Aired July 27, 1997, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[38] Telotte, *The Essential Science Fiction Television Reader,* 3083.

"can be best understood as a specific formation of racial uplift, generating narratives of black moral, political, and cultural development, which in turn reified the orientalist logic of the anti-Chinese movement." In her work, she explains how the Chinese Exclusion and American Orientalism within the nineteenth-century discourse created a narrative of black domestication.[39]

Jun continues, "Racialized subjects, therefore, in their struggle to challenge their conditions of exploitation and oppression, must negotiate these epistemological contradictions that structure modern institutions and liberal narratives of freedom and liberation."[40] Jun argues that all the Asian manifestations of black lives are examples of the disappointments of black citizenship. *Stargate SG-1* is the logical extrapolation of the orientalist framework from the late 20th Century. Among its other narrative elements, *Stargate SG-1* produces a social landscape that subjugates the "Other", portraying the "Other" as inferior just as in orientalist framework. Modern Orientalism has been transformed and parallels black racialization.

Westerners have a long history of attempting to apply white features to Ancient Egyptians; where some historians believe that Egyptians look more Middle Eastern, others believe that it is more likely that many Egyptians looked more Sub-Saharan African. No known depictions offer images that show translucent, pale-skinned Ancient Egyptians. While the evidence of racial coloration is still widely varied, this does little to slow the tide of whitewashing in modern media, including the most famous example of a portrayal of Cleopatra by Elizabeth Taylor, a distinctly white actress. The most recent incarnation of this racialization was the use of a fully European Caucasian cast to portray Egyptian gods in the aptly titled *Gods of Egypt*, but Western depiction of Egyptians as white or light-skinned is common in Western movies and television.[41] It is important to analyze why is this practice so common.

In modern Western media, Ancient Egyptians with white or Near Eastern features are clearly distinguished from other, darker skinned, Africans from the surrounding regions. Many suggest that the lighter skin color of Ancient Egyptians is confirmed by contemporary art, which in many cases depicts Egyptian as light-skinned, but not all Egyptian art tells the same story. Some suggest that the coloring is due to Egyptian descent versus Nubian, with Nubian being the darker population.[42] However, in many cases, statue coloration varied between sexes suggesting that this might be a stylistic choice depicting different roles in a society, like women tending to work indoors, or an attempt to define

[39] Jun, Race for Citizenship: Black Orientalism and Asian Uplift from Pre-emancipation to Neoliberal America, 17.

[40] Jun, Race for Citizenship, 1050.

[41] *Gods of Egypt*, Directed by Alex Proyas (Lionsgate, 2016), Blu Ray, (Lionsgate, 2016).

[42] Eaverly, *Tan Men / Pale Women Color and Gender in Archaic Greece and Egypt, a Comparative Approach*, 4.

women through their lighter color as the "Other".[43] Either way, if skin color cannot be established through sculpture or painting because there is a lack of consistency in representation, why does media insist on representing Ancient Egyptians as looking more European than Middle Eastern?

Though sources as ancient as Herodotus described Egyptians as being dark skinned, even most modern Egyptians think of themselves as separate from other Africans.[44] They do not see themselves as African so much as they see themselves as Middle-Easterners or Egyptians.[45] It is almost an insult to be thought of as African in Egypt, which is similar to how some African-Americans feel about their portrayals in America.

Stargate SG-1 primarily cast African-Americans in the rule of Jaffa, who are the foot soldiers of the Goa'uld and therefore are a slave-like class below the Goa'uld . It also allows the *Stargate* team to always be the hero, coming to perform acts of Liberation for the enslaved Jaffa, following the Trope of a Master/Slave narrative. Whether Goa'uld represent the colonizers over human bodies, the Jaffa come to symbolize the problem of colonialism itself.[46]

To understand both Asian manifestations of black lives as well as black Orientalism, scholars should focus on the creation of the concept of whiteness. Steve Garner's introduction to whiteness is particularly helpful in understanding the term and its relation to science fiction narratives. Garner identifies themes in which whiteness operates within a society, these take form in invisibility, privilege, supremacy, terror, and hegemony. Garner even suggests that "whiteness exists only so far as other racialized identities such as blackness exist."[47]

Richard Dyer traces the history of white American cultures through its photography, television, and cinema. After examining many examples Dyer argues that whiteness is shown as virtuous, clean, and beautiful. Dyer argues that whiteness is depicted as the ideal human condition; humanity is composed of hierarchies with non-white ethnic groups interpreted as being separate from whiteness and therefore away from humanity.[48] In this world, the white hero is often male and heterosexual. This dynamic highlights the link between white imperialism and American science fiction. Dyer explains how aliens in popular science fiction have long been linked to "Otherness," putting aliens as indirect metaphors for racial conflict and for racism in general.[49] By linking aliens with "Otherness,"

[43] Eaverly, *Tan men/ Pale Women,* 6.
[44] Herodotus, *An Account of Egypt*, 65.
[45] Sunni M. Khalid, "The Root: Race and Racism Divide Egypt," NPR, February 07, 2011, accessed May 06, 2018, https://www.npr.org/2011/02/07/133562448/the-root-egypts-race-problem.
[46] Telotte, *The Essential Science Fiction Television Reader*, 3083.
[47] Garner, *Whiteness an Introduction*, 17.
[48] Dyer, *White,* 5.
[49] Dyer*, White,* 33.

science fiction has in turn represented much of the racialized colonial and colonized experience that has characterized human history for centuries.

In some versions of science fiction, ancient Egyptians have been seen and portrayed as the alien other who are villainized. There is a direct link between how Egyptians are considered the "Other" and exotic and how they are alienized in science fiction, as seen in many American blockbusters like *Stargate* and the *Mummy* series. Alienness becomes synonymous with the "Other" and exotic form of how Egyptians are seen in popular culture. In *Stargate*, this alienization also takes place in the form of villainization, as all Egyptian characters are portrayed as villains and therefore less than their American counterparts. Not only are Egyptians characters cast by racially ambiguous actors who represent Egyptians as exotic and often flamboyant, they also represent a distinct colorization of how Egyptians are portrayed within the *Stargate* series.[50] "Color" and villainy are linked with how black racialization occurs in Orientalism.

Over time, science fiction has also come to mirror many socio-political elements of society including the manifest destiny exhibited in 19th century American expansionism that exemplified the United States geographical growth across the North American continent. Just like other science fiction series, *Stargate* has come to represent a narrative of alien encounters that parallels the image of colonial and imperialist encounters with the "Other". In the world of *Stargate*, the military is the dominant culture, and it is represented as white and male and is regularly seen imposing hegemonic ideology on various alien civilizations.[51] Additionally, whiteness is also associated with democracy and superiority.

In *Stargate SG-1*, this racial dynamic is clearly represented in how the show was originally cast. The main characters and heroes of the series are Jack O'Neill (a heterosexual white male), Daniel Jackson (another white heterosexual male), Samantha Carter (a white heterosexual female), and Teal'c, an alien turned to the "good side," who is the only African-American playing a leading role on the show. Although this contradicts the role of the "Other" as alien and therefore bad, in fact it is another representation of alienness being associated with darkness.[52]

The only other examples of recurring characters that are non-white are aliens in technologically inferior or evil roles. In the episode "The Fifth Man," an alien changes the memories of the flagship team, SG-1, to make them believe he is a member of their team. The alien is represented by an African-American male, Lieutenant Tyler.[53] Even Teal'c, a proven member of SG-1, has to consistently prove his allegiance and therefore his

[50] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 5, Episode 15, "Summit Part 1 of 2," Directed by Martin Wood, Aired March 22, 2002, on Showtime. DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).

[51] This interpretation is based on personal observation of the series.

[52] This interpretation is based on personal observation of the series.

[53] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 2, Episode 15, "The Fifth Race," Directed by, Aired January 17, 1999, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).

Americanness to the government. This comes in the form of giving up valuable information about his former "masters," the Goa'uld. Additionally, in the episode "Children of the Gods," Jack O'Neill, is shown as a messianic hero along with Daniel Jackson, who are notably the two white male lead characters. A key aspect of the plot involves the Abydonians and people of Chulack—whom are both friendly, but "primitive" alien groups—believing both of the white lead characters to be gods, and therefore to be greatly feared and respected.[54] This representation of whiteness is another distinct example of how racial dynamics impacted the creation of American science fiction culture, especially as it is depicted in the *Stargate* universe.

