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Clio

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Letter from the Editor

It is with great pleasure that I present the thirtieth volume of *Clio*, the award-winning, student run history journal of California State University, Sacramento (CSUS). Last year, the *Clio* journal was awarded second place in the Gerald D. Nash History Journal competition through Phi Alpha Theta. This year, we aim to meet or exceed that standard of excellence and to produce a journal which reflects our variety of academic interests. The following works represent the wide array of our contributors' research, while the writing reflects their commitment to quality and willingness to engage with our editorial staff over the course of the past semester. Our editors have worked hard to ready *Clio* for publication, and I would like to acknowledge and recognize the fact that they often performed under inauspicious circumstances.

This year, the world has been devastated by a coronavirus pandemic of heretofore unimaginable proportions. Our staff has had to work from their homes and communicate exclusively through the internet, and this has presented many difficulties in our collaborative process. Amidst the seeming permanence of the ongoing crisis, I find myself continually impressed that my peers have managed to maintain a solid disposition and remain steadfast in completing the editing process.

The present moment has provided overwhelming proof for the salience of history. We live in an increasingly dangerous moment and face an uncertain future. Amidst panic, mass casualties, and economic hardships, leaders in the United States and around the world have pointed to convenient and often defenseless scapegoats to justify their incapacity to confront the present crisis. Many of the submissions in this journal deal directly with similar phenomena throughout history, and it is our hope that readers identify some of these parallels and take something away from them.

We would like to thank the generous support of the faculty and staff at CSUS. I would also like to specifically thank Dr. Aaron J. Cohen, our faculty advisor for *Clio*, who has guided us through the process of creating a professional academic journal. We would not have been able to survive our various zoom meetings without his wry sense of humor, and his advice has allowed us to evolve as writers and editors. I would also like to thank the College of Arts & Letters and the History Department for supporting us throughout this difficult process. Finally, I would like to thank the friends and family of our *Clio* editorial team and all the students and alumni who are committed to supporting the journal. We are proud to present this year's edition of *Clio*, and we are grateful for everyone's support.

Samuel Bein
Editor-in-Chief

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In Memoriam

Robert Long



Born in 1938, Robert Long received his B.A. in History at the University of Iowa in 1960. He completed his Ph.D. in History at the University of Wisconsin, Madison focusing on twentieth century US history. From 1965 to 2000, Dr. Long taught at California State University, Sacramento, and volunteered at Folsom Prison's Academic Program for Inmates. While at CSUS, he taught political and social history and developed courses on the Watergate scandal, the Vietnam War, and had a part in developing the first African American history course at Sac State.

Our Contributors

José Miranda Campbell

José Miranda Campbell is a student at California State University, Sacramento, with academic interests in American history, Latin American history, as well as the intersectional concepts of race, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality. José will be graduating with a BA in History from Sacramento State in Spring 2020 and will be returning to continue his work as a graduate student the following Fall. As a graduate student, José plans to continue studying history in the Americas and how that history has translated to representation within popular culture, including books, movies, television, and comic books.

Samuel Bein

Samuel Bein is a second-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.

Jacob Jennerjohn

Jacob Jennerjohn graduated from Sacramento State in Fall 2019 with a BA in history. In Fall 2020 he will begin an MA program at Georgetown studying missionary activities in the West Indies and the American South after Emancipation.

Kelly Cullity

Kelly Cullity is currently pursuing an MA in History at California State University, Sacramento with an interest in twentieth century United States history. She graduated with her BA from California State University, Sacramento in 2010 and was the recipient of the Peter H. Shattuck Undergraduate Scholarship, as well as voted the top honors student by the history faculty. Her paper *Moral Internationalism Versus Patriotic Isolationism: An Ideological Analysis of America's Debate on the League of Nations* was recently awarded second place in the graduate division of the Phi Alpha Theta Northern California conference and awarded second place in the College of Arts and Letters graduate division of the California State University, Sacramento

Student Research Symposium. Kelly currently resides in Sacramento with her husband Ian and her two children, Oliver and Sophie.

Corinne Lethco

Corinne Lethco is a graduate student at California State University, Sacramento and expects to earn her MA in Fall 2020 with a focus in US History. Her academic interests include the interpretation of historical events and the formation of memory, historical amnesia, and crazy people. She hopes to go on to become a community college professor and instill the love of history in her students as her teachers have done for her.

Jordan Dietrich

Jordan Dietrich is a James Madison Fellow and a graduate student in the History M.A. program at Sacramento State University. Her research primarily deals with issues of race and criminal justice within the United States. She loves living in Sacramento and trying new restaurants in the farm-to-fork capital.

Alex Knox

Kelsey Alexandria Knox graduated with her Master's in History from California State University, Sacramento in 2019. She wrote her Master's thesis, *"I Am Lerne by the Shewing of God": Gender and Sexuality in Late Medieval English Mysticism*. She hopes someday to teach at the college.

Michelle Spremich

Michelle Spremich is an undergraduate student of history at Sacramento State University. Her work focuses mainly on the history of science with a special interest in the history of physics. She frequently listens to the rock band Tool before writing or conducting any research into quantum mechanics.

Joshua Lourence

Joshua Lourence is finishing his last semester in the M.A. program at California State University, Sacramento. His research interests include the Pacific, the ideological foundations of empire, and pedagogical methods in history. He intends to be a community college professor and his most recent project traces the political fallout of the Rainbow Warrior Affair.

Trent Capurso

Trent Capurso is a history graduate student who will graduate at the end of spring 2020. He plans to become a community college professor who will teach courses in American history focusing on social movements and world history. His previous research includes examining anti-Semitism in Austria, analyzing different styles of historical leadership, and LGBTQ+ history in California. Currently, he is researching how the Cold War shaped the formation of electronic dance music in Detroit and Berlin.

Belen Cisneros

Belen Cisneros is completing her undergraduate degree in history with only one semester left at Sacramento State. She is passionate about United States history and is pursuing career in politics. She enjoys impressionist oil painting in her free time.

Stephen Lynn

Steven Lynn, a graduate student from the California State University of Sacramento, is an electrician turned academic with dreams of beginning a teaching career after his graduation in May. With his studies, Steven explored race, gender, and class in post-Reconstruction America and twentieth-century US social movements. Steven loves researching 1960-70s, radical politics, and social advocacy.

Geoffrey McCoy

Geoffrey McCoy is an administrative assistant trainee with the Executive Office for U.S. Attorneys, under the Department of Justice. He graduated in May 2019 with a B.A. in History from California State University, Sacramento. His research interests are American popular culture and politics. His future plans are to learn

French so that he can add to his research on Quebec's political transformation during the 1960s.

Theresa Nguyen

Theresa Nguyen is a graduating senior at Sac State who majored in Art Education and minored in Teaching, Equity, and Engagement. Recently, she was awarded the Department of Art's Honors Student for the 2019 - 2020 academic year. She is also the chartering President of the National Art Education Association Student Chapter on campus. The purpose of this organization is to connect preservice art educators to the visual art education community of Sacramento, California Art Education Association, and National Art Education Association. Next fall, she will be enrolled in the Teaching Credential Program in hopes of becoming a middle school art teacher. The art included in this journal is from her recent solo exhibition displayed in the R.W. Joyce and Witt Gallery called *Hard Edges, Soft Core*.

Endangered and Empowered: Women in the Frontier During the California Gold Rush

José Maria Campbell

Abstract: This paper analyzes the experiences of women during the mid to late 19th century in the Californian frontier. The purpose of this paper is to take an intersectional look at the experiences women endured while taking into consideration the aspects of race, class, and gender. Frontier California during the gold rush was a land of great opportunity for many; women, however, contended with a very complex societal structure in which the source of their empowerment was also the source of danger: their bodies. Some women were acutely aware of their precarious position and navigated their world carefully. Others fell victim to mob justice in a newly adopted land which was proud of its due process. Emblematic of such an extreme, this paper presents the story of Juanita, the only woman in Californian history to be hung by a lynch mob. Her story encompasses how race, class, and gender played a crucial role in her world. As a comparative point, other women with varying degrees of similarity are discussed to offer a contrasting view of their lives. Ultimately, women and their scarcity shaped a world with opportunities in which their bodies both empowered and endangered them.

On July 5, 1851, the only recorded instance of a woman executed by lynch-mob hanging occurred in California. The night before, an air of celebration permeated the atmosphere of Downieville as the budding town burst at the seams with hundreds of miners from all around the Mother Lode. The miners gathered to celebrate the Fourth of July for the first time as a newly inducted state to the United States of America.¹ Alcohol and desire paraded through the streets, and as a frontier town, due process was often ignored when vengeance became more important than law and order.

On this Fourth of July, a man by the name of Fredrick Alexander Augustus Cannon stumbled the dirt roads of Downieville, California, along with a group of fellow miners. As Cannon stumbled through the roads of the jubilant town, he found himself at the door of one of the few women residing in Downieville. Juanita lived with her husband, José, and because it was late at night, they were not open or expecting visitors. Cannon however, did not let a simple door stand between him as he pounded on the door, breaking it in the process. Cannon forced his way into José and Juanita's home along with his fellow miners and attacked José,

¹ Maythee Rojas, "Re-Membering Josefa: Reading the Mexican Female Body in California Gold Rush Chronicles," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 2007): 129-130.

restrained him, and attempted to rape Juanita in the couple's bed.² During the struggle, José called to his wife for her to defend herself with the knife she often hid under her pillow. Juanita then proceeded to pick up the blade and stab Cannon through the heart.³ Shortly after the arrival of the morning sun, the town became aware of what had transpired. A mob gathered at the couple's home to exact "justice" for the death of Cannon, and by four o'clock that afternoon of July the fifth, Juanita was hung.

The details surrounding Juanita's death, life, and identity are shrouded in mystery. This is partially due to the time period in which the event took place and technological limitations thereof. More importantly, however what shrouds Juanita is the fundamental difficulty in analyzing the history of the frontier: capturing the vastly different experiences that men and women experienced and how those experiences are then morphed depending on the ethnicity of the individual. Indeed, the experiences of men and women have always varied in expression, but I argue that at no time or place was this difference so stark. Simultaneously empowering and endangering, the California Gold Rush era in the frontier land brought with it an era of opportunity, high risks, and high rewards. My paper will focus on the experiences of women in California; it is essential to note, however, that similar trends of anti-Mexican violence can be observed in other areas of the Southwest where prejudice reigned supreme along with vigilante justice.⁴ The story of Juanita is emblematic of the contrasting experiences of men and women but also of how race and ethnicity played a role in endangering women while their bodies both endangered and empowered them in this time period.

Even when focusing on the experiences of women during this time period, historians often focus on the details surrounding the lives of Anglo immigrant women who were as new to the frontier as their brothers, husbands, and sons were. Women in these new lands made them the object of desire and curiosity for many men. As a result of their newfound demand, women, simultaneously became empowered and endangered. This paper will explore the topic in order to gain a deeper understanding of how women's scarcity affected their lived experiences. Additionally, to the paper demonstrates how race, ethnicity and socioeconomic standing further complicated these experiences.

² Ibid. 143.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Manuel G. Gonzales, "Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States" (Bloomington, In: Indiana University Press, 1999), 86.

The California Gold Rush saw more than 300,000 people immigrate to the Californian frontier between 1848 and 1852.⁵ Of these 300,000, only an estimated eight percent were women according to an 1850 census.⁶ This unique circumstance fostered an environment of scarcity, which simultaneously provided women with a sense of increased personal value, empowerment and danger. California stood uniquely as a place with progressive marriage laws, varied and plentiful employment opportunities, as well as a degree of freedom and autonomy. For example, after the secularization of the missions in California after Mexico won its independence from Spain, women were able to legally own property. Such was the case with Apolinaria Lorenza who after dedicating most of her life to the missions was granted not one but two ranchos in Southern California and later made a purchase of a third. All her holdings were lost after the results of the Mexican-American War but the societal precedence of women's autonomy was now established.⁷ Additionally, other women exercised their autonomy in Mexican California, Maria Rita Valdez exemplifies this idea when in 1840 she petitioned Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado for legal title to the property she had been living on for over nineteen years. There were some restrictions in the ability for women to control property but there were circumstances where women could do so in a legally defensible manner just like men. Such autonomy, particularly in marriage, was familiar to Californianas (female Californio women) and, to a lesser extent, Native American women. For Anglo women, who had recently found themselves at the Californian frontier, such martial autonomy was new.

Historian Albert L. Hurtado asks the following question in an⁸ I seek to add to his work and that of other historians who argue that the experiences of women in the past can and should be studied through various historical lenses. Only through a variety of perspectives can we gain a complete picture of the experiences of people in history and subsequently add to our understanding of the present. Hurtado posits that gender and sexuality are not "trivial" to the historiographical interpretation of history and are instead "...fundamental threads woven into the fabric of culture and historical experience..."⁹ By making gold rush women central

⁵ JoAnn Levy, *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 176.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Vicki Ruiz, *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 407.