Gender and Stargate SG-1

> "Yeah, okay, ex-goddess, maybe. I killed her myself. You should trust me on this. She's gone. She is no more. She's… well, let's face it, she's a former queen"[55]

While race is a contentious issue in history, the expectations of conforming to gender roles affects subaltern communities as well. Amidst the Women's movement of the 1970s came a new form of historiography composed of social historical methodology. In *Gender and The Politics of History,* Joan Wallach Scott described a slightly contradictory feminist historical method called the "Her-story" approach to women's history. Scott's method grew in tandem with socio-historical outlooks on women's history, and it used methods developed by social historians including focusing on groups typically excluded from political history (subaltern history). "Her-story," assumes that gender explains the historical differences between men and woman but does not theorize how gender operates historically. In *Gender and the Politics of History*, Scott uses a post-structuralist framework, much like that of Foucault and Diderot, to create a radical look at gender history. She uses a continuously changing perspective to interpret knowledge of gender and the differences between men and women. Scott examines the power dynamics that knowledge creates, but she does it with a political agenda. She also ignores the importance of how gender was constructed historically but elucidates a new framework to study such an endeavor.[56]

While historians portray women more subjectively than they do men, anthropologists distinguish sex from gender in precise ways, shedding light on how each gender was treated historically. Anthropologically, "sex" is based on biological differences (internal organs, external organs, chromosomes, and hormones), whereas "gender" is a social construct

[54] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 1, Episode 1, "Children of the Gods," Directed by Mario Azzopardi, Aired July 27, 1997, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[55] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 3, Episode 1, "Into the Fire," Directed by Martin Wood, Aired June 25, 1999, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[56] Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 1-11.

based on expectations of an individual's sex.[57] The evidence of gender differences clearly shows a disparity between how women and men have been treated as well as their role in society. Media has portrayed women far differently than it has male protagonists in popular culture. In science fiction, there are three major tropes used in the portrayal of female protagonists. Female engendering can first be seen in the portrayal of women as expert practitioners of alternative science instead of hard sciences; a second is building a model of feminist community; and the third is a feminist science fiction that explores women as seen as fundamentally alien or "Other".[58] Although *Stargate* does not represent the "Other" in terms of all females, it does specifically show women in their alien form as the "Other" - exotic creatures that are seducers.

There is intersectionality between feminist theory and race theory when it comes to the characterization of women in the realm of *Stargate SG-1*. The female archetypes of *Stargate* include that of a strong, Euro-American female lead and then multitudes of other female characters that are racially ambiguous and represented in a seducing manner. In the episode "Hathor," the motif of an Egyptian seductress is portrayed in multiple forms, consisting of not just demeanor but also voluptuous attire. The portrayal of Hathor in *Stargate* is an archetype that is prevalent within much of the literature regarding the Orient. This archetype consists of exotic woman, including a queen like that of Cleopatra VII. Cleopatra and Hathor have parallels since they both represent exotic and foreign women to the colonizing male; these women have special knowledge and, in the case of Hathor, breath that intoxicates men.[59]

Not only is Hathor an intoxicant as a female, but she represents the alluring inebriation of alcohol. "The Destruction of Humanity," the origin story of why beer was consumed in honor of Hathor, parallels *Stargate*'s use of Hathor's intoxicating breath; much the same way the alcohol induces a lack of inhibition, the breath of Hathor inebriates men. "The Destruction of Humanity" describes how Ra, Hathor's consort, sent her to destroy humanity but then changes his mind. He has beer made to distract Hathor from the task of destruction. When Hathor returns after not destroying humanity, Ra welcomes her back. To commemorate this myth on earth, alcohol was consumed at festivals honoring Hathor.[60] In the representation of Hathor in *Stargate*, there is only a small mention of her relationship to Ra: she comes out of a sarcophagus and asks, "Where is Ra?" Later she states, "Then we owe you our gratitude indeed,"[61] thanking SG-1 for killing her husband,

[57] This interpretation is based on personal research in cultural anthropology.
[58] Millward, *Feminist Science Fiction Utopia and Stargate SG-1,* 18.
[59] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 4, Episode 13, "The Curse," Directed by Andy Mikita, Aired September 22, 2000, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[60] Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 74-75
[61] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 4, Episode 13, "The Curse," Directed by Andy Mikita, Aired September 22, 2000, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).

Ra, and ridding the galaxy of such an evil. Hathor tries to play the part of friend of humanity who is trying to save the Taur'i from the evil of the Goa'uld.[62]

Another example of the misrepresentation of Hathor occurs. When Jackson explains who Hathor is to the team, he states, "Hathor was the Egyptian goddess of fertility, inebriety and music." O'Neill retorts, "Sex, drugs, and rock and roll?"[63] This portrays the belief system that Hathor is a pleasure-seeking seducer and nothing more than a sexual creature, only solidifying the overt sexuality that encompasses the "Other" female characters of *Stargate*.[64]

Also, in the episode "Hathor," Hathor uses an almost magical breath on the hand to seduce the men of *Stargate* Command. Every time she breathes on a man's hand, it releases a toxin in their bodies that allows her to rule over them through what could be described as a lovesick infatuation. Having contact with this toxin increases the libido of the men and places them at risk of falling prey to any female they encounter. All the women must do is flirt, and the men are subject to the women's will. They seem as if they have been poisoned by "femaleness."[65] The women of *Stargate* Command eventually overcome Hathor.

Most media portray Ancient Egyptian female figures, like Cleopatra VII, as seductresses. Unlike her female Roman contemporaries, Cleopatra was both educated and powerful, but she is rarely portrayed positively. Rather, she is usually portrayed as a seductive woman, who uses her feminine wiles to conquer men and territory. It is very rarely acknowledged that she was a highly intelligent woman who spoke several languages while ruling over a great nation.[66]

Ancient Egyptians referred to women, especially Hathor, quite differently. King Menkaure was known to identify himself as Horus and his wife as Hathor. Mentuhotep II of the Middle Kingdom married a Hathor priestess to legitimize his reign. In the new Kingdom, a king's legitimacy was founded in the union of himself with Hathor.[67] Just as male pharaohs claimed their divinity through their relationship with the god Horus, and were considered living gods, queens identified principally with Hathor or Ma'at, which hints at the women's divine origins. Queen Tiye was the first to adopt the cow horns and sun-disc as her headdress, symbolizing her link to the goddess Hathor.[68] Even the association of Hathor with the cow itself shows the emphasis of her role as nurturer and provider for

[62] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 4, Episode 13.
[63] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 4, Episode 13.
[64] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 3, Episode 1, "Into the Fire," Directed by Martin Wood, Aired June 25, 1999, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[65] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 4, Episode 13, "The Curse," Directed by Andy Mikita, Aired September 22, 2000, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[66] Brier, *Egyptomania,* 19-21.
[67] Graves-Brown, *Dancing for Hathor*, *132-134*.
[68] Tyldesley, *Daughters of Isis,* 201.

the Egyptian people. Another famous queen, Queen Nefertari, is represented as the goddess Hathor on the facade of the temple of Abu Simbel.[69]

Hathor is represented in the *Stargate* universe as a woman who presents herself as the first Goa'uld ally to the people of Earth, but behind this mask, she is using her false kindness to seduce the leaders of *Stargate* Command. Two of the main villains in the series are portrayed by characters from Egyptian mythology, namely the gods Apophis and Anubis. Both are presented as unnaturally evil and are only motivated by the desire for power. The main female adversary comes in the form of Hathor, who is also represented as evil but in Hathor's case, it is in the role of seducer.[70]

The main female protagonist of *Stargate*, Carter, along with several other female officers, is able to retake the base and dispose of Hathor. Interestingly, the hero of the Hathor episode is Carter, who depicts the illusion of a white heroine saving the men from the exotic, foreign queen. In this way, women in the *Stargate* universe are shown either as strong or weak, without nuance. However, the treatment of women of color is more in line with modern science fiction tropes: all women may not be portrayed in this seducing manner, but women of color still bear the burden of the seducing queen archetype.[71]

Samantha Carter's character marks a turning point for female characters. She is portrayed as a perfect balance of beauty and intelligence. Carter is also clearly more intelligent than most of her male colleagues since the team relies on her skillset to save them from numerous alien attacks. However, the writers do not draw attention to this fact. When the current leader of the team needs to be replaced, instead of putting Carter (who is the highest-ranking member of the team) in charge, the creators introduce a new male character, with the same rank as Carter, to lead the team. The ostensible reason for adding the new character was that the group had disbanded after the departure of the former leader.[72] This is problematic in the context of the *Stargate* universe because Carter is represented as Earth's most brilliant scientist and an extremely competent soldier, one of the two main military strategists on the team. She simply does her job, as expected, and is treated with the same respect that a male in her position would receive. It is disheartening that such a beautifully written character is portrayed next to such a racially biased character like Hathor.

Carter also lacks the competitiveness that is usually connected with strong female characters. Another scientist in the form of a doctor, is Janet Fraser; both scientists work cooperatively and help promote each other's research. They even decide to co-parent an

[69] Tyldesley, *Daughters of Isis,* 275.

[70] Elrod, *Stepping Through the Stargate*, 199-201

[71] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 2, Episode 22, "Out of Mind," Directed by Martin Wood, Aired March 12, 1999, on Showtime, DVD, (Lionsgate, 2007).

[72] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 9, Episode 01, "Avalon: Part 1," Directed by Andy Mikita, Aired July 15, 2005, on Syfy, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).

orphan from another planet. O'Neill, whom aliens made younger, realizes his only hope to become an adult again is with the assistance of these two scientists; he states in the episode "Fragile Balance," "Can we please just get to the part where you and Frasier run some tests, find a cure, and make me big again?"[73] These representations of females within the *Stargate* universe is that of a feminist idealism that is rare in science fiction.[74] Later in the series, Carter takes on the role of guest lecturer at the United States Air Force Academy and mentors a young Cadet and brings her to the *Stargate* program in order to show her the possible future for her in physics.[75] Carter not only represents extraordinary intelligence, but also an adventurous spirit. She thwarts some female tropes by ignoring traditional feminine roles and even declines common female roles to avoid what she perceives as the mundane life of average women.[76]

What It All Means

> "Uh...No! [horrified] You don't understand this book may contain knowledge of the universe. I mean, this is this is meaning-of-life stuff".[77]

Stargate SG-1 creates an intersection of Egyptomania and science fiction, providing a landscape to look at 1990s gender and race assumptions. Looking at this particular science fiction series provides a glimpse of how race and gender have been co-opted by the white patriarchy of American culture. Without the white male hero, alien planets would be dominated and oppressed by the racially ambiguous "Other" who are portrayed with villainous features according to Colonial ideology.

The intersection between Egyptology and science fiction plays a critical role in understanding the meaning of *Stargate SG-1 but,* more specifically, in understanding how the characters function within their fictional context. Egyptian culture in media is often used as a surface level dressing to contain the narrative, but in the *Stargate* universe, it is core to how the viewer must interpret its meaning. Material culture, along with linguistics, help historians build a body of knowledge to understand the past, and often this knowledge is co-opted by modern television to misrepresent ethnic minorities and especially females.

In science fiction, the representation of aliens is often mirrored in the real-world treatment of ethnic minorities, especially in how they are coded as either inherently angelic

[73] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 7, Episode 03, "Fragile Balance," Directed by Peter DeLuise. Aired June 20, 2003, on Syfy, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[74] Millward, *Feminist Science Fiction Utopia and Stargate SG-1,* 23-25.
[75] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 4, Episode 19, "Prodigy," Directed by Peter DeLuise, Aired February 2, 2001, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).
[76] Millward, *Feminist Science Fiction Utopia and Stargate SG-1,* 20-22.
[77] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 1, Episode 1, "Children of the Gods," Directed by Mario Azzopardi, Aired July 27, 1997, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).

or demonic; they lack the basic balanced humanity that the white protagonists often have. *Stargate SG-1* embodies the depiction of female superiority only in a white contexts, whereas the motif of Hathor is represented as a woman who uses her female sexuality to reduce the power and status of the men around her.[78] She is one of the few female characters portraying a villain, but her abilities are not shown to be raw intelligence or strength, as other alien antagonists often are. Instead, they are represented as female sexuality and duplicity. Hathor is not only a depiction of race being portrayed at odds with white superiority and heroization; she is also a critical example of exoticizing ethnic women.

All the examples of the alien "Other" provide a social landscape to read the 1990s through early 2000s in America, a landscape that has not been overcome to this day. The "Other" as represented by racial minorities and females in science fiction, gives social historians a juxtaposition against contemporary American culture and how that culture thinks of itself. The Manifest Destiny mentality of white American males over subjugated peoples transcends all cultural landscapes including that of fictional worlds deep in space.

So, is depicting history accurately an important part of the creation of television series and movies? What is the importance if the layperson cannot tell the difference? Does that make it any less important to represent history and mythology accurately? Beyond the scope of education, the real-world application of media accuracy comes in the form of inspiration. Children and young adults often find inspiration from the television series they are watching, such as aspiring to be a doctor after watching *Grey's Anatomy* or a crime scene investigator after watching *CSI*. When the only example of an occupation is completely distorted, it gives us a false pretense of what that occupation is really like. The representation of archaeologists, the most famous being Indiana Jones, is an outlandishly distorted version of the actual practice of archeology. While Indiana Jones is an antiquarian, *Stargate SG-1's* Daniel Jackson offers an accurate portrayal of what an archaeologist might be like in the field and in research—with an extra bit of fantasy. Perhaps a strikingly positive representation of a historian is what modern media needs. Having a representation that is within the realm of realistic possibility helps motivate young viewers to find inspiration for their future careers. Moreover, while the passion to learn about the Near East can come from many places, if the future of Egyptology is going to be filled with new and passionate young minds, it is critical that this love and interest be nurtured in every way possible. If that can be done while telling a great and accurate story, then we are all the better for it.

[78] *Stargate SG-1*, Season 4, Episode 13, "The Curse," Directed by Andy Mikita, Aired September 22, 2000, on Showtime, DVD (Lionsgate, 2007).

A Note on the 2018 Edition of *Clio*

A concerned member of the public, Cesar Caballero, has brought to our attention some controversial information published in our last edition in the article entitled "Native Hawaiian Cultural Colonization of Native Californians in the Sacramento-Foothills Area, 1839-1920s." Mr. Caballero is currently engaged in a legal dispute over the federal recognition of the Shingle Springs Band of Miwok Indians. We thank him for contacting us and hope that a mutually-beneficial resolution to this dispute is achieved. We would like to emphasize that it is not our intention to defame any persons or misinform our readers about any historical topics. However, the views, information, and opinions expressed by Clio's contributing authors do not necessarily reflect the beliefs of the University or the Clio Journal editors. We thank our readers for their feedback.

BOOK REVIEWS

Dominy, Graham. *Last Outpost on the Zulu Frontier: Fort Napier and the British Imperial Garrison*. Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2016. Pp. 284. $45.00 (cloth). ISBN: 9780252040047.

An aspect of colonialism often taken for granted is the role of colonial outposts, entrepôts, and forts themselves. The housing of military men and women of a colonizing power is an important bulwark against the uncivilized in the minds of the occupants. This is the track that Dominy charts in his book. Beyond simply charting the recreation of Victorian society in South Africa, the book examines the legacy of one of the longest utilized colonial bastions, Fort Napier, and how the militarism of the many soldiers who chose to stay in Pietermaritzburg, and other nearby towns, affected politics, gender roles, and views of race in the area from 1843 to 1914.

The first half of the book details many of the exploits surrounding Fort Napier and the various regiments garrisoned there over the decades. Dominy details how the political influence of the fort extended deep into the city of Pietermaritzburg, which for much of its early life focused on serving the fort. As an imperial bastion, it essentially held the final word in local political circles while officers – serving and retired – made up much of the upper class. Furthermore, attending to the needs of the soldiers was an easy way to gain status, and imperial contracts were often lucrative.

The second half of the book focuses more on the social, gender, and racial issues around Fort Napier. Dominy concludes that through a combination of Victorian sensibilities and masculinity, gender and patriarchic roles were solidified. The perceived purity of white woman was held in the highest regard and fears of rape by black or mixed blood Africans could send colonials into a frenzy. This was occasionally used as justification for clamping down on nearby ethnic groups. However, at certain times the role of race could be overlooked; Dominy cites an instance in which an officer tipped his hat to an African woman, who was able to rebuff him through her command of the English language (139).

The book draws from a dizzying array of archives and sources from both England and South Africa. It constructs this picture of Fort Napier and its influence on Pietermaritzburg, in addition to its impact on both South African and world history. Unfortunately, it, at times, focuses too heavily on the exploits of the regiments garrisoned within the fort itself. The book especially shines when it

encompasses the broader social and cultural milieu of Pietermaritzburg. Even with its faults, it remains a useful study of an often-overlooked topic.

Timothy Anderson

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Rose, Sarah F. *No Right to Be Idle: The Invention of Disability, 1840s-1930s*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017. Pp. xi, 382. $37.95 (paper). ISBN: 978-1469624891.

Sarah Rose creates a narrative of the origins and consequences of marginalizing the disabled in late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States. Rose argues that although disability is a normal element of human experience, it is also a social construct. Throughout this period, American society used disability to justify social hierarchies. For example, early in the nineteenth century, disabled people worked close with family on farms and in factories in which they were well accommodated without any stigma. Notably, the Ford Motor Company actively hired workers with a wide array of disabilities and retained them even during the Great Depression. However, as modern industry started to grow and the insurance to employ disabled people started to increase, corporations began to identify disabled workers and screen them out of employment. Rose argues that this process caused disabled people to lose access to the mainstream labor market. She cites that even after the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, "nearly 30 percent of disabled people live in poverty and 70 percent of working age adults with disabilities are unemployed" (227).

The book is a powerful addition to the historiography of the emerging field of the history of disability in the United States. Readers who are interested in the field of medical history and disability will find this book compelling and informational. While the thesis of disability as a social construct might be controversial, the author backs up her claims with sufficient evidence through her research. It allows for a debate regarding solutions for how to integrate disabled peoples into the work force with proper accommodation, in line with how they were accommodated in the nineteenth century.

The author does a superb job of drawing historical parallels to today, which is exemplified by her look at the veteran community. As a veteran, I have noticed there have been improvements for veterans since WWI, but the stigma of disabilities remains to this day. The problems WWI veterans faced with the

bureaucracy of the Federal Board for Vocational Education (FBVE) are similar to what veterans face today with the Veteran Affairs (VA). PTSD and other invisible veteran wounds are still stigmatized in our society today. Disability ratings from the mentioned period and vocational rehabilitation are still in use today, but the process remains convoluted. The author highlights success stories of veterans who were able to gain employment, but just like today, there are many who fell by the wayside. Disabled veterans and their treatment are simply microcosms of a major problem: the treatment of disabled peoples in modern times.

Adam Bardaro

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Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019. Pp. xii, 269. $35.00 (cloth). ISBN: 9780691179155.

Amidst the destruction that both world wars wrought to European empires, idealists and revolutionaries aimed to construct a post-imperial world during the mid-twentieth century. In *Worldmaking After Empire,* Adom Getachew chronicles the efforts of African and Caribbean nationalists to determine the course of self-determination, bringing their Third World solidarity efforts into focus. Contrasting these nationalist ambitions with the League of Nations and the simplicity of the existing "Westphalian" state system, Getachew argues that anticolonial nationalists tried to engage in "worldmaking" through ambitious international projects, as they sought to rectify global inequalities, create regional federations, and secure international commitments to nondomination.