⁸ Albert L. Hurtado, "Sex, Gender, Culture, and a Great Event: The California Gold Rush," *Pacific Historical Review* 68, no. 1 (February 1999): 1.

⁹ Hurtado, "Sex, Gender," 19.

to the narrative we can explore how these experiences add to the unique tapestry that is Californian history.

Manuel Gonzales contends with academics such as Tomás Almaguer, a sociologist, who provides a contrasting perspective on the topic of race in residents during the nineteenth century are exaggerated.¹⁰ The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was intended to provide significant and meaningful protections for the Mexicans that decided to remain in what was now going to be the United States as a result of the Mexican American War.¹¹ However, Gonzales notes that the protections were offered in theory and not in practice.¹² Almaguer's presumption that the treaty's protections were somehow immune to the cavalcade of racial, gendered and social prejudices extended towards Mexican individuals is disingenuous to the experiences of women of color.

Women's scarcity during the California Gold Rush era is evident through an exploration of the writing done by men at the time. An unknown young man in Nevada City wrote, "Got nearer to a woman this evening than I have been in six months. Came near fainting."¹³ The absence of women in mining towns was felt at a deep level in most camps of the California Gold Rush. Men were willing to pay incredibly high prices for goods and services provided by women.

In one instance, a woman named Luzena Wilson was cooking biscuits for her family over a campfire when a miner approached her one evening. "I'll give you five dollars, ma'am," he said, "for them biscuit." Stunned at what sounded like a fortune, Luzena stared at him speechless. Taking her hesitation for reluctance, the miner doubled his offer. He wanted bread made by a woman, he said, and put a shiny ten-dollar gold piece in her hand.¹⁴ JoAnn Levy analyzes in painstaking detail the firsthand accounts of many men and women from the era. Through her analysis, we gain insight into what people were thinking and the values they held. So deep was the hole left in men's lives that they were willing to pay just to be near women. This position of power allowed women to a degree of autonomy that, at times, became the real source of danger.

This duality of danger and autonomy was at play the night that of Juanita's death. While there is a great deal of controversy regarding what exactly happened to her, her husband, and Cannon, based on analysis of the gender and racial aspects

¹⁰ Gonzales, 84.

¹¹ Jesse S. Reeves, "The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo," *The American Historical Review* 10, no. 2 (February 1905)

¹² Gonzales, 84.

¹³ Betty Sederquist, "Gold Rush Women," *Sierra Foothill Magazine.com*, accessed December 1, 2019, <http://www.sierrafoothillmagazine.com/women.html>.

¹⁴ Levy, 91-92.

this moment in time I argue it is reasonable to assume the following narrative is not so farfetched. Juanita and her husband José worked in the local area; they were well known, as was Cannon. Some accounts describe Cannon as charismatic, funny, “and altogether unaccustomed to being rejected by anyone.” Juanita, well aware of her predicament as one of the few women in Downieville, was beautiful in countenance, and such details about her beauty were consistent throughout most descriptions of her both by her contemporaries and secondhand accounts found after the fact. What was not consistent, however, was her name.

Juanita’s identity is a historical enigma. There are varying accounts that suggest that Juanita was more than likely not her actual name. As author Maythee Rojas indicates in her article *Re-Membering Josefa: Reading the Mexican Female Body in California Gold Rush*, “Juanita’s” actual name was Josefa. Josefa’s designation morphed over time for reasons that are representative of the experiences of women of color during the California Gold Rush. Rojas gathers that in order for a society that held women in such high esteem, the Mexican that Josefa represented in her had to be punished. “Only after order is restored through the punishment of a Mexican for killing a Euro-American can Josefa’s gender be acknowledged.”¹⁵ Future references to Josefa reported her name differently to reconcile the contesting images caused by Josefa’s actions. On the one hand, a beautiful Spanish woman was hanged in a manner they knew was unjust. On the other hand, the same person committed murder, self-defense or not, and the mob demanded “justice”.

Therefore, when Josefa died at the makeshift gallows erected by the lynch mob, Juanita was born to die in her stead, as Rojas states in her 2007 article, “...recalling the details of Josefa’s hanging, these accounts gave way to promoting “Juanita,” a simulacrum of Josefa that further dismembers the imagined body of the only woman ever hanged in the state of California.”¹⁶ Rojas supports her claims through her masterful use of primary sources, including newspapers, such as the Chilean publication *La Voz del nuevo mundo*. Coupled with California Gold Rush contemporary personal journal entries such as those of Major William Downie as well as a miner named Franklin Buck—who was present at the time of the hanging.¹⁷ In contrast to history’s falsehoods regarding Josefa’s name and identity that of Cannon are consistent throughout, his first, last, and both middle names

¹⁵ Rojas, 135.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid, 135.

are clear and present in almost every report of the incident.¹⁸ His identity never needed to be brought into question, but unfortunately for Josefa, her ethnicity was paramount to her sentence.

Both Major William Downie and Franklin Buck describe the countenance of Josefa's and her beauty, before saying anything else on the matter.¹⁹ Their memories of the incident indicate that their amazement that a woman, particularly a Mexican woman, would dare attack and kill a man, especially a white man, was profound and disturbing. Most of the descriptions of her, whether it be of Josefa directly or her simulacrum "Juanita," describe her as a beautiful, raven-haired woman. Where the reports differ depends on whether or not the ethnic descriptor is for Josefa, often referred to as that "Spanish Señõrita," or Juanita, the "Mexican Greaser." Franklin Buck was a miner in Downieville at the time of Juanita's execution. He wrote about the incident years later in a manner that indicates a level of sense of loss that such a rare, beautiful woman was executed. He placed the value of her life in her sex, not her worth as an individual.

Then at Downieville. I always think of the Spanish girl standing on the plank of the bridge, tossing her that to a friend and putting the rope around her neck, folding her hands and facing death with a bravery that made its men ashamed—pauvre (poor) Josepha. And girls were so scarce in those days, too (1930, 167)²⁰

Buck mentioned in this entry her real name and seemed to place more profound value in the fact that a woman was executed and therefore represented lost potential, more so than any form of satisfaction for the "justice" that mob was so keen on attaining that day.

Some accounts paint a different picture than that of attempted rape and home invasion. Some of Cannon's fellow miners claim that Cannon accidentally stumbled into and broke down the door to their home on the night in question. The next morning, one of two versions were told: he either happened to be nearby while making a purchase of medicine at the location next to José and Josefa's home, or, he had intentionally come back around to apologize for the altercation the night before. Either way, in their recollection Josefa (or Juanita) then met Cannon with

¹⁸ Ibid. 128

¹⁹ William Downie, "Lynching a Beauty," *Sierra County Historical Society*, December 1970, 16.

²⁰ Rojas, 135.

a knife to the heart. There is power in a story and how it is told. Depending which account one decides to believe, either the story of a hot-blooded “Spanish woman” ready to kill a man for accidentally breaking down her door, or a woman fearing for her safety.

Josefa had, in the past, rejected the sexual advances made toward her by Cannon and had recently been warned by a local Mexican boy in town. She was informed that he had overheard some men discussing breaking into her house to have sex with her. Already weary of the men in town and their sexual frustrations, she took to sleeping with a knife under her pillow for protection.²¹ Such precautionary actions are indicative of a woman that lived in fear for her life. Knowing that as a Mexican woman her life was widely viewed as less than by her Downieville neighbors, she took action to fend off any would be attackers.

In the weeks following the execution of Josefa, many lamented the loss for a variety of reasons. Some ached for the loss of a beautiful *señorita* and other for the loss of law and order since a person was executed without due process of law.²² While it can be easy to dismiss the actions of the mob as vigilante justice that day, it is vital to consider the details of their decision. Despite the attempts of both a doctor in town and a lawyer attempting to adhere to due process that day to save Josefa’s life, the mob still carried on with their “justice.” Nothing that those brave few attempted to do on Josefa’s behalf was sufficient to abate the mob’s thirst for vengeance.

I believe that their lust was twofold: on the one hand, a well-liked white man had been killed by a woman despite his alleged attempts at apologizing the next day. This made Juanita’s action against Cannon that much more heartless in the mob’s eyes and, therefore, justified her execution. On the other hand, a Mexican woman was the offender, thus threatening to the status that Juanita challenged by attacking and killing Cannon. Had either her sex or her ethnicity been different, her outcome most certainly would have been different as well. Death was commonplace in the Californian frontier.²³ From the moment the newly arrived pioneers embarked on their journey west, they were gambling with their very lives. Nearly everyone involved in the fever of the gold rush became intimately acquainted with death, as JoAnn Levy states, “the pioneers had an ‘acquired insensibility’ to it.”²⁴

²¹ Rojas, 86.

²² Hurtado, "Sex, Gender," 13.

²³ Levy, 72.

²⁴ Ibid.

The fact that Josefa and José were married was no obstacle to Cannon and men like him. While women of all backgrounds suffered the indignation of unwarranted sexual advances, there was a particular mistreatment reserved for women of color. Matching the ethnicity of America's latest foe, Mexican and Native American women were seen with a specific vein of disdain. A popular folksong during the war with Mexico helped to normalize an overarching culture of rape and prejudice that assumed Mexican women existed for the pleasure of conquering Anglo-Americans.

*Already the señóritas
Speak English with finesse.
Kiss me! Say the Yankees
The girls all answer "Yes."²⁵*

This implied attitude is what added to the bloodlust in the hearts and minds of all those present at the lynching of Josefa.²⁶ The fact that Josefa was very likely acting in self-defense became irrelevant because a woman, a Mexican woman no less, dared to injure and kill one of the Anglo communities' own beloved miners. The immediate, seething hatred that the Downieville community had that day for Josefa is palpable, especially when compared to an arguably worse offense committed by another woman in Sacramento just two years later.

On the morning of October 21, 1853, a young woman by the name of Ida Vanard — who had been pacing all night and started her day with a brandy cocktail— made her way to find a woman named Mary Lee.²⁷ Vanard had been recently made aware that her man and Mary had gone out riding and ended up sleeping together. This enraged Vanard to such a point that she made a calculated decision to attack and end Mary's life. After an altercation of words commenced, blows were exchanged, and despite the plethora of witnesses in the house they were in, Vanard drew a large eight-inch bowie knife and stabbed Mary in the abdomen and thigh.²⁸ It is difficult to ignore that both women, Ida Vanard and Josefa, killed a person in a similar manner. While Josefa's assault was likely in self-defense, Vanard's was clearly not. Despite the similarities in the crimes, the women experienced two different veritable versions of the law applied to their versions of

²⁵ Ibid. 86.

²⁶ Levy, 86.

²⁷ Ibid, 71.

²⁸ Ibid, 72.

the same crime. Josefa was tried and executed within hours of her arrest while Vanard, on the other hand, was privileged to two months of life before her trial even began. There were plenty of witnesses to testify against Vanard, which made her guilt regarding premeditated murder indisputable. Yet, as Vanard's trial came to a close, the presiding Judge Monson had to comment to the jury before their final deliberation.²⁹

I know that it is impossible for either you or I to regard the condition and situation of the prisoner at the bar without deep feelings of our sympathy and commiseration. Her sex, alone, is sufficient to excite our sympathies...the expression of her face bespeaks to mildness and amiability. It appears hardly creditable that she can be so abandoned; so lost, so profligate, so depraved in heart, as to be guilty of the highest crime known to the laws—that of willful, deliberate and premeditated murder.³⁰

The jury of twelve deliberated for approximately two hours before returning with a verdict of “Not guilty,” at the announcement of which, according to one reporter, “the Court House rang with applause.”³¹ Despite the apparent similarities in the crimes of Josefa and Vanard that one was intended with malice and vengeance while Josefa's crime was committed in self-defense. All testimony and evidence aside, the most significant difference between Vanard and Josefa was their ethnicity. Therefore, I conclude that Josefa's real crime was being a Mexican *señorita* that dared to say, “No.”

The vitriol did not end with Mexicans, Native American women too were the target of violence and hate from the pioneers of the California Gold Rush. In his 1999 article, Albert L. Hurtado points out that; “no one will be surprised to hear that white men extended few courtesies to Indian women.”³² This anti-Indian notion was not reserved for just men either, Hurtado goes on to state that “Even Dame Shirley, that paragon of gold rush observers, could muster little sympathy

²⁹ Levy, 88.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 89.

³¹ *Ibid*, 90.