Prior to introducing his worldmaking subjects, Getachew first interrogates Woodrow Wilson's legacy. Despite being the idealist par excellence, Getachew argues that Wilson's vision of self-determination was circumscribed for nations with an Anglo-Saxon inheritance. For example, in writing about Filipinos, Wilson stated that "No people can form a community…who are as diverse and heterogeneous as the people of the Philippine Islands" (45). These views foreshadowed the unequal structures of the League of Nations, as self-governing British territories (such as the British Raj) were able to become member states whereas British colonies and mandates were denied membership (41).

Between the three nominally independent black members of the League—Haiti, Liberia, and Ethiopia—Getachew notes that Haiti was under U.S. military occupation while Liberia was an informal U.S. colony. While Liberia and Ethiopia

came under League scrutiny for failing to abolish the slave trade, England and France successfully prevented the existence of forced labor within their colonies from being mentioned at the 1926 Slavery Convention (59). Thus, the absence of European rule was blamed for the persistence of Ethiopia's slave trade, and Italy would invade Ethiopia on this pretext in 1935 (63).

Getachew places emphasis on the Italian invasion of Ethiopia for its emotional impact on anticolonial black activists. While Joseph Stalin sold goods to Italy, two disillusioned black communists – Tiemoko Garan Koyate and George Padmore – declared in their Pan-Africanist manifesto that, "In Africa, in America, in the West Indies, in South and Central America—to be Black is to be a slave" (70). Hearing news of the invasion and witnessing British indifference, a young Kwame Nkrumah wrote that he felt "as if the whole of London had suddenly declared war on me personally" (7). Padmore and C.L.R. James would cofound the International African Friends of Abyssinia to organize support for Ethiopia, and later form the International African Service Bureau to organize for the pan-Africanist cause (7). Meanwhile, Nkrumah would study in the United States and meet James there in 1938, who would later introduce him to Padmore in London.

Padmore and Nkrumah would helm the Fifth Pan-African Congress as a response to the newly founded United Nations in 1945, where they called on the "colonial and subject peoples of the world" to unite (72-73). Both they and the West Indies National Emergency Committee would demand the right to self-government at the UN, and the UN secretary general would allow a non-binding resolution on self-determination in 1956. However, Western governments notably abstained from voting on the resolution, and a clause granting national sovereignty over natural resources was dropped (89).

Nkrumah took these experiences to heart when he became the first prime minister of an independent Ghana, forming a political union between Guinea and Mali in line with his pan-Africanist vision. Most ambitiously, he cofounded the Organization of African Unity (OAU) with 30 African countries to preserve postcolonial sovereignty, which intended to serve as a prototype for eventual continental union. However, Getachew argues that debates over the meaning of sovereignty culminated in fierce divides over Biafra's independence bid from Nigeria in 1966-1970, as the deaths of 2 million Biafrans came to symbolize the "exhaustion of postcolonial optimisms" (104).

Getachew describes the Western-backed coup against Nkrumah as marking the "collapse of the first phase of anticolonial worldmaking" (146). As federations failed to coalesce around newly independent Caribbean and African

nations, Michael Manley of Jamaica and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania aimed instead to refashion a "New International Economic Order" (NIEO) by asserting Third World dominance over the UN General Assembly. Daniel Patrick Moynihan – the UN representative for the U.S. at the time – referred to this use of the General Assembly as reflecting the "tyranny of a new majority," and described demands for the global redistribution of wealth as "considerable and threatening" (176). The result of this threat was what Getachew refers to as the "counterrevolution" of neoliberal economics, as the International Monetary Fund—staffed entirely by Western nations in the 1970s—forced indebted Third World countries to slash their budgets and privatize essential services in exchange for financial relief.

In the final chapter, Getachew quotes an embittered Manley who states that "the only damn thing you can do is to pursue the market logic completely" (p. 180). *Worldmaking after Empire* is thus a detailed account of the rise and fall of self-determination, one which forces us to confront the world as it might have developed without Western interference. Getachew nonetheless asserts the necessity for new strategic vision and points to modern continuities of "worldmaking," as the Movement for Black Lives and calls for economic decolonization continue to permeate our discourse today (181).

Samuel Bein

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Fenn, Elizabeth A. *Encounters at the Heart of the World: A History of the Mandan People*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2014. Pp. ix, 456. $25.00 (cloth). ISBN: 9780374535117.

In *Encounters at the Heart of the World*, Elizabeth Fenn takes her readers on a two-hundred-year journey with the Mandan people. Despite having scant primary sources, the author combines interdisciplinary research derived from archaeological digs, geological surveys, climatological data, epidemiology statistics, and a plethora of other sources to paint a picture of a culture that broke under the strain of disease, the loss of hunting grounds, and American colonialization. Fenn's research methodology is the modern-day historian's approach to critical historical thinking. Fenn posits that the Mandan were insulated from European interaction due to geography, but later they became nearly extinct due to a series of unfortunate events.

Fenn's diverse range of sources allow her to take an interdisciplinary approach with her research. For example, she utilizes archeological evidence to show changes in population growth. The Mandans were prolific builders and created earthen-work ditches around the perimeters of their villages, which expanded and contracted as population density changed. The author also employs geological surveys to show how changes in the path of the Missouri River negatively impacted the ecology that supported the Mandans, while epidemiological statistics are employed to show how disease ravaged the population.

The book is well edited, and Fenn writes in a non-traditional literary style that is quite refreshing. The author switches between narrative and first-person accounts of the journey she took while writing the book. Some may consider this style jarring, but the narrative seamlessly flows between a macro and micro view of events to better elucidate the story. Readers of a more academic mind may find the book disconcerting at times, as the author is forced to extrapolate occasionally due to a lack of primary source documents. There are also odd moments when the author switches from the first person back into the narrative across 200 years of time, which may disorient the reader. Nevertheless, the book is worth the read and offers an insightful look into an indigenous group that has traditionally been overlooked.

Brett Coker

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Tamir, Yael. *Why Nationalism*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019. Pp. xiii, 205. $7.99 (cloth). ISBN: 9780691190105.

Over the last decade, nationalism has been reemerging on an international scale. Using geopolitical theory, Yael Tamir argues in favor of the nationalist tide. The book clarifies that democratic socialist nationalism should not be conflated with ethno-nationalism or xenophobia. Tamir supports the nationalistic political tide as a democratic socialist type of nationalism. She begins her work with an explanation of how and why this nationalist phenomenon is happening. Tamir then addresses the accepted narrative of how our current globalist era, which arose after WWII, has led to civil unrest around the world. As a solution, the four parts of Tamir's work form a foundation of historical context to support the construction of her argument that nationalism, if implemented correctly, can enhance the unity, rights, and services afforded to citizens.

This grandiose resolution aspires to unify conservatives and liberals as well as reunite the lower and upper echelons of society. The end goal of Tamir's work is to re-strengthen the world's middle classes who are currently suffering through increasing wealth disparities. The decrease in equal wealth dispersion is a latent effect of undemocratically implemented policies of NAFTA and the European Union which, according to Tamir, have resulted in civil unrest (20, 139). As a result, middle-class populations in the Western world have been reportedly dwindling. In the case of peripheral economies like those of Latin America and Asia, certain subjugated populations hold no loyalty to global policies because they have never been allowed access to the benefits. Tamir asserts that this leaves much to say about the failure of globalism as citizens of subjugated countries often do not have a democratic system to voice their concerns.

As a seasoned diplomatic expert from Israel, Tamir draws an unlikely comparison between economic liberals and populists, saying that both have a common desire to strengthen democratic influence for the good of a given nation. Tamir supports her claims by examining different forms of growing nativist nationalisms in the European Union (populist parties) and in the United States (the Republican Party). Additionally, she shows that nationalist sentiments are becoming more mainstream, as seen through the growing popularity of politicians like Anastasia Ocasio Cortez and Bernie Sanders. Tamir advises readers to engage in a new "tamed nationalism" based on "social solidarity" through building "cross class coalitions" (166-168). She recommends that this type of nationalism be implemented soon before potentially radical fascist versions can take hold (22). This optimistic "tamed nationalism" option is intended to replace the merciless invisible guiding hand of the liberal economic market.

Yael Tamir skillfully examines an array of topics linked with the bubbling trend of nationalism. Within our current polarized political climate, her sage perspective and moderated answer for unification are optimistic and highly valuable. Most importantly, her work highlights the necessity for building the fluidity of politics as opposed to allowing political stagnation to occur. Yael Tamir offers this perspective with decades of diplomatic and academic experience. She possesses an extensive resume including being a founder of the Israeli peace movement and as a former chair of the Israeli Human Rights Association (xiii). Academic and recreational readers alike will be remiss to overlook such a potentially unifying addition to contemporary political theory and analysis.

Shea Cooley

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Clement Fatovic. *America's Founding and the Struggle over Economic Inequality*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015. Pp. xxi, 360. $45.00 (cloth). ISBN: 9780700621736.

Using history for political purposes in contemporary time is not a new phenomenon. For example, the Tea Party has emerged as a political force that draws inspiration from the "Founding Fathers" and their ostensible intentions for the Constitution. These political ideas are rooted in a republican form of government focused on political equality amongst its citizens. Political groups, such as the Tea Party, have relied on the wisdom of the Founding Fathers to promote their political goals. The Founders are believed to have been staunche, laissez-faire economic enthusiasts that opposed government intervention in the economy. However, Clement Fatovic's *America's Founding and the Struggle over Economic Inequality* reexamines the Founding Fathers' ideas of economic equality, arguing that the Founders, Congress, and the public in the early Republic were concerned with the effect of public policy on economic inequality. Fatovic demonstrates that economic inequality was a critical point of contention in the politics of the early Republic.