³² Hurtado, "Sex, Gender," 10.

for Indian women.”³³ Hurtado here is referring to Louise Clappe, otherwise known by her pen name Dame Shirley. Like most historical figures, she must be considered within the context of her time. Her historical contributions through the twenty-three letters she wrote to her sister Molly provide a unique insight into what life in the west was like for an educated Anglo woman. Her letters aid historians by providing context to the opinions held by people at the time. Specifically, how Anglo women saw their place as inherently different than women of color, in particular Mexican and Native American women. Does that absolve her of the controversial manner in which she discussed the events around her? No, but that should not subtract from their historical significance. “They are very filthy in their appearance,” she wrote about Native American women, “If one of them should venture out into the rain, grass would grow on her neck and arms.”³⁴ Levy further describes them as “Macbethian witches” for their “haggardness of expression and ugliness of feature.”³⁵

I believe that Gonzales states it best when he refutes sociologist Tomás Almaguer’s assertion that Chicano scholars focus on race as a determinate factor in history too often. The effects of race and ethnicity are, in his opinion, exaggerated. “...Professor Almaguer has correctly pinpointed a deficiency among many colleagues, who tend to stress race to the exclusion of gender and class considerations...”³⁶ However, it is important to consider race alongside these other factors in order to paint a more complete, and inclusive, picture of the Californian frontier. I argue that women in the frontier during the California Gold Rush were simultaneously empowered and endangered due to their ethnicity and how those experiences differed between Anglo and Mexican women. In addition, I would like to present the case that socioeconomic status also played a significant role in the opportunities and dangers women experienced.

As demonstrated through the story of Ida Vanard, while she was neither a woman of color nor wealthy, she did enjoy some of the privileges afforded to her by her ethnicity. In defiance of Almaguer’s assertion Vanard’s experience serves as an example of the different standards women were held to by their ethnicity and sex. According to Albert Hurtado, “Class trumped gender, too, even among whites.”³⁷ Amelia Kuschinsky was a fifteen- or sixteen-year-old servant of a local

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clapp, *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851-1852*, ed. Carl I. Wheat (New York, 1949), 148-149.

³⁵ Ibid, 14.

³⁶ Gonzales, 84.

³⁷ Hurtado, "Sex, Gender," 13.

merchant named August R. Stiller.³⁸ After a jury consisting of twelve people, two of whom were physicians, heard seventeen pages of testimony reached a verdict:

We the jury of Inquest over the body of Amelia Kuschinsky, a young lady aged about sixteen years, after examining the body, and listening to testimony in her case, give as our verdict, that the said Amelia Kuschinsky came to her death at August R. Stiller's house on Dry Creek, on Wednesday the 14th of March AD 1860, from premature child-birth willfully produced by violence by the hands of Dr Gutmann of Horsetown, and August R. Stiller of Dry Creek both of Shasta County Cal.³⁹

Amelia Kuschinsky was a young girl who became pregnant while under the employment of August R. Stiller. While the community seemed convinced that the impregnator could be none other than Stiller due to his seclusion of Kuschinsky from the rest of the town, Hurtado believes that it is not improbable that she could have spirited away with some local young man.⁴⁰ It is impossible to know, however, due to the obscurity of her life under the employment of Stiller. Kuschinsky's official cause of death was peritonitis brought about by a failed attempt at a mechanical abortion.⁴¹ The town quickly turned on Stiller and the doctor Gutmann as a mob formed around Stiller's house. Were it not for the intervention of the local sheriff, they would have likely been lynched for their crimes against the young girl. Their crimes went beyond just a fatal attempt at an abortion, as if that were not enough, Stiller, as Kuschinsky's employer seemed to have a more malignant relationship with her. He forbade her from interacting with anyone in the community, particularly the young men. While his actions are not justifiable, they are to a certain degree understandable, if one considers simply the scarcity of women at the time. Even if his relationship with her was benign, which the contrary seems to be the truth, he believed himself to be the protector of her virtue.⁴² Stiller probably saw his investment in Kuschinsky's employment as more important than any degree of freedom; she was, in any case, still a minor.

³⁸ Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*, Histories of the American Frontier (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 115-116.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 116.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁴¹ Hurtado, "Sex, Gender," 13-14.

⁴² Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers*, 119.

Interestingly of the sources unearthed by Hurtado on Kuschinsky, none of the witnesses make mention of any of her physical or emotional attributes.⁴³

Hurtado postulates that it may be because of how well everyone in town probably knew her, and it likely felt wrong to talk about her character so close to her death. Stiller indeed took measures too far; even if there is an argument where he could be seen as her protector from the outside world, the fact is she got pregnant, be it by Stiller or anyone else, he endangered her life and broke the law.⁴⁴ This circumstance in no way absolves the actions of Stiller and Gutmann, but unfortunately for Kuschinsky, despite the rage of the town and its desire for justice, both men were found not guilty. The evidence proved to be too circumstantial, and since the only witnesses were ones who were potential participants in the crime, the coroner was unable to prove anything. His report was then folded into thirds, stuffed in a drawer where it lay forgotten for more than a century before Albert L. Hurtado came across it by chance while conducting other research.⁴⁵ Through Kuschinsky's tragic, short life, we can gain an understanding of the overlapping and contrasting sectors of life that women faced in this frontier land. While Kuschinsky's story is a reminder of how women, regardless of ethnicity, were defined by their bodies and how in turn their bodies simultaneously empowered and endangered them.

In 1850 during what was arguably the peak of the California Gold Rush, the ratio of men to women was just over twelve men per woman. Two years later, in 1852, that ratio decreased to just over seven males per female, and by 1860, the ratio gap had decreased further at just over two males per female in the new state. These numbers were averages however, and as each census became more accurate and included more people of various backgrounds, those numbers changed.⁴⁶ Altogether, small mining towns in the heart of the Mother Lode were still largely disproportionally populated by men more so than women. According to the census of 1860, taken a few months after Kuschinsky's death, she suggested that with eighty-three women and eighty-four men between the ages of fifteen and nineteen the sex ratio was fairly balanced.⁴⁷ Upon observing the findings for the age group of people aged between twenty and twenty-nine years, it is easy to understand that that assumption would be incorrect. Considering the population of both age

⁴³ Ibid, 126.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 123.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 127.

⁴⁶ Hurtado, "Sex, Gender," 4.

⁴⁷ Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers*, 120-121.

groups combined, since it is more likely these groups would interact romantically or sexually, we can see that a combined 955 men vastly overshadowed the 307 women in the Shasta county area. Such a population disparity would have created an atmosphere of intense competition between the males for any sort of female attention. Some men, like Stiller—despite being married and with three children—abused their positions of power and influence to control and abuse women of lower socioeconomic status. As she was unmarried and underage, Kuschinsky's body was to a significant degree under the control of Stiller. This was not true; however, of all women, the institution of marriage, and subsequently divorce, empowered women in the Californian frontier unlike any other time before.

Marriage in the frontier during the California Gold Rush era was an equalizer. Hurtado refers to this particular condition as the marriage market in which women found themselves.⁴⁸ Women's scarcity essentially left men with three viable choices. They could leave California to find a wife somewhere else, they could send away for a wife, or they could marry one of the few women in their communities. Women, consequently, were in a unique position to take advantage of their situation.⁴⁹ For example, in 1853, the Bullard family emigrated to California, along with their eight children, three sons, and five daughters.⁵⁰ The Bullard girls had no problem finding suitable partners to marry. In fact, it was something they had to contend with at a significantly earlier age than in other parts of the country. Mary, one of the Bullard girls, commented on how exhausted she was of the social scene in Sacramento. "California is a fast country and a girl gets to be a young lady at twelve."⁵¹ Mary was commenting on the activities of her younger sister Caroline who was in high demand in the frequent rounds of dances in town.⁵² As much as William, one of Marry and Caroline's brothers, wanted to get married, it would take him over fifteen years after his arrival to find a woman he wanted to marry. It was not for lack of trying; however, he had a list of standards he wanted his bride-to-be to meet. But to get married in California, he had to subside at least one of his prejudices despite explicitly stating that he did not want to marry an Irish girl that is exactly who he ended up with, Marry Farrell, a native of Ireland.⁵³

Out of her siblings, Mary was the only one who was reluctant to get married; she commented that there were plenty of men in California, "but not of the right

⁴⁸ Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers*, 95.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁵² Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers*, 96

⁵³ Hurtado, "Sex, Gender," 16.

stamp.”⁵⁴ Mary continues to say, “You know I am rather old maidish in my choice of...a mate.”, at one point, she demonstrated some interest in a local Sacramento blacksmith, but there is no evidence anything came of it.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, as was all too common in the time period, she succumbed to tuberculosis in 1858 never making it to the altar. Her story serves as an example of the autonomy some women enjoyed when it came to marriage. The options for women were plentiful. However, some women did not remain content with their selection in a partner and it was thanks to the progressive marriage laws in California that some women took a more direct approach in controlling their lives.

Marriage was not necessarily until death in California. Primarily influenced by the Spanish law inherited from the Californio era, divorce was a viable option for women (and men) unhappy in marriage. Divorce was a common option in California, open to both men and women—although more commonly utilized by women—it is significant to note that these laws were passed without the prompting of women. Under California law, there were specific criteria that allowed divorce to happen: natural impotence, adultery, extreme cruelty, willful desertion, neglect, fraud and conviction of a felony.⁵⁶ By much of the same logic that influenced the marriage market landscape, divorce can be understood as well. An atmosphere of low supply and high demand made it so that when women were dissatisfied with their circumstances in marriage, the law was there to help them. Since women were so scarce, men rarely ever made the first move to obtain a divorce. Still, women utilized it in California at higher rates than anywhere else, primarily because of the unique landscape they were in. While men infrequently traversed the avenue of divorce, single men who were otherwise well-off were often the beneficiaries of the proceedings. Single men were a dime a dozen, so if a woman was unhappy or otherwise in her opinion not being well cared for, it was not uncommon for her to divorce while already having someone in mind to replace their husbands with.⁵⁷ Unlike in the eastern parts of the country, women in California were able to own business, property and advocate for themselves in court, the standard “law of coverture” was not observed in California. Therefore, a woman was not as dependent on a male for survival. While women rarely

⁵⁴ Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers*, 96

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Hurtado, “Sex, Gender,” 16.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

remained unmarried for long, not all felt the need to remarry immediately if they had the financial potential to sustain themselves.⁵⁸

Not everyone appreciated the liberalized marriage laws in the Golden State. The *Alta* wrote, “California is becoming notorious for the rapid, steam-engine manner in which the family tie is severed,” , “and it has almost come to be considered that there is an alienating quality in our very air.”⁵⁹ While there were people at the time, and even today, who were against the idea of divorce, it is hard to argue that it did not play a role in California's social formation that eventually cascaded through the rest of the nation. By allowing a degree of autonomy for women (and men) to select partners that they were happy with, it reinforced the societal norms that society wanted to be enforced. Divorce was not intended for women to galivant freely around the Golden State but to re-marry, often very quickly, to continue the “taming” of the wild west in the image of the rest of the United States.⁶⁰

Life in the frontier during the California Gold Rush was both empowering and endangering for women. For some, it was a land full of limitless opportunities where they could bring their deeply yearned for skills to an audience that was willing to pay top dollar. For others, it was a final stop where they could lay roots with their families. Others still met untimely demises due to the color of their skin or their social standing. Women have had a complicated relationship with society historically, always forced to navigate a patriarchal landscape where their value was based on looks and expected to remain the “gentler sex.” Then we have those women who decided to embrace a new opportunity and journey to an unknown world called California. Allured by gold and prosperity, women came to “see the elephant” and to find or support their husbands, sons, and brothers.

Their experiences varied deeply based on factors not often within their control. The world that Anglo women came to experience was not a leisurely stroll through the foothills. Instead, they were met with death, disease and lawlessness. Women of color also began to experience this world with all the same issues Anglo women had with the added concerns of racism and prejudice that often became their death sentence. While Anglo women were always suitable potential marriage partners, the remnants of a victory over Mexico left pioneers with a sense of entitlement when it came to the bodies of Mexican women. If Josefa's story is to teach us anything is that when it came to a hierarchy of importance in the Californian frontier women of color shared the bottom rungs in society's ladder. Rape,

⁵⁸ Levy, 186.

⁵⁹ Hurtado, “Sex, Gender,”17.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 16.

resulting in pregnancies, disease, and violence, were aspects of life that had, unfortunately, become common for women. Women's scarcity in the frontier during the California Gold Rush provided women with many opportunities and dangers. These included but were not limited to marriage, gainful employment, autonomy, threats of violence, rape and death.

A Dream Destroyed: The Chinese Experience in 19th Century America

Samuel Bein

Abstract: In the nineteenth-century US, Chinese immigrants had to make their way in the young republic amidst racism, wage disparities, and nativist political movements. Their collective struggle has often been portrayed as one of helpless victimhood, while their labors have been reduced to brief forays in railroads and mining. My aim here is to elucidate the broader story of Chinese immigration and show specifically how it runs counter to these narratives. This research provides an introductory lens for understanding the breadth of the 19th century Chinese American experience, and roughly corresponds to the period ranging from the gold rush to the signing of the Geary Act in 1892.

Americans are often taught an abridged version of nineteenth century Chinese American history, one which begins with the gold rush and ends with the completion of the transcontinental railroad. On the sesquicentennial of the railroad's completion, much of the media jumped at the chance to honor the contributions of Chinese immigrants to the United States. NBC News referred to Chinese labor on the railroad as the makings of "An American Dream," stating that in the transcontinental railroad's aftermath, "Some found employment elsewhere; others chased after their own dreams."¹ Recalling the centennial celebration in 1969, *Smithsonian Magazine* disparagingly quoted then Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe, who infamously asked, "Who but Americans could chisel through miles of solid granite?" "Actually," Jesse Katz retorted, "10,000-20,000 had helped...only to be erased from the retelling of their feat."² The *San Francisco Chronicle* echoed the erasure narrative, stating that "[t]he Chinese achievement was erased from history" by Volpe's centennial address.³

This tale of erasure only partially explains why the contributions of Chinese have been consigned to oblivion. Over a century ago, the same *San Francisco Chronicle* was lauded for recommending the extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Indeed, the newspaper included a letter of gratitude in one of its November 1901 editions. The anonymous author wrote:

¹ Chris Fuchs, "150 Years Ago, Chinese railroad workers risked their lives in pursuit of the American dream," *NBC News*, May 10, 2019, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/150-years-ago-chinese-railroad-workers-risked-their-lives-pursuit-n992751>

² Jesse Katz, "The Transcontinental Railroad Could Not Have Been Built Without the Hard Work of Chinese Laborers," *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 10, 2019, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/transcontinental-railroad-chinese-laborers-180971919/>

³ Carl Nolte, "Chinese workers' role in US history ignored for decades, but not anymore," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 4, 2019, <https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/nativeson/article/Chinese-workers-role-in-US-history-ignored-for-13818855.php>

When the “Chronicle” started the agitation six months ago for the re-enactment of the Chinese exclusion law there was danger of its demise by limitation through public apathy. Since then interest in the subject has been fully aroused not only on this Coast, which has so much at stake, but throughout the East also.⁴

Although the Chinese initially received some plaudits for their hard work, this narrative was quickly superseded by an increasing demand for their deportation and exclusion. The tragic irony of the railroad was that it allowed European immigrants safe passage to the West, many of whom viewed Chinese people with suspicion and considered them to be low-wage competition. Because Chinese immigrants were not seen as having agency by white working-class and educated people at the time, they were not seen as potential allies or fellow citizens. Thus, the outbreak of anti-Chinese violence and racism—alongside the stereotypes that motivated it—would lead to the simplification of Chinese history within the United States.

While the transcontinental railroad is essential to Chinese American history, I argue that this history should be understood within the wider historical context of Chinese immigration. This article is about the variety of ways in which Chinese residents shaped the California landscape, navigated the complexities of life and labor on the Central Pacific Railroad, and faced down vigilantism and violence within the state. By constructing a broad history of the Chinese diaspora within the United States, from mid-nineteenth century Guangdong through the Chinese Exclusion era, I hope to demonstrate its breadth and prove that it transcended the feared specter of “coolieism.”

Unpacking a Decade of China’s Humiliating Century

The 19th century Chinese diaspora was a direct result of China’s “century of humiliation,” which began with the Opium War in 1839 and ended with the Chinese Civil War in 1945. Whereas China had previously enjoyed centuries of economic dynamism, the Treaty of Nanking began an era in which the country was forced to cede treaty ports, trade concessions, and extraterritorial rights to Western governments. China’s massive amounts of silver flowed out of the country to pay for Western products and opium, while its regime was forced to pay tens of millions in war reparations to the British. To deal with its balance of payments crisis, the Chinese government attempted to compensate their newfound trade deficit by raising taxes on its peasantry, which had already had its handicrafts industry immiserated by rising imports of cheap manufactured goods from the West.

These combined humiliations produced a variety of devastating outcomes in the 1850s. The Taiping Rebellion set off one of the deadliest wars in world history, in which 20-30 million Chinese would ultimately die. Many of these deaths would not result directly

⁴ “Public Sentiment on Exclusion,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 23, 1901, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/27597050/?terms=chinese%2Bmust%2Bgo>

from the battles between the Taiping rebels and the Qing dynasty, but rather from the onslaught of famine, disease, and internecine conflicts that happened in its wake. Even families that were far removed from the conflict were caught in its crossfire as piracy and banditry plagued the coastlines and countryside throughout southern China. Millions would flee the region for Shanghai and other cities in the northern part of the country, while millions more would flee the country to Southeast Asia, Australasia, and the Americas by 1860.⁵

The Chinese diaspora came almost entirely from the province of Guangdong, the majority of which hailed from its southern “four counties” known as the Siyi. Approximately one-fourth of the people in just one of these counties—roughly 200,000 residents—left their homes in the nineteenth century to live abroad.⁶ Although the Siyi was largely unaffected by the Taiping Rebellion, this county featured prominently in the contemporaneous Sunti-Hakka clan wars in which over one million people died and many more were displaced. Multistory watchtowers and fortresses—or diaolou—were constructed by southern Chinese villagers to defend themselves from endemic banditry and warfare. These structures, largely funded by the remittances of overseas Chinese, still stand today.⁷

Recently, scholars have also unearthed many of the pull factors which led to increased Chinese emigration. While most Chinese emigrants left the country for Southeast Asia, the Pearl River delta region was particularly subject to Western influence. American missionaries and traders had found their way to the region as early as 1784, while Cantonese merchants successfully sold tea to the United States well after the first Opium War.⁸ Peter Parker’s mission hospital in Canton famously treated tens of thousands of patients, and he became renowned for having “opened China to the gospel at the point of a lancet.”⁹ San Francisco had stores chock-full of Chinese furniture, while information about America fueled legends of the “flowery-flag country” in China.¹⁰ Thus, Guangdong’s proximity to several of China’s major port cities, alongside its increased ties to the United States, brought about an increased awareness of “Jinshan”—the “Gold Mountain.”

Destination Unknown

These tales of Jinshan only brought about five hundred aspiring Chinese prospectors to California in 1850. However, with the growth of large goldmining operations, the

⁵ Chen, Yong. "The Internal Origins of Chinese Emigration to California Reconsidered." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (1997): 530. doi:10.2307/969884.

⁶ Chang, Gordon. *Ghosts of Gold Mountain: The Epic Story of the Chinese Who Built the Transcontinental Railroad* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2019), 16.

⁷ Chang, 15-16.

⁸ Chen, 538.

⁹ Christoffer H. Gruddman, “Parker, Peter (1804-1888),” *History of Missiology* (Boston University, 1998), <https://www.bu.edu/missiology/missionary-biography/n-o-p-q/parker-peter-1804-1888/>

¹⁰ Chen, 538-540.

newfound demand for labor caused California's Chinese population to skyrocket to 20,000 in 1852.¹¹ Governor John Bigler responded to this population increase by passing a Foreign Miners' Tax on Chinese residents, which cost Chinese miners \$3 per month in 1852, \$4 per month in 1853, and \$6 per month in 1855. An additional provision to the law stipulated that the tax would increase \$2 each year; this forced miners to pay \$58 million to the state of California, roughly one-fourth to one-half of the state's revenue between 1852 and 1870.¹² Miners and prospectors responded to tax collectors by resisting them, bribing them, hiding in the woods, or returning to China. Vigilante groups and fraudulent tax collectors joined in the efforts to expel non-whites from California and successfully expelled four-fifths of California's Latino population from the mines. However, even with the concomitant removal of Chinese people from California, their numbers would remain high in the state due to new arrivals.¹³

Many Chinese migrants were not lucky enough to reach American shores. From the 1840s to the 1870s, 500,000 coolies—indentured workers from South and East Asia who became lucrative with the ban of the slave trade—were traded by pirates and brigands from China's ports to Peru, Cuba, and the Caribbean.¹⁴ Many coolie traders deceived their passengers by promising safe passage to the United States. Having paid his port dues in Guangzhou, the American captain of the *Messenger* claimed ownership of his 400 Chinese passengers and proceeded to ship all of them to Cuba.¹⁵ In another instance, Chinese passengers on the *Robert Brown* killed their captain and officers after gathering that their ship was headed to the guano mines of Peru. Oblivious U.S. military officers captured the insurrectionaries and sentenced 17 of them to death, only later discovering the crew's many abuses.¹⁶

Writing to the Secretary of State about the incident on the *Messenger*, John Ward—the U.S. minister to China—reported to the secretary of state that over one thousand Chinese had died on American ships. Writing that “it was a disgrace upon our flag,” Ward's letter led to the 1862 Congressional ban on American involvement in the coolie trade.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Euro-Americans continued to associate paid Chinese laborers with the coolie trade, as they feared that continued immigration would bring about the replacement of free white labor by “unfree” Chinese labor.

Voluntary migrants also suffered on their voyages to the Americas. Huie Kin wrote an account of his voyage to San Francisco, whereupon he witnessed his eldest cousin and their company's leader die of illness and get thrown into the ocean. Believing that the ghosts of

¹¹ Chan, Sucheng. “Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era” (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 23.

¹² Arnesen, Eric. *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-Class History* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 469.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 468-469

¹⁴ Chang, 34.

¹⁵ Chang, 36.

¹⁶ Chang, 34-35.

¹⁷ Chang, 36.

his crewmates would be lost at sea, Kin wrote, “There was an uneasy feeling that his death could not but cast an uneasy shadow on our venture.”¹⁸ One journalist reported that Chinese passengers were cramped in quarters belowdecks, where they would play games, appoint a man to obtain rations, and often have to overcome extremely stressful conditions.¹⁹

Beyond the Railroad

Many Chinese gave up on mining with the passage of the head tax, but only some of these miners would subsequently work for the CPRR (Central Pacific Railroad). Many would trek back across the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers to the Sacramento Delta, where they would cut drainage ditches, construct floodgates, and build levees.²⁰ They often labored in waist-deep water which was full of silt due to nearby hydraulic mining operations. Pay could amount to nine to twenty-five cents per cubic yard of earth removed or one dollar per day—roughly 30 dollars per month minus room and board—while white mule team drivers and carpenters earned 30-35 dollars per day with room and board included.²¹

These workers—roughly one-third of the state’s total agricultural workforce by 1880—helped the state reclaim over 88,000 acres of marshland over 20 years and subsequently worked the land as tenant farmers and agricultural laborers.²² Initially utilized exclusively for grain, this delta farmland was used to grow pears, asparagus, and onions in the 1870s.²³ Many of these laborers were seasonal workers who migrated to whichever orchard happened to be in season. In total, they spent 11-12 hours per day pruning, weeding, spraying, and harvesting their crops, while permanent crew members also milked cows and performed general maintenance work.²⁴

With the end of California’s reclamation projects, San Joaquin County successfully raised nearly 3.5 million bushels of wheat—the largest crop yield in the world.²⁵ Carey McWilliams argued in *Factories in the Field* that “the transition from wheat to fruit acreage in many areas would have been delayed for a quarter of a century had it not been for their [the Chinese] presence...the Chinese actually taught their overlords how to plant, cultivate, and harvest orchards and garden crops.”²⁶ Consequently, the county would rank fourth in

¹⁸ Chang, 32.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Leung, Peter. *One Day, One Dollar* (El Cerrito, CA: Chinese/Chinese American History Project, 1984), ix.

²¹ Minnick, Sylvia S. *Samfon: The San Joaquin Chinese Legacy* (Fresno, CA: Panorama West Publishing, 1988), 68-69.

²² Leung, ix.

²³ Leung, 37.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Minnick, 69.

²⁶ Minnick, 70.

the country in all agricultural production by the 1920s, and many Chinese would work in the burgeoning cannery industry during the 20th century.²⁷

Some Chinese tenant farmers met with a lot more success for their hard labor. Many would establish farms on the corners of abandoned mines, where they grew vegetables for adjacent mining camps. They soon entered into cooperative arrangements with newly arrived Chinese immigrants, expanded their operations, and eventually oversaw hundreds of the farms in Sacramento and the San Francisco Bay. Groups of five to six sharecroppers agreed to share the profits of their berries in Santa Clara, while others would do the same with their mystifyingly popular mustard seed in San Juan Bautista (the newfound popularity of mustard would later foster the legend of “Mustard Jim” within the community). These collectively run farms were as large as forty to sixty acres in Alameda County, and some of their tenants would become prosperous enough to raise families.²⁸

Chinese laborers are rarely credited for establishing Northern California’s wine country, an achievement which even earned them admiration at the time. Some levee builders in the delta later found work with Gran Ellen Winery, whereupon they moved north to plant four thousand grapevines in Sonoma County.²⁹ A Chinese labor contractor named Ho Po sent hundreds more to work for one Agoston Haraszthy, an ambitious ex-sheriff who hoped to establish one of the largest wineries in the state. In January 1857, these workers were ordered to work on snake-infested terrain in Sonoma and and built shoddy housing units, which would later be known as “China cabins” and feature tin can chimneys. By May, they had planted nearly 17,000 grape vines for the newly established Buena Vista Winery—roughly three-fourths of the county’s total in just four months—and established a nursery. European varieties such as zinfandel were then grown for the first time in California history.³⁰

Between 1856 and 1869, Chinese laborers picked the vast majority of the county’s 3.2 million grapevines and produced three hundred thousand gallons of wine. They used pickaxes on limestone cave walls to build wine cellars, erected massive press houses with industrial scale grape crushers, and picked an average of 1,500 to 2,000 fruits per day. In addition to working at every level of Buena Vista’s industrial production, they also worked on steep rattlesnake-filled hillsides to clear away dense undergrowth, sawed off tree stumps, and burned the resulting debris to clear room for new vineyards. Haraszthy’s workers were so renowned for their labors that they soon spread outward to wineries modelled after Buena Vista, and many opted to work at new orchards in Mendocino County, Napa Valley, and Vacaville.³¹

²⁷ Minnick, 69-72

²⁸ Street, Richard S. *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farm Workers, 1769-1913* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 247.