Fatovic's work traces the historiography of the Founders' economic principles to the Progressive-era scholarship of Charles Beard. In Beard's writings, the Constitution and early legislation of Congress were evidence of the Founders' aristocratic self-interest. Fatovic counters this early historiography with an analysis of prominent American Founders' ideas on egalitarian republicanism. Arguments over the drafting of the Constitution reflected the drafters' aristocratic republicanism as seen with the limit of states' rights to enact their own paper money and restrictions on private property. While he acknowledges that the founders supported states' rights to restrict federal power, Fatovic argues that this was the extent of the aristocratic tendencies in the Constitution. There was an overall acceptance of republican government, which meant egalitarianism amongst citizens. Republican egalitarianism did not translate to the idea of complete economic equality but to having governmental policies that would neither increase inequality or mitigate society's contemporary level of inequality.

Fatovic uses an extensive amount of primary resources that capture the prevalent discussion of economic inequality. Among the sources, Fatovic utilizes "legislative debates, newspaper articles, political pamphlets, private correspondence, religious sermons, public orations, and official addresses" (xvii). Legislative debates in the early Congress are of particular importance to Fatovic's argument because they show how politicians reconciled the role of the federal

government and the authority of the Constitution. Fatovic reveals that Congress concerned itself with public policy's effect on the lower classes, as "[s]omeone would raise questions about the implications of a bill for the 'poor' or the 'lower classes' almost every time a bill involving spending came up for consideration" (128).

Congress had mixed results on lifting the burdens of economic inequality. Debates in Congress acknowledged the negative effects of inequality to the republic. Egalitarian legislation failed when Congress "disagreed about whether the government possessed the financial resources or the constitutional authority to act on behalf of the poor" (129).

Fatovic successfully connects the importance of economic inequality to the ideas of republican government and relates the problem of economic inequality today as equally as problematic as it was in the early Republic. Americans continue to debate inequality, the capacity for the Constitution to address egalitarian concerns, and the role of the federal government therein.

Billy February

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Rudin, Ronald. *Kouchibouguac: Removal, Resistance, and Remembrance at a Canadian National Park*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016. Pp. x, 398. $67.01 (cloth). ISBN: 1442628405.

Rudin tells the story of the French-speaking Acadians who were removed from their homes to make way for the national park, Kouchibouguac. Located in the province of New Brunswick along the Straits of Northumberland, the park was created in 1969. In the process of creating it, the government of the province removed 260 families, approximately 1,200 people, from their homes. This was the largest displacement of people in the history of Canadian national parks.

Rudin's study explores this removal of people focusing on the how and why, what resistance took place and in what form, and the interpretation and memory of the removal over time. He makes his argument based on what James C. Scott describes as high modernism. This theory portrays the poor as inferior and their life styles not worthy of respect. Rudin argues that this belief held by the government during the creation of the parks led to an entire way of life being unrecognizable under modern standards. The Acadian community thrived on a trade and barter system that made them seem poor to outsiders. This led to the community being destroyed by the government, as the government's removal was

planned with little to no input from the affected community. The first part of the book addresses this argument and how the Yellowstone model of parks led to the removal of any evidence of human habitation of the area.

The second part of the book addresses the next part of Rudin's argument, which tells how the memory of Acadian removal shifts focus from poor people forced to leave their lands to a story of peoples' resistance in the face of a second deportation. This half of the story focuses on two types of resistance, the first being a group who, through occupation and the setting up of barricades at the park offices, received better compensation and some rights of access to recourses. The second by a man named Vantour who refused to leave his land after his house had been bulldozed. While neither type of resistance led to major changes to the affected people, it did contribute to the feelings of an Acadian renaissance at the time. Rudin's inclusion of the complicated story of Vantour along with the ongoing reconciliation process opens up a wider discussion on the stories and effects of relocation.

While Rudin is entirely sympathetic to the displaced Acadian community, his attempt to tell the government's side of the story was thwarted by their refusals to grant him interviews. He does portray the government officials as the bad guys through the use of state documents and recollection of the Acadians. To tell the complicated stories of an entire community, Rudin uses oral histories and photographs of the properties to effectively tell their story. He even created a website where readers and researchers can hear the stories told in the residents own voice in the oral recordings.

Rudin has presented a case study in an exemplar way with rich sources guiding him through. He has shown that the memory of the Acadian community is shaped by social construction, and national parks are not created without conflict.

Laurie Frazier

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Downs, Gregory. *After Appomattox: The Military Occupation and the Ends of War.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 342. $32.95(cloth). ISBN: 9780674743984.

In After Appomattox, Gregory Downs depicts Reconstruction in the United States as a military operation, and extends the Civil War until the seating of the last Southern Senator. Downs thus divides the Civil War into three distinct phases to account for the differences in battles between standing armies and local conflicts

between guerilla soldiers and civilian officials. While the surrender at Appomattox signaled the end to largescale battles, Downs argues that this initiated a long journey towards legal normalcy that more closely resembled war than peace. In Downs' account Reconstruction was foremost a struggle to define the extent of war powers after the Confederate surrender.

Downs crafts a nuanced, yet controversial, definition of occupation that fits Reconstruction. In doing so, Downs clashes with modern historiography which downplays the old Dunning paradigm of "bayonet rule." In fact, Downs claims that occupation of the South was only weak, and is therefore only questioned, because it is often compared to the 20th century models. He argues the more proper comparison is with the American West.

Rather than focusing on how legislation influenced the structure of the military, Downs flips tradition by arguing that the fight between Andrew Johnson and Congress was primarily over who controlled post-surrender war powers and how long those war powers should continue to exist. Military policy dominated the political atmosphere in the North. Johnson's early popularity was derived from ensuring the immediate continuation of war powers in the wake of Lincoln's assassination, as he repudiated General Sherman's peace agreement with General Johnston. His quick decline into infamy is consistent chronologically with his desire to limit those powers once provisional governments were back in place. In doing so he presents an often-neglected story of leaning toward resistance to Radical Reconstructionists by the many who feared the growth of military powers within the United States' political machine.

Johnson's early work created what Downs terms "duplex authority." This entailed the insertion of civilian powers without an end to military occupation or authority. When early Southern political decisions showed that most Southerners were still not adhering to the laws of Reconstruction, military powers were used to overrule legislation that restricted the rights of freed people. There remained, however, sections of the rural South where military rule proved impossible, and power rested in the hands of violent white reactionaries. By analyzing the rise of rural violence in this context, Downs connects it to the uncertain avenues of power and control in the South. Within his framework, protection for freed people was dependent on the legal continuation of war powers and the simultaneous physical presence of the Union Army. The Army's power thus had to be both physical and conceptual, and Downs continues the modern trend of blaming several actors for Reconstruction's limitations. He pinpoints the premature end to war powers in the South to all three branches of the federal government as well as the apathy of the Northern populace.

Ultimately, *After Appomattox* is a well-researched monograph with a new and exciting take on Reconstruction, as it modernizes the idea of "bayonet rule" to include bayonets held by the Union Army, white reactionaries, and freedmen/African-American soldiers.

Jacob Jennerjohn

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Holloway, Jonathan Scott *Jim Crow Wisdom: Memory & Identity in Black America Since 1940.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013. Pp. xiv, 273. $29.95 (paper). ISBN: 9781469626413.

In this work, Holloway argues that the experiences and memories of Black America since the 1940's have shaped the identity of African-Americans and led to the formation of Jim Crow Wisdom, a set of social rules passed down to navigate racial injustice in America. Holloway examines how black memory is edited through experience and how the economic, social, and intellectual standing of African-Americans informed their responses to racial humiliation. This created two versions of memory: the mainstream and the black collective memory that pertains to the forgotten social struggle of African-Americans. Holloway approaches much of this work through the social sciences, utilizing popular culture, journals, and museum portrayals of black experience. The final chapters of his book switch to have a more personal tone, in which Holloway focuses on his family's experiences and recalls how they, his family, doled out Jim Crow Wisdom.

Holloway presents a complicated thesis, stating his intent in the introduction but never explicitly identifying his definition of Jim Crow Wisdom, leaving it to be implied in the rest of his work. His first four chapters deal with different aspects of African-American memory in the U.S. and are bookended by stories of his own experiences. These personal anecdotes enhance these chapters, adding a personal perspective to the collective experience. The last chapters are entirely works of memoir, and while these personal anecdotes may be entertaining for non-academic audiences, they do not mesh well with the rest of the book. The few images he uses throughout the book are largely of his family, which would likely be of little interest for the average reader. Holloway makes good use of African-American journals as sources of identity, and his list of secondary sources is solid.

Overall, *Jim Crow Wisdom* is an analysis of the how African-Americans draw on memory of racial tensions to form a public identity. This analysis starts with archival sources and gradually shifts to focus on the experience of the author and

his family, creating a more compelling narrative but frequency detracting from the main argument. Despite these drawbacks, Holloway delivers an insightful examination of the development of racism in America and effectively analyzes how individuals adapted to these realities. This book is a fine starting place for anyone interested in learning more about African-American memory and identity, and it provides an entryway for expanded research within the field.

Mathew Jones

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Mauldin, Erin Stewart. *Unredeemed Land: An Environmental History of Civil War and Emancipation in the Cotton South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp. x, 256. $35.00 (cloth). ISBN: 97801908565177.

In, *Unredeemed* Land*: An Environmental History of Civil War and Emancipation in the Cotton South,* Erin Mauldin traces the state of Southern agriculture and soil conditions from 1840 to 1880. She claims that her work is the first to detail the environmental history of the South stretching from the Antebellum Period to Post- Reconstruction. Maudlin argues that Southern farmers extensively rotated their crops, which delayed soil erosion and nutrient depletion. Furthermore, she argues that the Civil War changed Southern farming by depleting timber resources, making open animal husbandry unfeasible, and drastically changing the South's labor system, leading to increased rural poverty and population displacement.

In the first chapter, Maudlin describes the disadvantages that Southern climate and soil quality pose for agriculture, arguing that Southern farmers' labor-intensive crop rotation methods helped them temporarily overcome these disadvantages. Mauldin's description of scientific principles is accessible to non-experts because she uses farmers' journals and travelers' accounts, which focus on the agricultural aesthetic and crop yields rather than scientific observations.

In the second chapter, she argues that the Civil War damaged the fragile system the South had developed to cope with its vulnerable environment. Mauldin mainly uses military sources for this chapter. She references the extensive historiography dealing with the direct damage of the war and agrees that the main environmental effects of the war were the reduction of timber and livestock, but she also argues that the temporary fallowing of cotton fields, and a switch to staple crops had short-term environmental benefits, too.

The third chapter further examines the impact of livestock and timber loss, as Maudlin argues that the South created a more intensive agriculture system like the

North. However, she contends that this system forced Southern farmers to rely on fertilizers and the external market, thus creating a vicious cycle of debt. The breadth of this argument expands on into Chapter 5, as she explores the role that abolition played in environmental changes in the South, contending that slavery's demise further intensified pressure on the soil as extensive agricultural estates were broken into small monocultures and labor issues halted the traditional agricultural pattern. Mauldin concludes that environmental changes spurred by the Civil War ultimately led to endemic poverty in the south until World War II

Mauldin begins every chapter with highly detailed descriptions, generally using individuals as microcosms for the whole of Southern agriculture. Because hard statistics on the South's environment don't exist from this period, Mauldin instead relies on aesthetic evaluations or other indirect methods of analysis (e.g. raw crop yields). Toward the end of chapters one and six, the author half-heartedly implies that environmental changes are partially the cause of political changes, but she does not pursue this topic further.

Overall, *Unredeemed Land* is a great introductory read for those who are interested in Southern environmental history, particularly of the "Old Southeast" and Deep South. However, readers expecting comprehensive analysis will likely be disappointed.

Joshua Lourence

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Wishnitzer, Avner. *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 273. $55.00 (cloth). ISBN: 9780226257723.

Time permeates all things, and to the people in Avner Wishnitzer's book, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca*, time was the arbiter of a homespun system of time-related practices that clashed with modernity. The people in this work were part of the late Ottoman Empire, and it is precisely through their eyes that Wishnitzer wishes to covey a homegrown "temporal culture." He seeks to do what other authors like Janet Abu-Lughod have done, pushing away from a European hegemonic viewpoint and injecting an Ottoman framework in its place. Wishnitzer demonstrates how the Ottoman clock ticked toward modernity and how the citizenry set the time on their own terms, arguing that the uniqueness of the Ottoman Empire transcends categorization. One can see this through

the empire's idiosyncrasies, as it touched three continents and experienced uneven degrees of industrialization.

The Ottoman's nebulous situation makes it a perfect case study for the study of time, especially when analyzing a non-Western march toward modernity. To better classify this march, Wishnitzer fashions an Ottoman "temporal culture" that he describes as a "historically created system of time-related practices, conventions, values, and emotions that structures the temporal dimension of social life and fills it with meaning" (7). The concept is crucial to his argument, and he cleverly uses it to frame the book and fill the pages with uniquely Ottoman emotions and meanings. It is through the Ottoman temporal culture that one can see the shift to a western time system, without any loss of Ottoman identity. Wishnitzer maintains that those willing to forsake their sacred Turkish time – *alla turca* and all its cultural trappings – came from the bureaucrats and governmental elites, who aimed to legitimize themselves by discarding indigenous symbols. The process was not streamlined, and even after the 1908 Young Turks Revolution, emotions tied to *alla turca* could not be discarded. It took an act by the Turkish Parliament to finally deal a deathblow in 1925, and even then, the emotions tied to the old Ottoman system lingered for years.

This book is compartmentalized by the shifts in the temporal culture, stating the complexities involved within the society. By delving into the *alla turca* culture, it becomes apparent why Wishnitzer structured his thesis around the emotions of homegrown temporal culture. He does a superb job at rendering the passions that were connected to the indigenous way of keeping time, especially when he connects it to the looming hand of Islam. The religion was vital to indigenous timekeeping, whether through prayer times or the muvakkits, who were the nation's arbiters of religious time. He then moves on to discuss the growing bureaucratic system and shows how it began to reform internally, using the traditional Ottoman system of time. It was not until much later that this system would bend to the European *alla franga* time.

Wishnitzer highlights the military to show how young cadets would later form the ranks of the modern Young Turks and were those most ardently pushing "meantime." Yet, the temporal culture norms held steady, like using trumpet calls (much like prayer calls) not based on western time. He also examines the school system to show the dichotomy between it and the military system. The most useful part of his argument is the way he binds modern bureaucratic practices to foreign and indigenous methods of keeping time. Though the bureaucracy's adoption

of *alla franga* was deemed necessary, the Ottomans did not entirely discard the old *alla turca* system. Wishnitzer draws attention to clock towers with both time systems to demonstrate *alla turca's* ultimate survivability, outliving the Ottomans themselves.

Wishnitzer points out several shortcomings in his conclusion and admits that much work needs to be done in temporal studies. The final chapter is the book's weakest section, as it is very matter of fact and could have been simplified or shortened. The book also focuses on urban areas at the expense of the rural. Nevertheless, Wishnitezer does an overall magnificent job of illustrating the telling of time in early modern Turkey and convincing his readers of its historical significance.

Cuauhtemoc Morales

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Cho, Heekyoung. *Translation's Forgotten History: Russian Literature, Japanese Mediation, and the Formation of Modern Korean Literature*. Cambridge: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 2016. Pp. xiv, 394. $39.95 (cloth). ISBN: 9780674660045.

In *Translation's Forgotten History: Russian Literature, Japanese Mediation, and the Formation of Modern Korean Literature*, Heekyoung Cho examines the process of translation from the nineteenth up to the twentieth century in Asia of Japanese, Korean, and Russian literature. Cho argues that the Koreans used Japanese Mediation to develop translations of Russian literature resulting in their own modern-style Korean literature. Cho breaks this topic up into three sections to make it easier to process his argument through multiple examples. He discovers the different meanings of translations and how they are thought about today in contrast to how they were seen and thought about during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Section one dives into the development of a form of Korean intellectual literature and the idea of what literature should look like along with how it should be written. Cho writes that the Japanese wrote using a modernized form influenced by the English colonial style, whereas Russian literature was being written in the old Victorian style, the opposite of modern writing. Since Russian literature hadn't converted to the modern form yet, it was hard for the Koreans to translate their writings from Russian to Korean. Starting here in section one and continuing

throughout the work, Cho argues that Koreans used the Japanese form to translate the Russian works, rewriting the original text and using their own ideas (14).

In section two, Cho moves from the formation of literature process to the actual rewritings of Russian literature, which formed the twentieth-century Korean form of the same writing. These rewritings were conceptualizing the same ideas and thoughts which were seen as a copy of the original text but in their own language and in ways their readers could relate to. Examining translations of a story called "Sleepy," Korean translators could compare and contrast issues from the countries that were thought to be important, including the issues of gender and marriage in Korea (129). Having a similar concept and applying it to an issue is how you determine the rewritten versions from the originals.

Lastly, in section three, the author dives into the politics of translations between the three countries in Asia (Japan, Russia, and Korea). Cho examines the "proletarian literature" from nineteenth century Russia. He examines the key features of proletarian writing and compares them to what was being developed by Korean translators (131). Proletarians played a major role in the development of both writing is Japan and in Korean through the translation of Russian writing. Cho writes that Korea followed the Russian proletarian writing but still had their own style and sense of national characteristics and ideas in the writings.

Overall *Translation's Forgotten History* is a riveting account of the formation of modern Korean literature through the inspiration of original Russian texts. Cho's use of examples helps us to connect the past to the present, and they not only examine the process of translation and language formation, but they also allow us an inside look at Korean society.

Brittany Nath

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Gordon, Stewart. *There and Back: Twelve of the Great Routes of Human History*. India: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp xiv, 265. $29.95 (cloth).
ISBN: 9780199476459.

There and Back, by Stewart Gordon, highlights the varied yet connected experiences of travelers along twelve of history's most famous routes. Gordon centers his work on the theory of cognitive geography, an interdisciplinary study of how people's perceptions of time, space, and important landmarks differ markedly from what appears on actual maps. Gordon argues that throughout history, travelers' mental perceptions and mental maps of their journeys have

proven to be far more useful and accurate than real maps in helping other travelers prepare for and survive future journeys.