²⁹ Street, 239.

³⁰ Street, 250.

³¹ Street, 253-255.

Despite their initial negative reactions, Euro-Americans appear to have viewed Chinese immigrants with increasing favorability during the late 1850s. Haraszthy passionately spoke out against Chinese exclusion in 1862, stating in his opening address to the California State Fair in Sacramento that the Chinese were good for agriculture. The *Alta California* observed that “It would be impossible to grow berries profitably without Celestial help.”³² In reference to their labor in wine country, the paper later referred to the Chinese as “industrious, obedient, and easily taught to perform every description of labor required of them.”³³ This stereotype of noble and obedient Chinese would soon be challenged by facts on the ground, as Chinese workers would not enjoy an altogether harmonious relationship with their employers on the Central Pacific Railroad.

The Central Pacific and Its Discontents

The CPRR was not the first railroad to predominantly use Chinese laborers. In 1854, the Panama Railway Company brought a thousand men from southern China to Panama to work on a trans-isthmus line. Roughly 50% of these workers would die from disease, suicide, and accidents on-site, which led to the project’s failure and the shipment of the workers overseas. Four years later, the California Central Railroad Company hired 50 Chinese to work on its lines in Sacramento, while others worked on a line which ran from San Jose to San Francisco.³⁴ These facts were not lost on Leland Stanford—California’s first Republican governor and president of the CPRR—even as he said that the Chinese were a “degraded and distinct people” with a “deleterious influence on the superior race” to win the support of California voters.³⁵

The first Chinese on the CPRR were supplied by Hung Wah (a pseudonym which roughly translates to “working harmoniously”³⁶), a labor contractor in Auburn. He first advertised CPRR jobs in an Auburn newspaper published in August of 1863, and by the early spring of 1865, two to three thousand Chinese residents of California worked the line for \$26 per month, paying for their own room and board.³⁷ Increased advertising for the CPRR in China brought thousands of new arrivals each year, and by 1866 the company had already employed 10,000 Chinese workers. It was at this point when the company’s existence became wholly reliant on its Chinese labor force, as they tunneled away at the Sierra Nevada, lived in caverns beneath snowdrifts, and carried locomotives, train cars, and tons of iron across its summit. Chinese workers to the east of the summit in Truckee were

³² Street, 248.

³³ Street, 254.

³⁴ Chang, 57.

³⁵ Chang, 60.

³⁶ Chang, 67.

³⁷ Chang, 71-72.

only able to receive the heavy cargo after they had felled dense forests and uprooted tree stumps beneath frozen-solid ground.³⁸

White workers almost exclusively filled the skilled occupations of CPRR, where they earned \$120 per month as foremen and \$115 per month as blacksmiths with board included.³⁹ These class and racial inequalities led to acts of resistance from the Chinese workers. One legend which was passed down involved a Chinese cook who was harassed and repeatedly tricked by the ringleader of several white railroad workers, but who eventually got his just desserts. As told by an old timer named Moon Lee,

“One day, after a particularly savory dinner, the ringleader, ashamed of the tricks, gathered his gang around him and informed the Chinese that hereafter he was their friend and no one would harm him. The Chinese cook’s eyes brightened.” He called out with a smile, “All-li my flens, now I no pee in the soup!”⁴⁰

This antagonism also manifested because Chinese workers made roughly thirty-three percent less money than whites for the same occupations, with their supervisor himself acknowledging in court that board made the labor “much cheaper.”⁴¹ This worked in both directions; Chinese resented those who worked in skilled occupations and made greater sums of money, whereas whites saw Chinese as having the potential to undercut their wages.

The most monumental act of resistance occurred in June 1867 when three thousand Chinese railroad workers went on strike. Gordon Chang estimates that this was the single largest labor strike or work stoppage in American history up to this point, and he takes care to emphasize the precarity of the CPRR’s position with relation to the confident and self-reliant Chinese workers. Indeed, E.B. Crocker was concerned that the workers were walking off the job and looking for alternate forms of employment just one month before the strike took place, as they were now “extensively employed in quartz mines & a thousand other employments.” Thousands were even reported to have left the state in the first half of 1847, as wages in Idaho, Nevada, and Montana tended to be higher.⁴²

The strike was clearly well coordinated and planned, as the three thousand workers put down their tools almost simultaneously across several miles of track. Chang speculates that this date was chosen because it was a few days after the summer solstice, which was considered the “peak time for male energy” in Chinese tradition as a result of being the longest day of the year.⁴³ The workers demanded a reduction of the workday from 11 hours

³⁸ Chang, 124.

³⁹ Chang, 143.

⁴⁰ Chang, 146.

⁴¹ Chang, 144.

⁴² Chang, 149.

⁴³ Chang, 152.

to 10, \$40 per month, and shorter work shifts in the tunnels.⁴⁴ Stunned by the workers' capacity for resistance, Crocker speculated that it was Union Pacific instigators who ignited the protest, while another newspaper blamed "Designing White Men."⁴⁵

Most histories of the 1867 strike present Charles Crocker and the CPRR as the victorious parties, as Crocker took public credit for starving out the Chinese until they went back to work. Chang questions the reliability of his account, noting that Crocker may have wanted to reassure his investors that he was in complete control of the situation. He instead argues that the workers achieved the subtle victory of winning the respect of their employer, and that their eventual pay increase to \$35 per month was a product of the strike.⁴⁶ Moreover, this would inspire strikes among Chinese in Stockton and Los Angeles, while others in the Santa Cruz Mountains were inspired to defend themselves violently from harsh mistreatment and abuse.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, the "Big Four" railroad tycoons continued to view the Chinese as a peaceable model minority. Even amidst the strike, Charles Crocker praised his workers for "not descending into murder and drunkenness and disorder" and treating the strike as "just like Sunday all along the work."⁴⁸ As Chinese workers returned to their homeland in the strike's aftermath, Crocker hoped to bring at least 100,000 more to California, while Huntington hoped to have half a million by 1868.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, their patronage of Chinese immigration would later prove fatal to the Chinese cause, and the false stereotype of their utter subservience to American capitalists would fuel violence in the years to come.

"The Chinese Must Go"

During the national economic downturn of 1877, workers across the nation went on strike to demand better wages and working conditions. Solidarity strikes linked Virginia's railroad strike all the way to California; there, the Workingmen's Party of America emerged to combat the capitalist-dominated Democratic and Republican parties. Their figurehead was Denis Kearney, an Irish immigrant who worked for a steamship company and as a drayman. He appealed to his fellow workers with working-class solidarity in mind, stating that "We don't meet here as Irish, English, Scotch, nor Dutch, nor are we Catholics, Protestants, Atheists, or Infidels." His anti-capitalist message even brought some African American workers on board, as he pitched his cause to be open to all members of the working-class.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Chang, 155.

⁴⁶ Chang, 156.

⁴⁷ Chang, 159.

⁴⁸ Chang, 157.

⁴⁹ Chang, 159.

⁵⁰ Lew-Williams, Beth. *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018), 40-42.

Chinese Americans would be the one exception to this rule, and they would be the main target of Kearney's ire. After his first release from jail, he led a Thanksgiving Day march across San Francisco of over ten thousand men. The state would respond to these grassroots pressures by attempting to prohibit Chinese employment by corporations and requiring cities to move their Chinese populations outside of city limits. While the federal government would veto this bill in accordance with the 14th amendment, Congress had previously extended the right of naturalization exclusively to African Americans due to their fears of sparking anti-Chinese riots on the West Coast.⁵¹

Regardless of the actions of Congress, murderous anti-Chinese violence broke out across the state. A mob in Los Angeles lynched seventeen Chinese men in 1871 in front of dozens of witnesses, arguably the deadliest lynching in U.S. history. In 1887, people identifying as "citizens of Colusa" lynched a 16-year-old and took a commemorative photograph of him. During the 1880s alone, at least eighty-five Chinese perished, and more than 20,000 were displaced from their homes.⁵² Arson and property destruction—along with expulsion and murder—would destroy many traces of California Chinese history.

Vigilantes formed popular movements which became central in the fight for Chinese exclusion. One of the rioters involved in the 1871 massacre became a staff writer for the *Los Angeles Times* and organized the Order of Caucasians, a white supremacist group based in Sacramento, which attacked Chinese farmworkers throughout the late 1870s.⁵³ The group burned various Chinese laundries and ranchos throughout 1877, killing four Chinese field hands in Chico on March 14th of that year.⁵⁴ A subgroup of the order named the Council of Nine admitted to having planned a county-wide reign of terror, which led to further arson in Roseville, Grass Valley, and Colusa.⁵⁵

Such vigilantism became the basis for arguments to expel the Chinese. Willard B. Farwell—a member of San Francisco County's Board of Supervisors—wrote in 1876 that massacres were "deeds of desperation," occurring as the result of men banding together and becoming "conscious of being wronged."⁵⁶ He emphasized similar massacres of Chinese people in Manila, the Netherlands, and Australia, noting that "wherever the two races have met in communal relation like scenes have been re-enacted."⁵⁷ Therefore, despite their acknowledgement of wrongdoing on the part of xenophobic rioters, the supervisors considered Chinese immigrants as a pestilence to be avoided.

⁵¹ Lew-Williams, 44.

⁵² Lew-Williams, 3-8.

⁵³ Zesch, Scott. *The Chinatown War: Chinese Los Angeles and the Massacre of 1871* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), 215.

⁵⁴ Street, 290.

⁵⁵ Street, 290-291.

⁵⁶ Farwell, Willard B. *The Chinese at Home and Abroad* (San Francisco, CA: AL Bancroft & Co., 1885), 113.

⁵⁷ Farwell, 114.

In January of 1879, anti-coolie groups in Napa beat up workers and threatened their employers with arson, successfully forcing out much of the city's Chinese working-class.⁵⁸ A few months later, Kearney's Workingman's Party achieved unprecedented popularity and attained one-third of the delegates in the State Constitutional Convention.⁵⁹ Emboldened, the framers of the new constitution proposed the segregation of Chinese neighborhoods and the termination of Chinese workers from their state, county, and local governments, while their constitutional referendum barring further Chinese immigration passed with 94% of the vote.⁶⁰ This led to Congress's first attempt to ban further Chinese immigration later that year, which was ultimately vetoed by President Rutherford Hayes.⁶¹

Rather than discourage Chinese militancy, anti-Chinese violence seems to have had the opposite effect. In 1880, Chinese fruit harvesters in Santa Clara demanded two-thirds the share of the crop (paid in lieu of wages), leading to a strike of every labor gang in the valley.⁶² A few years later, one reporter stated that the Chinese were in absolute control of the valley, and that "a person who desires to go into this [farming] business must consult the Chinaman."⁶³ Ironically, anti-Chinese violence in California's mining districts also caused thousands of Chinese to migrate to agricultural areas even as many field hands found themselves threatened by arson and violence.⁶⁴ This labor militancy was thus aided by the fact that Chinese came to comprise 80-90% of the labor force in many townships; during the 1880s, many growers even began to number their boxes of hops in both English and Chinese.⁶⁵

Some argue that tongs—brotherhoods and protective associations which originated in southern China—were the first instance of labor unionism in California agriculture. In both China and California, such guilds set strict standards for wages, prices, and carved out territories for their respective enterprises.⁶⁶ The tongs and their workers made increasing demands of their employers in the era of exclusion, as the increasing demand for their labor improved their bargaining position. Indeed, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in 1900 that "Relieved, by the operation of the Exclusion Acts...the Chinese worker was not slow to take advantage of circumstances and demand in exchange for his labor a higher price."⁶⁷ Beyond simply negotiating wages, Chinese workers began to demand advances for their work, better working conditions, and in one recorded instance, organized a boycott against hops picked by scab labor.

⁵⁸ Street, 319.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Street, 320.

⁶⁴ Street, 321.

⁶⁵ Street, 320-323.

⁶⁶ Sucheng, Chan. *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), 332.

⁶⁷ Chan, 333.