The book is broken up into four distinct sections – River Routes, Pilgrimage Routes, Tribute Routes, and Trade Routes. Each section includes three chapters and details a different human route along with the shared experiences of the travelers. In River Routes, Gordon discusses the Rhine, the Nile, and the Mississippi, and examines how river travelers relied on mental maps of these respective routes for successful navigation. The Pilgrimage section focuses on the Silk Road, the route to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, and the Hajj. These chapters tell of pilgrims' expectations of the "ceremonies of departing, the joyous return, and the recounted stories of the trip" (60). In Tribute Routes, Gordon connects the Appian Way, the Grand Canal in China, and the Inka Route. Travelers cognitively mapped these by noting things such as the military presence and locations of official way stations. In the last section, the Indian Ocean and trans-Saharan routes as well as the Eerie Canal are featured. Gordon stresses that travelers on these routes expected to encounter networks of kinsmen who would supply important information about the routes and roads ahead.

Gordon examines the psychological commonalities of the many travelers in his book through memoirs and other personal documentation, which he substantiates with archaeological evidence. He uses these to draw attention to the geography as well as the physical and mental complexities of traveling on each route. Even though Gordon's selected memoirs and accounts span a "very wide geographic spread" (x) and timeframe, he successfully ties them together and shows that the mental features of the routes were "part of [a] common human experience" (x).

Each chapter ends with a notes section revealing Gordon's sources, and these are a real highlight of the book. Gordon not only presents the bibliographical information of his sources, but he also provides more information about the topic, sometimes spending whole paragraphs to further explain terms or ideas. For example, in the chapter on the trans-Saharan trade route, Gordon focuses on Ibn Battuta's record to examine the trade route as a whole, but in the chapter's endnotes, Gordon discusses the other eye-witness accounts of the trans-Saharan route with almost a full page of relevant and helpful endnote information (219). While the book lacks a bibliography, Gordon's compilation of sources and information still makes his book a great starting place for further research on the topics of human travel and trade.

Overall, *There and Back* has an easy-to-follow flow, and each chapter has a good balance of story, information, and synthesis. The brevity of each chapter, however,

does not allow much time for an in-depth development of the latter two categories. Gordon nevertheless supports his thesis, and he successfully highlights individual stories within a wide historical context, all without making the scholarly information too overwhelming. Overall, *There and Back* is a successful examination of historical connectedness, which Gordon finds in the reflections, recounts, and impressions of history's many travelers.

Janis Pope

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McCarthy, Tara. *Respectability & Reform: Irish American Women's Activism, 1880-1920*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2018. Pp. 322. $34.95 (paper). ISBN: 9780815635888.

In *Respectability & Reform,* Tara McCarthy attempts to fill a gap in the historiography of Irish-Americans: the role of women in the activist movement. McCarthy argues that while previous historians have covered Irish-American economic history in great detail, they have often done so at the expense of political history. In direct contrast to most prior scholarship, McCarthy focuses on the impact Irish-American women had in leading and organizing the land reform and Irish nationalist movements, and she attempts to demonstrate the heterogeneity of the community.

McCarthy organizes her work into three sections – the labor movement, Irish Nationalism, and the suffrage movement. In part one, she provides an overview of life in the Irish-American community, specifically as it pertains to labor. She further analyzes the development of labor activism and radicalism within the community and specifically zeroes in on Irish activity within the Knights of Labor. In part two, she explores the connection between land reform in Ireland and Irish nationalism in the United States by examining the continuities in propaganda and picketing methods. In part three, she examines the cross-section of Irish-Americans within the labor, nationalist, and suffragist movements, arguing that all three fought to establish a broader Irish identity in the United States. Her use of subtitles within each chapter allows for a candid understanding of her argument and provides clarity for even the most inexperienced reader.

Respectability and Reform is immensely well-researched. McCarthy incorporates a variety of historical monographs to help establish the background for her work while relying on a number of primary sources as well. Her use of the *Irish World* and other ethnic periodicals allows the reader to fully understand these Irish-American

activists' intentions by providing their voices. McCarthy also uses the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* and the *San Francisco Call*. Her use of these newspapers reinforces her argument that Irish-American women's activism was not an isolated movement in New York but that it had reach throughout major cities across the country, as evidenced by the newspapers' stories.

McCarthy introduces over 100 activists in her work. Although McCarthy accounts for the overlap of women in multiple movements, some might find this to be a little overwrought. While her work is convincing, part three – chapters five and six – is repetitive in some places as it needlessly reintroduces many of the aforementioned activists.

Respectability and Reform is a well-written and captivating look at the lives of Irish-American women activists. McCarthy makes a wonderful contribution to the historiography of the Irish-American community by convincingly arguing that women were central to its labor, nationalist, and suffragist movements. Overall, the book is an indispensable tool for anyone interested in the history of Irish-American activism.

Emma Sullivan

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Loza, Mireya. *Defiant Braceros: How Migrant Workers Fought for Racial, Sexual, and Political Freedom*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. 237. $30.00(paper). ISBN: 9781469629766.

Mireya Loza's *Defiant Braceros* poses lingering questions and examines unexplored aspects of the Bracero labor program that extended from 1942 to 1964. This topic is personal to Loza, as she participated in the Bracero History Project and has relatives who participated in the program. Her work within the Bracero History Project reveals that institutional memory of Braceros depended heavily on political motives. Loza sought to record the narratives that did not fit the molds set by the Mexican government, the Bracero Justice Movement, and the program itself.

Relying heavily on archives, particularly interviews completed by the Bracero History Archive, *Defiant Braceros* delves into the personal stories and changing transnational politics that drove policy changes concerning this program. Loza recognizes the limitations of sources that rely on memory. The issue of imperfect recollection and honesty is handled with document-based research and accounts from more impartial sources.

Each of *Braceros'* five chapters begin with prefaces highlighting the process of interviewing ex-Braceros about their experiences. The chapters are organized by overarching topics; the first two chapters regard the personal lives of Braceros, and the final two chapters are about the political movements that involved them.

Loza compares the focus of her book to an exhibit designed with similar research in the National Museum of American History. The purpose of the exhibit is to show a period in which Mexican laborers were welcomed legally, and portrays Braceros solely as patriarchs who made sacrifices for their families. Alternatively, Loza's research reveals Braceros to have sometimes deviated from social expectations, as they defied sexual taboos and sometimes alternated between legal and illegal work status. Her wider framework allows for a study of not only Braceros, but also of the injustices they faced from their employers and both the Mexican and U.S. governments.

Loza's work navigates highly personal and culturally sensitive topics, such as sexual relationships, gender roles, familial obligations, and race. Braceros experienced an identity shift both at home and by participating in the labor program. According to Loza, previous scholarship on the Bracero program addressed Mexican immigrants and migrants as a monolithic group. However, she acknowledges that Braceros came to the United States from a variety of ethnic groups, spoke a variety of languages, and had a multitude of experiences through the duration of the program. This modern approach treats the participants as multidimensional characters with individual motives and personalities.

Defiant Braceros has the potential to illuminate a subject often ignored by academics, while the personal nature of the oral histories make the book accessible for non-academic audiences. The book is also remarkably clear despite its long translation process, which is conspicuously absent even as indigenous languages were translated first into Spanish and then English. Altogether, *Defiant* makes a significant contribution to the scholarship of this under-explored subject to illuminate the struggles and joys of Braceros.

Sarah Dutcher Taylor

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CLIO STAFF

Janis Pope

Janis Pope is currently pursuing a Master's Degree in History at California State University, Sacramento. She earned her BA in History, with honors, in 2004 from the University of California, Berkeley, where she focused her studies on Ancient Rome. After graduating, she earned a multiple subject teaching credential at California State University, Sacramento and went on to a career of teaching both fourth and fifth grades in the greater Sacramento area. Now back at school, Janis's research interests include European imperialism in the Middle East as well as life in colonial America. After completing her MA, she plans to share her passion for history with a higher-level of students by pursuing a career in teaching at the community college level.

Sarah Dutcher Taylor

Sarah Dutcher Taylor is an undergraduate student at CSU Sacramento pursuing a History degree with a minor in Latin American Studies. After graduating in Fall 2019, Sarah plans on completing a Doctorate in Public History. Her fields of interest include the intersection of historic repression and current access to political rights and public representation.

Laurie Frazier

Laurie Frazier is currently pursuing a master's degree in Public History at California State University, Sacramento. She earned her BA from California State University, San Francisco in 2017 with an emphasis in modern European history and a minor in European studies. Laurie is now focusing on early California statehood history as she works on her thesis project. While pursuing her education, Laurie has also been the interdepartmental facilitator of the History Student Association at SFSU (2016-2017) and the president of Phi Alpha Theta at CSU Sacramento (2019). After completing her MA, Laurie plans to follow her dream of becoming an archivist.

Samuel Bein

Samuel Bein is a first-year graduate student at Sacramento State University. He is currently pursuing his M.A. in History, focusing primarily on the Middle East. He is interested in the history of slave revolts and plans to pursue his Ph.D. at Berkeley after he graduates.

Timothy Anderson

Timothy Anderson is currently pursuing an MA in History from California State University, Sacramento. He graduated from University of California, Davis in 2016 with a BA in History. His research interests are narrowed to a world history of modern imperialism, the expansion of capitalism, and the decolonization of Africa. Currently, he works as a Supplemental Instructor for the Peer and Academic Research Center (PARC). After graduating, he plans to pursue a doctoral degree in the field of African History.

Brett Coker

Brett Coker is on track for a Master's Degree in History at California State University, Sacramento. He earned his BA in History with a minor in Archaeology from Sac State in 2015, where he focused his studies on military and medieval history. After graduating, he spent time travelling abroad with his wife and children, experiencing historical sites in Europe and America, firsthand. Upon returning back to school, Brett's research interests include expanding his knowledge of medieval history in Western Europe and writing a comprehensive military history of prolific military leaders. After completing his MA, he plans to pursue a doctorate and hopefully become the next great American author.

Joshua Lourence

Joshua Lourence is currently pursuing a master's degree in history at California State University, Sacramento. He graduated with high honors from the University of California Merced, with a degree in History and a minor in Spanish. He is interested in researching the links between the American West and the rest of the Pacific in terms of economic development, immigration and cultural diffusion, and

other topics as well. He is currently a grader and a docent at the California State Railroad Museum. He is striving to become a History professor.

Jacob Jennerjohn

Jacob Jennerjohn is a graduating senior at Sacramento State University. His areas of interest include the American Civil War, Reconstruction and Religious History. Jacob is currently the host and creator of the 10 Minute US History podcast, available on iTunes, Google Play, and Spotify. His hope is to start graduate school in the Fall of 2020 and eventually enter academia.

Mathew Jones

Mathew Jones is barreling toward his M.A. in history at California State University Sacramento with a year and some change to go. After graduating with an A.A. in humanities at Shasta College, he went on to graduate Magna Cum Laude, with a B.A. in history from Simpson University in Redding in 2016. With interest in transatlantic and food history, he delves into colonial accounts, merchant memoirs, and even the odd cookbook to chart the connections between far flung cultures. After completing his M.A, he looks forward to a career in teaching at the community college level, telling tales of times before tubers and tomatoes took hold of the earth.

Emma Sullivan

Emma Sullivan is currently pursuing a MA in history at California State University, Sacramento. She graduated from CSUS in 2016 with a BA in history. Her research interests include immigration and identity, radicalism, and sports in the United States. After completing her MA, Emma plans to pursue a doctoral degree in United States History.

Shea Cooley

Shea Cooley is a budding educator who looks forward to graduating this May with a Baccalaureate Degree in History. She has an academic base of associate degrees in History and Social Science. As an active member of Phi Alpha Theta, Shea

presented her research on the finances of the Iran-Contra Affair at the 2019 PAT conference. Shea has also volunteered as a CSUS attaché for the Organization of American Historians 2018 convention. This young civic catalyst will be entering the CSUS Single Subject Social Science credentialing program to attain her M.A. in Teaching beginning Fall 2019.

Cuauhtemoc Morales

Cuauhtemoc Morales is currently pursuing an MA in history at California State University, Sacramento. He earned his BA in History, with honors, in 2015 from California State University, Sacramento, where he focused on Latin representations in film. His current research analyzes race, gender, and class in right-wing movements. He works as a Supplemental Instructor for the History Department and the Peer and Academic Resource Center (PARC). After completing his MA, he plans to pursue a PhD and a career in teaching at the university-level.

Adam Bardaro

Adam Bardaro is currently pursuing an MA in history at California State University, Sacramento. He graduated from CSU Sacramento with a BA in Social Science and a minor in History. He currently works on campus with the United States Geological Survey as an accountant. His future plans are undecided while he wanders aimlessly through life looking for his next adventure.

Brittany Nath

Brittany Nath is currently and Undergraduate pursing a BA in history at California State University, Sacramento. She will be graduating in Spring 2019. Her historical interests include African American history, and 18th Century history to the mid-20th century history, from the Declaration of Independence to around World War II. After graduation, Brittany intends to become a single subject middle school teacher where she hopes to be teaching U.S history.

Billy February

Billy Febuary is a history graduate student at CSUS. He graduated from the University of California, Santa Barbara with a major in History and minor in Labor Studies. At UCSB, he was president of the Phi Alpha Theta chapter and conducted independent research with two other students on the living and working conditions of students in the college town of Isla Vista. He is completing a thesis on the history of food stamps and is planning to graduate in the Fall 2019 semester. Afterwards, he plans on pursing a Ph.D. to further his research on the Food Stamp Program.

Scholarships, Awards, and Prizes 2018-2019

The History Department at California State University, Sacramento is proud to recognize our students' achievements in obtaining scholarships, award, and prizes for the 2018-2019 academic year. Congratulations!

George and Eleanor Craft Graduate scholarship in History

Skylar Ensbury ($2,000)
Sung Kim ($2,000)
Moriah Ulinskas ($2,000)

Kenneth Owens Award for Excellence in Public History

Matthew Walker ($1,000)

Faculty Graduate Writing Prize in History

Spencer Gomez ($250)

Rose-Christensen History Research Travel Grant

Liam Dodson ($500)
Spencer Gomez ($500)
Ari Green ($500)
Anjelica Hall ($500)

Kenneth H.W. Earle Graduate Fellowship in History

Moriah Ulinskas ($1,000)

Peter H. Shattuck Undergraduate Scholarship

William Kyle Floyd ($7,000)
Cristina Purice ($7,000)

Professor Thomas Swift Scholarship

Casandra Solomon ($3,000)

Department of History Undergraduate Scholarship

Benjamin Swinford ($2,000)

Joseph A. McGowan Undergraduate Writing Prize

William Kyle Floyd ($250)
Corinne Hansen ($250)

Senator Nicholas C. Petris Scholarship

Angela Newsom ($1,500)
Lillian St. Clair ($1,500)

2019 Phi Alpha Theta Conference

This year, CSU Sacramento's Rho-Xi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta hosted the regional conference. This student-run conference had participants from Phi Alpha Theta chapters across Northern California. It provided an opportunity for undergraduate and graduate-level historians to gain experience in presenting original research in front of their peers. Thank you to all the students who presented their research. Also, thank you to the History Department for its support in this endeavor. Finally, a special thank you goes out to Dr. Paula Austin for her support and guidance in making the conference a success.

Sincerely,
Phi Alpha Theta Rho-Xi Chapter
Laurie Frazier, President
Nichole Allison, Treasurer

Undergraduate Winning Papers:

First place: **Molly Hamilton**
CSU Chico
"Investigating Russian Gender and Class Norms Through WWI Nurses"

Second place: **Jacob Jennerjohn**
CSU Sacramento
"Christian Ministries' Goals During Japanese Internment"

Third place: **Sarah Hess**
University of the Pacific
"Breaking the Ice: The Significance of John Muir's Glaciation Studies"

Graduate Winning Papers:

First Place: **David Hlusak**
CSU San Francisco
"First Came the Sound: How the Media Covered the Port Chicago Affair and its Impact on Integration in the US Navy"

Second Place: **Michelle Trujillo**
CSU Sacramento
"A Stone's Throw from Here: Sacramento's Japanese American Internment Camp at the Walerga Assembly Center."

Third Place: **John Migliaccio**
CSU Fresno
"A pretty Pitch: Jackie Mitchell and the Legacy of Baseball Sideshow Entertainment."

SACRAMENTO STATE
Department of History

About the Major

Undergraduate Program

- Two BA Tracks: History and History/Social Studies Pre-Credential
- Concentration in Public History (coming Fall 2020)
- Two Year Transfer Track for Community College Students
- Minors: History, Hellenic Studies, Middle East & Islamic Studies, Latin American Studies

Graduate Programs

- History MA, with Comprehensive and Specialized Tracks
- Public History MA
- Public History PhD (joint degree with UC Santa Barbara)

Organizations & Clubs

- Phi Alpha Theta, History Honors Society, Rho Xi Chapter
- *Clio* History Journal

Scholarships & Awards

- The Peter H. Shattuck Undergraduate Scholarship
- The Department of History Undergraduate Scholarship
- The Professor Thomas Swift History Scholarship
- Senator Nicholas C. Petris Scholarship
- The George and Eleanor Craft Graduate Scholarship
- The Faculty Writing Prize in History
- The Kenneth H.W. Earle Graduate Fellowship
- The Kenneth N. Owens Award for Excellence in Public History
- The George Bramson Award for Historic Preservation
- The Lawrence A. Brooks Memorial Graduate Conference Scholarship
- The Rose-Christensen History Research Travel Scholarship

PEER AND ACADEMIC RESOURCE CENTER

The Peer and Academic Resource Center (PARC) is an on-campus center whose student leaders provide the Sacramento State community with supplemental instruction, free tutoring, peer advising, and learning strategies workshops.

Working at the PARC is a great way for our brightest students to professionally develop their skills. Our supplemental instruction leaders gain experience working with students, leading and managing a class, developing culturally-responsive pedagogy, coordinating with peers in a collegial environment, and acquiring the skills necessary for success beyond Sacramento State.

To learn more about this opportunity, contact your history department advisor, talk to your peers, or drop into the office any time.

Lassen Hall 2200
Mon-Thr 8-5, Fri 8-4
(916) 278-6010
www.csus.edu/parc
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SUCCESSFUL STUDENTS PROMOTING STUDENT SUCCESS

SACRAMENTO Historical Society

The Sacramento Historical Society educates the public about the importance of Sacramento County's history and offers informative publications, programs, and special events.

For more than fifty years, the Sacramento Historical Society has preserved the heritage of the Sacramento region, promoted a greater awareness of regional history, acted as a resource for inquiries regarding local area history.

Welcoming new members. Join online at:
www.sachistoricalsociety.org

We are proud to support our students and the Clio Journal at Sacramento State.

Stingers Up!

President Robert and Jody Nelsen

SACRAMENTO STATE