The Chinese Exclusion Act would finally legislate against the arrival of new Chinese emigrants in 1882, while the Geary Act both extended its deadline and allowed for the detention and deportation of existing residents. Nevertheless, alongside increased labor unrest, more Chinese emigrated to the U.S. during the exclusion era (1882-1943) than during pre-exclusion (1849-1882).⁶⁸ This was because the exclusion acts contained a list of “exempt” classes, which included merchants, family members of merchants, diplomats, teachers, and students. Chinese quickly discovered loopholes in the enforcement of these exceptions, and a majority would enter the country through fraud by 1910.⁶⁹

A Multifaceted Legacy

The struggle of Chinese Californians in the nineteenth century was not a teleological journey towards achieving the American dream. Many would die sailing aboard ships to the U.S., working in a variety of death-defying occupations, and attempting to flee from waves of racist violence, while others would resist the law of the land through strikes and immigration fraud. Others considered their time in the U.S. to be little more than a brief foray into unprecedented prosperity, which they would use to improve their lot once they returned to China. Many of the Chinese who worked on the Central Pacific would carry their reputations with them abroad, as thousands moved to work on railroads in Hawaii, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, and West Colonial Africa.⁷⁰

Only by examining the broad history of the Chinese diaspora can we truly understand their plight, their diversity, and their humanity. Notions of Chinese docility vanish in the face of unprecedented work stoppages across several miles of railroad and militant tongs, just as Chinese labor contractors undermine the myth that they were universally proletarianized. The fact that much of this history was destroyed in an onslaught of violence should serve a warning to modern America, lest we want to repeat the mistakes of the past due to a warped sense of collective grievance.

⁶⁸ Chan, 1.

⁶⁹ Chan, 31.

⁷⁰ Chang, 214.

To Conquer a Land of Sinners and Heathens: The American Missionary Association and the Propagation of the Pilgrim Tradition

Jacob Jennerjohn

Abstract: The American Missionary Association was an evangelical benevolent organization that ventured into the South with Bibles, schoolbooks, and a New England ethos at hand. Their devotion to securing the freed population their rights as citizens, including education and suffrage, was directly tied to their ability to instill proper religious traditions on African Americans. Conditions on the ground often created tension between the AMA and other perceived threats to these traditions including the former Slavocracy and a growing “Catholic Menace.” These tensions often bubbled around the surface and camouflaged a deeper conflict between the AMA and the freedpeople themselves who vied for control over their own institutions and had their own religious traditions that were decidedly not pilgrim. In response to these practical problems to the AMA’s goals the organization often failed to recognize the freedpeople as active participants in their own destinies.

When the American Missionary Association (AMA) sent volunteers to the South, devoted to the moral reconstruction of the seceding states, they marched behind a turbulent Union Army that often found the presence of ministers and teachers cumbersome. During the Battle of Helena on July 4, 1863, one of these teachers, Mrs. S. F. Venatta, was struck by a six-pound cannon ball and was “literally torn to bits,” making her the first and only battle casualty among AMA volunteers.¹ Injuries and death were not uncommon for early missionaries; Mrs. Venatta’s husband was also shot in the thigh, and others were killed or infected by Southern diseases.² These deaths began early when Mary Peake, the first missionary to start a school for contrabands in Virginia, died of tuberculosis after only six months of service.³ As many as one third of teachers left the ministry or died due to disease.⁴ For many, devotion to freedmen’s education

¹ Joe M. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 28.

² Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 29; Henry Lee Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South: 1862-1870* (New York: Octagon, 1967), 46.

³ Robert Charles Morris, *Reading, Writing and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 18.

⁴ Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 46.

transcended even death, such as Miss Tucker, whose final act was to donate her entire life's savings to help the AMA continue the work she died pursuing.⁵

Northern advocates unable to make the journey to the Confederacy were equally devoted to the AMA's cause, enthusiastically answering the AMA's continuous calls for material support. While the wealthy were able to make larger contributions to the association, such as A. F. H. Smith's one thousand dollar donation or the five thousand dollars from a Quaker merchant, the poor still found ways to make meaningful contributions.⁶ In one instance, twelve poor Northerners pooled their limited financial resources, each saving two cents per week for one year to send to the AMA's treasury.⁷ Others who could not spare even two cents per week found non-monetary ways to support the AMA. S. B. Smith was a small-time farmer who switched to corn cultivation in 1865; his first harvest season, however, was halted due to a cholera outbreak. By the end of the harvest season, Smith was left with corn "only fit for seed." Typically, an expedient farmer would use this layaway seed to plant his fields for the next season; here however, there was enough seed to "plant [Smith's] farm a hundred times over" that was "occupying room without paying rent." Smith eventually decided to donate the extra seed to the AMA for distribution among freedmen farmers, concluding that "God had kept [his family] from eating it, so the hungry freedmen might have it."⁸ For those who could not spare currency or seed, fabric was often sent, and as a result the AMA collected more than 500 barrels of clothing.⁹

The AMA was a nonsectarian, evangelical missionary association, formed in 1846 with the stated purpose of improving race relations and fighting for emancipation throughout the Western world. From the start, this organization was successful in mobilizing support throughout the northeastern United States using Christian motifs. While the AMA led foreign missions into Africa, the Caribbean and South America, the Association's mission into the American South dwarfed all of its other programs combined.¹⁰ The devotion of those within the AMA and their Northern supporters to the Southern mission was aggressive and lasting; it far outstripped the work and enthusiasm of both the Union Army during the war and the general public during Reconstruction. Since

⁵ *American Missionary*, April 1870, 32.

⁶ *American Missionary*, May 1870, 58; Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 59.

⁷ *American Missionary*, April 1870, 91-92.

⁸ *American Missionary*, August 1867, 188-189.

⁹ Robertson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 42.

¹⁰ Robertson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 34; Morris, *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction*, 10.

then, historians have tried to trace continued economic inequality to both the failed education programs during Reconstruction and the motivations of groups such as the AMA. A thorough analysis and interpretation is required to fully understand the motivation and impacts of the AMA on the reconstruction of the South after the Civil War. After the war, *Harper's Weekly Journal of Civilization*, a regular contributor to the AMA, declared that the religious and moral education of the South was “the true foundation of...real social reconstruction,” and the AMA publicly supported the Chicago Memorial Convention which praised emancipation as a “vast responsibility, and...a grand opportunity for the dissemination of the religion of the Pilgrims.”¹¹ The impetus for the AMA’s mission was that they believed that they were extending the tradition of the original northern Pilgrims to the South. They believed this ideology would provide the necessary foundation to unite the nation during Reconstruction, claiming that its “objectives [were] chiefly religious- to convert and save the soul.”¹² Devoted to gaining influence in the post-war South through evangelical ministry, the AMA was blind to the agency of the newly freed people of the South, ignoring their religious and educational wants and needs over the AMA’s own agenda.

Southern Conflict

The first order of business for the AMA was to erode the influences of Southern society that had crept into the black community throughout their enslavement. After the Civil War, Northern AMA teachers and their supporters saw themselves as natural extensions to military occupation. The pro-AMA newspaper *Independent* determined that, as the North did not hesitate to send forth its armies, the AMA should be as quick to send teachers to the South with “schools and the Gospel” as their “[ammunitions] of war.”¹³ Simply put, the AMA and its supporters called for a social and religious occupation of the South in conjunction with northern military operations. The work of the AMA was to “plant New England in the South...and save the country,” and this social occupation was to be done through “the book, the Bible, and the New England

¹¹ *American Missionary*, June 1870, 130-131.

¹² Robert E. Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*, (London: Greenwood, 1980), 37.

¹³ Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 132.

Way.”¹⁴

Anterior to their work with African Americans, the AMA launched extended missions to Jamaica, and in so doing created a missionary model that reemerged during the AMA’s Southern mission. The AMA goals in Jamaica were to teach slaves “proper gender roles and the importance of religiosity and moral behavior” so that slaves might “form families and become darker skinned versions of their white abolitionist teachers.”¹⁵ While serving in Jamaica AMA missionaries Loren and Nancy Thomas adopted former slave Mary Ann Lamb and attempted to instill in her the values believed to be fundamental to the New England ethos. While letters between the two have been described as cordial and friendly, indicating a positive relationship, the Thomas’s ultimately decided to leave Lamb behind in Jamaica and return to the United States without her.¹⁶ When the Thomas’s left their adoptive child in Jamaica, they demonstrated that they still saw Lamb as something outside of their familial structure and saw the adoption as primarily a means for “uplifting the [African] race.”¹⁷ The AMA was a self-proclaimed friend of the Jamaican black community, but it often proved openly hostile and snobbish toward customs they deemed un-Christian, such as polygamous marriage. Stewart Renshaw, an AMA volunteer, determined that the fight for racial uplift was against the influences of immorality passed down through generations of Jamaican and African cultures. The battle, therefore, was between the values in New England and the traditional values of Jamaican blacks.

While Southerners were not happy with military occupation, they took additional umbrage with the religious and social programs sponsored by the AMA because of its previous missions into Jamaica and other “heathen lands.”¹⁸ The *Norfolk Virginian* described the arrival of AMA teachers as an “insult to [Southern] pride of manhood” because the AMA sent religious “fanatics...for the purpose of propagating the gospel among the heathen...just as if [the South] were the Feejee Islanders and worshippers of African Fetish gods, snakes [and] toads.”¹⁹ The Northern presence was offensive to Southern sensibilities, not because it failed to conform to and partake in existing societal expectations, but

¹⁴ Butchart, *Northern Schools*, 24; Robertson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 24.

¹⁵ Adam Thomas, “Little Boats in the Storm: Racial Ambiguity and Gender in Two Post Emancipation Adoptions”, *Women’s Studies Quarterly* 43 (2015), 153.

¹⁶ Thomas, “Little Boats in the Storm,” 154.

¹⁷ Thomas, “Little Boats in the Storm,” 160.

¹⁸ *American Missionary*, July 1867, 152.

¹⁹ *American Missionary*, July 1867, 153.

rather because it showed the same hostility toward Southern systems of thought and conduct as it had previously shown in Jamaica. The Southerners suspicion that the AMA saw them as heathens little better than those worshipping traditional African gods was not unfounded. The slavery dilemma caused a slow but steady theological drift between the Northern and Southern churches, which resulted in two antithetical ways in which to view the literal and spiritual character of the Bible and the overarching mission of Christianity.

Furthermore, the AMA's progressive stance on the potential equality between the races placed it in even starker contrast to Southern religious traditions than the average Northerner. These differences were not merely academic; they amplified cultural differences and led to the AMA condemning the South as "not just sinners, but defeated sinners" and as "minions of Satan."²⁰

Each new crop of AMA volunteers contended with social ostracism and, in rare cases, violence. In one example, a group of men went to Rev. A. B. Corliss's school and "marched around [the school] twice, blowing tin horns...expecting to see the walls fall, as they did those of ancient Jericho."²¹ Most attacks like this were performed by the lower classes who feared that access to education was the last remaining privilege separating the races and were resigned to hinder and annoy efforts to educate the freedmen rather than threaten violence directly.²² When violence did erupt, the poor whites remained the usual agitators; their crimes of intimidation included "[burning] school houses...and threats so strong that many schools could not be opened."²³ While murder was the exception rather than the rule, it did occur. William Luke, an AMA Teacher, was hanged by poor members of the KKK in 1869, reportedly for poor racial etiquette.²⁴ Physical violence was more readily used against the freedmen themselves as a last-ditch effort to prevent education. In Norfolk, Virginia, one AMA teacher described the plight of two boys who were attacked on their way home from school "by a party of white trash and had all their books taken from them...it is by such [acts]...that they strive to hinder the colored children from attending school."²⁵

²⁰ Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 56.

²¹ *American Missionary*, February 1867, 27.

²² *American Missionary*, September 1868, 196.

²³ *American Missionary*, September 1868, 198.

²⁴ William Preston Vaughn, *Schools for All: The Blacks & Public Education in the South, 1865-1877*, (Lexington: U of Kentucky, 1974), 36.

²⁵ Robert Harris to Rev. Samuel Hunt, March 14 1866, American Missionary Association Manuscripts, microfilmed by University of Virginia Archives, Reel 7.

In contrast, the Southern elite used wealth to delineate themselves from African Americans and therefore were less threatened by black education. This differentiation allowed the former slavocracy to fight the influences of the Northern schoolmarm with the same veracity that characterized their fight against military and political occupation. Similarly, to the fight against military occupation meaning the creation of a quasi-military force in the KKK, the fight against the AMA meant the idealized creation of a church and school system that seamlessly fit into the traditional Southern racial hierarchy.

In general, Southern clergy were the most active in trying to undermine the growing AMA influence. Episcopal Bishop of Georgia Stephen Elliott determined that any influence, no matter how well intentioned, was a threat to the Southern order because it widened racial divisions.²⁶ One Charleston church determined that the best way to fight AMA influence was to include freedmen in their weekly services for the time being, but segregated them to the back pews deemed outside “the body of the house” until “the basement of the chapel [was] finished,” at which time it would be reassigned “to the colored portion of the congregation to hold service in.”²⁷ Traditionally, African Americans, free or enslaved, were refused entry to white churches and were only permitted to enter specific churches with plantation-supported white ministers.²⁸ This new approach toward African American spiritual needs was modeled elsewhere and was a conscious response to the pressures exerted by AMA cultural colonists. The Southern religious orders attempted to temporarily include the freed population in specific ways that remained consistent with the ingrained racial hierarchy essential to the fabric of Southern society.

As the AMA teachers determined that education was the surest way to control the freedmen’s vote and alter social conditions, the Southerners too resolved to use education as a means to promote social cohesion unified by their own ideology. An 1867 editorial in the *Montgomery Advertiser* declared that “there is no discredit” in disabled veterans of the Confederacy “teaching colored children.”²⁹ It was therefore acceptable for Southern men to teach the freed population, but it implied disapproval for white women engaging in this work, even though the majority of teachers both from the North and the South were

²⁶ Vaughn, *Schools For All*, 40.

²⁷ *American Missionary*, July 1867, 154.

²⁸ Charles Colcock Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States*, Thomas Purse 1842, 128.

²⁹ *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 24, 1867; Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 137.

women.³⁰ This reflected Southerners' ingrained fear of racial degradation and the subsequent creation of a mongrel race through interactions between black men and white women.³¹ In contrast, the prevailing notion among AMA commissioners was that female teachers were more naturally suited for the strict moral requirements for teaching freedmen, and as a result, men made up at most one third of AMA teachers.³²

The potential egalitarian ramifications of public education and the politicized nature of AMA school lessons became a constant annoyance to the Southern population. Southern education advocates often used these enormities to promote Southern-led moral, political, religious, and industrial education. The editor of the *Index* determined that black education was inevitable and argued that “[men] of the South must aid them in their moral advance, or the work will be undertaken by strangers and enemies who...seek to alienate [freedmen] from [Southerners],” and that such an education from the AMA alone will “destroy the possibility of a continuation of the friendly feeling [between the two Southern races].”³³ The Southern contingent supporting black education was not all-inclusive, but it represented a significant segment of the Southern population who were compelled to promote programs that were the antithesis of antebellum policies toward African Americans in order to secure a freed population that was more pacified to the underlying racial conceptions of Southern society.

The fight for influence in the free community extended beyond the classroom and newspapers to violent conflicts mediated only through bayonets. The AMA followed the military to the South and was inherently tied to its physical presence and conceptual war powers for protection.³⁴ When these powers proved too weak, the KKK committed atrocities through “secret but systematic violence” against the freed population and those who taught in black schools. These attacks occurred primarily in rural areas where Southern attempts to find native teachers had been stifled by lack of pay, prejudice, or poor whites' anxiety over status.³⁵ In other words, the limited resources and commitment of

³⁰ Robertson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 7.

³¹ Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001).

³² Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980).

³³ *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 24 1867; Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 137.

³⁴ Gregory Downs, *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2015). Downs does not directly reference the AMA, but does mention the limits of various Freedmen activities.

³⁵ *American Missionary*, January 1870, 11-12.

Southerners during Reconstruction prevented the widespread creation of Southern-led indoctrination schools for freed children, so the Southerners decided to expel AMA schools wherever possible through violent intimidation.

The AMA teachers recognized native-led education efforts as Southern resistance and fought to prevent Southerners from regaining a foothold of influence among freedmen. It was not enough to educate former slaves so that they might choose ideals that were consistent with their experiences and individual thoughts; the AMA instead resolved to eliminate African American choice entirely. While the AMA had good reason to be concerned about the corrosive influence of the racial hierarchy in the South, by not trusting African Americans to choose more racially egalitarian educational options, the AMA continued the pattern of abolitionist groups emasculating freedmen.³⁶ The AMA's education therefore did not focus on teaching critical thinking and literacy, but instead designed lesson plans so that "immorality [would] be crushed," specifically the vices the AMA felt were specific to the poorer classes of the South, both black and white: namely intemperance, infidelity and superstition.³⁷ S. C. Armstrong, founder of the controversial (AMA-funded) Hampton Industrial School, embodied this belief when he declared that "Latin and Greek [were] not the cure; [Black Education] must build up character" rather than knowledge.³⁸ Proper Christian education was determined to be the primary solution to racially limited opportunities and poverty stricken living conditions. This education was designed to generate black teachers who would proliferate and spread the fiscally limited AMA schools' ideas to the entire free population. The AMA's promotion of black educators was directly connected to their single-minded belief in both the potential of the next generation and the conviction that there "[would still] be some false teachers as long as [the old] generation lasts."³⁹ This forward-looking generational approach suggests that the AMA's goals were long-term and societal.

While self-sustainability was heralded as the swift endpoint to Northern benevolence, it was sermonized to a larger degree in industrial schools that advocated for education as the basis of workplace stability. Most recitation-based lessons were question based performances posed by an AMA teacher

³⁶ Carole Emberton, *Beyond Redemption: Race, Violence, and the American South after the Civil War*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 102.

³⁷ *American Missionary*, July 1867, 163.

³⁸ *American Missionary*, October 1870, 230.

³⁹ *American Missionary*, October 1870, 218.

followed by a scripted and strictly enforced response performed by students. One particularly telling lesson was introduced at the industrial school in Beaufort:

Children, what are you going to do when you grow up?

Going to work, Sir...

And what are you going to do with the money?

[Hesitation in the class] ...

What are you going to do on Sundays?

Go to [church] meetings

Who is going to pay [the preacher]?

We pays him

[When you] have you little children, what will you do with them?

Send 'em to school, sir.

Well, who will pay the preacher?

We pays him.⁴⁰

Here, freedmen came to understand that the AMA's expectation was that this rising population of educated freemen would abruptly lead the black community in self-sufficiency. School lessons and recitations in AMA schools also stressed the egalitarian nature of pilgrims to their pupils. One lesson that caused outrage by Southerners went as follows:

Where were slaves first brought to this country?

Virginia

When?

1620

Who brought them?

Dutchmen

⁴⁰ Edward L. Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1863, 307.

Who came here in the same year to Plymouth, Massachusetts?

Pilgrims

Did they bring slaves?

No.⁴¹

The AMA promoted not only pilgrim traditions but also the glorification of the pilgrims' historic legacy to their pupils. The AMA teachers were conscious to segments of the freed population who held the North culpable for the injustices of slavery and actively worked to separate this distrust of condescending and racist 19th-century Northerners from the original pilgrims who settled the North. By pointing to the absence of slavery among the pilgrims, the AMA attempted to garner trust between the black community and their cultural ancestors.

The AMA's justification for a nonviolent, yet forceful, response against the Southern way of life was not primarily rooted in the differences stemming from free labor vs. slave labor, as most contemporaries argued; instead, it was based upon the supposed religious differences between each regions' original colonists.⁴² According to the AMA, the South was colonized by Catholics, namely at St. Augustine and San Domingo, and the North was settled by the pilgrims who instilled and fostered the proper reverence of God and literature. It was therefore on the basis of a faulty religion (rather than the cotton gin and the moral disease of slavery) that the United States became "two settlements...though one name...; two people, through one nation."⁴³ At the close of the Civil War the AMA believed Catholic traditions within the Southern way of life, manifested primarily in a lack of literacy and literary appreciation, left Southerners fundamentally unfit to educate themselves, let alone freed children. This ignorance was symbolized in the contrast between the properly pilgrim New England and the Southern cities that had "few bookstores and no public library."⁴⁴ An AMA visitor to a Southern public school deemed it too chaotic and recalled a geography lesson in which the teacher asked her class "Where are the Rocky Mountains?" The class proceeded to "go over a dozen dingy maps, teacher and pupils searching together till the locality [was] found."⁴⁵

⁴¹ Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," 306; Morris, *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction*, 8; Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 88-89.

⁴² *American Missionary*, April 1870, 84.

⁴³ *American Missionary*, April 1870, 86.

⁴⁴ *American Missionary*, April 1870, 87.

⁴⁵ *American Missionary*, April 1870, 85.

The visitor described the teacher as too ignorant to be trusted with the minds of the youth and more at home as a student than as a teacher. He also touched on a fundamental problem with the Southerners' education system: the reliance more upon "recitation" rather than upon fostering truer understanding. According to the AMA, alterations to the fundamental societal ideals of the South were needed to bring it into a closer alignment with the pilgrim traditions of the North so that the United States would become truly one people.

While the majority of AMA missionaries were bent on cultural colonialism, there were some who viewed the task as too slow and demanded more literal forms of colonization. In 1869, the AMA declared that there must be an "infusion of the North upon the South."⁴⁶ Theo Bourne of New York advocated for this infusion to be literal by encouraging "a few hundred young men and women...[to] settle in various portions of the South" with the "noble aim of [extending] the Gospel; and the welfare of the colored, and also of the poor and uneducated white people of the South." Bourne determined that "such an immigration of good men and women...would sooner reconstruct Southern society."⁴⁷ In effect, Bourne was arguing for his fellow AMA patrons to not only be the intellectual inheritors of the pilgrim tradition but also to physically model their lives after the pilgrims and colonize the South in an effort to spread the proper evangelical pilgrim religion. Bourne was not dealing in hypotheticals; he immediately called for "Ten Thousand Northern Families" and was willing to give money to any family who wished to visit the South with the intention of finding a proper place to settle.⁴⁸ He also promoted the idea that "land is cheap" and that "hotels will throw off one-third of the usual fare" to encourage settlement in the South and ease Northern fears of angry Southerners.

The Catholic "Menace"

The AMA believed it was not alone in its attempt to create a more culturally homogenous United States out of the postwar rubble. The AMA connected Catholic intrusions into the South directly to black education and influence, and routinely reported "extraordinary effort" by the Catholic Church "to enshroud forever this once unfortunate race in popish superstition and darkness."⁴⁹ In

⁴⁶ Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 98.

⁴⁷ *American Missionary*, March 1870, 66.

⁴⁸ *American Missionary*, March 1870, 67.

⁴⁹ *American Missionary*, July 1870, 132.

fact, the cross denominational basis for the AMA was based upon a perceived threat. For example, the Methodist support for the AMA's broad-based evangelical mission was based upon the belief that "if Protestants do not carry science and the Gospel among [the freedmen] the Romish Church will her superstitions," and the Methodists defended their support for the AMA by declaring that "all of the real friends of Jesus should join hands, and without denominational jealousy [and] seek to cultivate this broad and promising field."⁵⁰ Local conferences in New Orleans, Nashville, Atlanta and Charleston were prompted by the AMA to adopt a resolution against the "wiles of the Papacy and the allurements of [Catholic] secret societies."⁵¹

Justifications for the AMA's fears of Catholic incursion did not stop with analyzing the religious affiliations of early American colonists. Anti-Catholic propaganda and the AMA teacher's experiences fighting Catholicism were routinely espoused in both the official journal of the AMA, the *American Missionary*, and various newspapers that regularly supported AMA actions. In 1868, the *American Missionary*, along with the *Christian Intelligencer*, planned to uncover the "subtle, but persistent, attempts of Rome to get possession of the colored mind of this country."⁵² When an AMA teacher in Wilmington discovered Catholic literature in free people's cabins, "the Testament was exchanged and [the AMA] version left in its stead."⁵³ The AMA was constantly fearful that its organization would meet the same fate as the Freedmen's Union Commission school in St. Augustine, which was forced to withdraw after the "Catholics started a school, so finely appointed."⁵⁴ This paranoia stemmed from a self-awareness about the nature of its mission to recreate Southern society based primarily upon an education system. The AMA, therefore, stressed its uniqueness against Catholic missions by declaring that "it is not enough to educate the blacks; Rome will do that, [freedmen] are made secure against [the Catholic Church's] dark wiles, only as they are taught and grounded in the faith and the doctrines of the evangelical churches."⁵⁵ Catholic schools were not only a religious threat to the AMA; the organization believed they also threatened to further degrade Southern society, and potentially all of the United States, by

⁵⁰ *American Missionary*, July 1867, 157.

⁵¹ *American Missionary*, January 1870, 2.

⁵² *American Missionary*, December 1867, 277.

⁵³ *American Missionary*, January 1868, 15.

⁵⁴ *American Missionary*, January 1868, 14.; Catherine Jones, *Intimate Reconstructions: Children in Postemancipation Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2015), 128.

⁵⁵ *American Missionary*, June 1867, 105.

promoting the superstition and ignorance that the AMA felt set the Southern colonies apart from the enlightened pilgrims.

The AMA's fear of the potential impact of Catholic intrusions did not stop at the borders of the former Confederacy. The AMA feared that a foothold among the freedmen of the South would allow for the creation of a religiously homogeneous United States, based on Catholic traditions, rather than Protestant pilgrim virtue. They foresaw this potential by conflating the Pope's temporal powers with his spiritual authority. The AMA reasoned that the Italian Unification and the loss of the Papal States in Europe meant that the Pope would soon be looking for a new source of secular power and would "turn his eye to [the] United States."⁵⁶ The AMA experienced a bout of democratic anxiety that led it to the conclusion that "with a majority of [Catholic] voters here...the head of the church [would] become the head of the nation."⁵⁷ The fight against Catholics for social control over the South was a winner-takes-all bout that held the fate of the nation in its hands. According to the AMA, it was a war for influence between two sets of cultural colonists, one side representing the pilgrims and the other representing the Catholic colonists.

The less extreme articulations of problems with the expansion of Catholics into American politics pointed to trends already present in the North. An AMA contributor explained that "Rome [had] an evil eye on [the United States], and that our next great battle will be with her hosts."⁵⁸ He first pointed to Bishop Hughes, who was sent to garner support for the Union in Catholic Europe, only to go "directly to Rome, and straightway the Pope acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States."⁵⁹ The contributor followed with the argument that Irish Americans' loyalty to Rome outweighed their support for the Union Cause and led to desertion, their denouncement of Lincoln "as a tyrant and a butcher," and the New York Draft Day Riot. Catholicism was a threat to the AMA because it made the United States vulnerable to foreign influence; the Northern based AMA equated the experience with the Irish Americans to the perceived danger of Catholic Missions to the South. The AMA feared that there was a chance for the Catholic influence to spread to the point where "in 1900 Rome would have the majority and would be bound to take the

⁵⁶ *American Missionary*, January 1868, 15.

⁵⁷ *American Missionary*, January 1868, 16.

⁵⁸ *American Missionary*, December 1867, 276.

⁵⁹ *American Missionary*, December 1867, 277.

country and rule it in the interest of the Church.”⁶⁰

The AMA framed this growth of Catholic influence as a grand Catholic conspiracy determined to “destroy what had come of Puritanism.”⁶¹ By connecting the AMA with Puritanism, the journal was again asserting themselves as the intellectual inheritors of the pilgrims. Furthermore, the journal added that the Catholic Church had never given up its “hope of supplanting Protestant freedom on these shores,” and that by recognizing the independence of the Confederacy, the Catholic Church should be held responsible for the actions of the Confederacy. By conflating the AMA and its conglomeration of evangelical denominations with puritanism and the Catholic Church with both the Southern colonists and the Confederacy, they painted a portrait of an ever-present war between Catholicism and Evangelicalism that they would naturally inherit.

Missionary Movements

The AMA had a finite amount of resources at its disposal, spending the majority of those resources fighting for influence in areas with increased competition between various benevolent societies, rather than for a sober attempt at distributing teachers based on the needs of the freed community. In 1867, Virginia had 79 total missionaries leading freed schools, easily topping the 53 average within the big five AMA supported states.⁶² Virginia in 1867 held a unique position within the Northern benevolence organizations: because it was so close to the North, nearly all major societies had at least one established school.⁶³ The major players were three separate evangelical organizations and a fourth secular society whose mission was to simply educate the freedmen without religious conversions. The AMA kept a much larger number of its missionaries in places with smaller school sizes and documented hostility toward the Northern teachers because its ultimate goal was to compete with these organizations for societal influence. Had education been a primary concern for the AMA leadership, more resources would have been directed to communities with less existing support.

By 1868 however, the three primary evangelical organizations merged under

⁶⁰ *American Missionary*, December 1867, 278.

⁶¹ *American Missionary*, December 1867, 279.

⁶² *American Missionary*, July 1867, 157-160.

⁶³ A. Taylor “Efforts Among the Negroes,” *Journal of Negro History* 11 (1926), 425; Morris, *Reading, Riting, and Reconstruction*, 13-15; Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 81.

the leadership of the AMA, and the AMA leaders decided to alter their resource allocation accordingly. In 1868 there was a stark rise in claims that Georgia was home to a Catholic secret plot to expand Rome's influence among the freed people, and the AMA took notice.⁶⁴ It responded by slashing Virginia's missionary support and transferring teachers from every other state so that Georgia, by mid-1868, had well over 100 missionaries while the average of the big five AMA supported states were left with 44.⁶⁵ Again, the resource allocation by the AMA leadership was skewed not toward areas with larger class sizes or greater destitution, but rather to areas where other societies or organizations were perceived to pose the largest threat to the expansion of the pilgrim tradition. This pattern was repeated in 1870 after reports from Texas indicated that the Catholic Church was attempting to compete across the border with AMA schools over not only freed people but also Mexican-Americans.⁶⁶ While still representing a smaller fraction of AMA support, the AMA leadership increased Texas's AMA representation by 66 percent.⁶⁷

Ignoring Agency

Perhaps most devastating to the long-term success of the AMA was its conscious refusal to understand or acknowledge the agency of freed people in the creation of the post emancipation South. Freedmen were seen by the AMA as potential voters that needed to be molded into New England pilgrim traditions, not as people with newfound agency, navigating between the choices of Northern and Southern politics or Catholic and Protestant affiliations.

⁶⁴ *American Missionary*, January 1868, 15.

⁶⁵ *American Missionary*, June 1868, 73-79.

⁶⁶ *American Missionary*, June 1867, 105.

⁶⁷ *American Missionary*, June 1870, 123-128.

Focusing on black religious expression in church services, the AMA sought to reform these practices, believing that they did not conform to pilgrim traditions. The AMA and their patrons recognized the unique power that schools had in shaping young minds to their own theological traditions. The AMA reprinted and agreed with Rev. C. L. Woodworth (long-time AMA contributor and *Congregationalist* editor) when he described how his sermons “[were] beginning to tell...the culture of the schools and [freed people] are turning away from their ignorant preachers, and demanding something more rational, and quiet, than they find in their own churches.”⁶⁸ He concluded that “the New England Church is, henceforth, to keep the company with the New England School.”⁶⁹ Missionaries used this power to steer African Americans away from the types of worship deemed too loud and emotional because they did not fit within the New England pilgrim traditions.

Rev. Woodworth was far from alone in his disregard for the religious traditions of freed people. An article penned by the *American Missionary* editors declared that the cause of faulty religion among the emancipated population derived from their style of “worship [going] back...to Ethiopia and not to Bethlehem [for its source].”⁷⁰ This, of course, is entirely false. Slaves were predominantly from western Africa, and when introduced to Christianity, it was usually at the behest of plantation masters, not fellow Africans. The black community therefore fit Christianity in with their traditional styles of worship typical in western Africa.⁷¹ The editors continued to harp on the religious violations freed churches continually broke, saying “they pray, they sing, they leap...they dance with joined hands...they scream and wail until they become insensible.”⁷² An AMA missionary complained that “[he had] laid down on my bed at night in a room back from the street, and supposed that heavy carriages or men on running horses were passing by. I could not be made to believe that the noise and the jar come from [the freedmen’s] religious assembly till I arose and went to the door of the house.” Another missionary mused that “[African Americans] could not scream worse if they were thrown into a den of lions.”⁷³

Loud worship was not the only concern for AMA reformists. Religious

⁶⁸ *American Missionary*, June 1868, 137.

⁶⁹ *American Missionary*, June 1868, 138.

⁷⁰ *American Missionary*, September 1870, 209.

⁷¹ France Ntloedibe, "A QUESTION OF ORIGINS: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ROOTS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURES", *The Journal of African American History* 91.4 (2006): 409.

⁷² *American Missionary*, September 1870, 211.

⁷³ *American Missionary*, September 1870, 212.

traditions among slaves in the South were not primarily fostered by the white ministers who were paid for by slave masters, but instead by the older women who taught children after work ended on the plantation.⁷⁴ To the self-proclaimed inheritors of the highly gendered puritan traditions, this was an abject violation of proper Protestant gender roles. The resulting AMA schools strictly enforced gender roles by creating girl specific industrial schools and promoting male church leaders. The AMA leadership contributed directly to the continuation of gender norms by favoring men for administrative positions and favoring women for teaching roles.⁷⁵ The *American Missionary* argued that femininity restored to the former slaves “[held] to the unfinished work of Christian reconciliation the same predestined position occupied by the man of her race in the political regeneration of the Republic,” and that “the moral conditions of women determines the moral conditions of the society.”⁷⁶ This was a practical reiteration of the long-standing separate spheres of influence in 19th-century America: women in the pews and men in the ballot boxes.

When the AMA declared its support for the complete enfranchisement of freedmen in the South, it was clear that it only did so under the belief that its schools would be successful in teaching proper New England ethos and civics. For this reason, the AMA deemed actions that undermined or questioned its complete authority “sinful insubordination.”⁷⁷ Speakers for the AMA explained that, without the ready help of AMA schools, the freedmen would be targets of manipulative flattery and that the freedmen “[were] no match for the cool and practiced cunning of the men,” and this, they reasoned, would lead to the political reemergence of the planter elite. According to the AMA, freedmen were essentially helpless creatures without the enlightening beacon of light of the pilgrim tradition. Freedmen were often aware of the competing interests in Northern supported schools and the strings often attached. As a result, freedmen often sent their children to inconvenient schools with tuition rather than the free schools operated by the North.⁷⁸

The AMA was utterly wrong about the nature of African American agency in their struggle for education. Several reports account children of all ages walking up to seven miles each way, each day, for the chance to receive an

⁷⁴ Jones, *Religious Instruction*, 130.

⁷⁵ Weisenfeld, “*Who is Sufficient for These Things*,” 494.

⁷⁶ *American Missionary*, March 1869, pp. 60; Butchart, *Northern Schools*, 24.

⁷⁷ Unsigned teacher in Portsmouth Virginia to Rev. Hunt, Jan 1. 1866, American Missionary Association Manuscripts, microfilmed by University of Virginia Archives, Reel 8.

⁷⁸ Vaughn, *Schools For All*, 15.

education.⁷⁹ This dedication was seemingly not reciprocated by AMA teachers. An officer in Georgia determined that one rural community would have to go without a school because the closest living accommodation for the new teacher would require her to walk one mile.⁸⁰ Former slave Edward Bradley was determined to get an education even after having to drop out of school to help provide for his family once his father died. He went on to not only teach himself how to read and write but also teach each of his siblings and eventually all of his children.⁸¹ While some schools remained tuition free, some relied heavily on tuition. Freed people often prioritized education within the expense of basic needs; in fact, many prepaid their children's tuition several months in advance to ensure the children could attend without interruption.⁸² While the AMA continued to see the freed people as a helpless tool that could be used to propagate the pilgrim religion, in reality, the freed community was eager to forge their own way with their own traditions whenever possible.

Although the freedmen gained many benefits from the AMA's work in the South, the associations primary goal was to replace Southern traditions with Northern social norms. When a group of freedmen in Selma demanded native white teachers instead of Northern strangers, the AMA determined that the African Americans were helpless and being hoodwinked.⁸³ This type of action undermined the trust between the AMA and the black community and showed the paternalistic tendencies of Northern benevolence. The attack on Catholicism is at best a neutral goal, as neither the AMA nor the Catholic Church was entirely egalitarian or respectful of minor religious differences. However, by seeking to undermine the traditions and agency of the freedmen themselves, the AMA exposed itself as an organization primarily focused on conversion rather than on education.

Conclusion

In some respects, the AMA's results were remarkable. The AMA itself

⁷⁹ R.G. Bryan to Samuel Hunt, March 1 1866, American Missionary Association Manuscripts, microfilmed by University of Virginia Archives, Reel 8.; Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 98.; Morris, *Reading, Writing, and Reconstruction*, 222.

⁸⁰ Swint, *Northern Teacher*, 98.

⁸¹ Edward Bradley, Interview by Bernice Bowden *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Administrative Files*. 1936.

⁸² American Missionary Association Manuscripts, microfilmed by University of Virginia Archives, Reel 8.

⁸³ Vaughn, *Schools For All*, 40.

estimated the total number of African Americans who were taught to read by their schools to be over 450,000. While this number seems to fail advanced scrutiny, it is clear that a substantial number of freed children were exposed to education for the first and only time in their lives. However, because the goals of the AMA were based upon the moral, social, and religious conversion of the South through freedmen, it is necessary to judge the AMA based upon this criteria and not the success of black education that was the vehicle in which its propaganda proceeded. In this respect, the AMA's results are much more complicated. While the South is now home to a host of evangelical denominations that resemble in name those that supported the AMA, they are closer in practice to the antebellum evangelicals in the South that stressed a strict literalist adherence to the Bible over the spirit of the Bible arguments that were common among evangelicals in the North.⁸⁴ The AMA's potential success in the halt of Catholic expansion into America is limited by the lack of evidence that the Catholics were attempting to expand in the first place.

Most dishearteningly, the AMA failed to live up to its most progressive and racially egalitarian creeds. Several reports indicate that missionary homes housing teachers were often ran according to traditional social norms. For example, when African American teacher Edmonia Highgate offered to share a room with a white missionary, another white teacher was incensed at the arrangement and filed a direct complaint with William Coan, mission supervisor.⁸⁵ An even more popular and telling account of racial prejudice inside the missionary homes is the marriage between biracial AMA teacher Sarah Stanley and white war veteran Charles Woodward. Ultimately, the debate on the morality of the AMA allowing such a marriage into its home led to Stanley's departure from the AMA.⁸⁶

Furthermore, the very basis of the AMA was in its supposed connections to the pilgrims and New England Puritanism, but the city where the majority of its teachers and patrons came from was New York City, and they were primarily adherents to the Second Great Awakening.⁸⁷ The AMA, then, was primarily a group of cultural colonists propagating a culture to which they themselves held

⁸⁴ Mark Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Ian Haney-Lópe, *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁸⁵ Judith Weisenfeld, "'Who Is Sufficient for These Things?'" Sara G. Stanley and the American Missionary Association, 1864-1868." *Church History* 60.4 (1991): 496.

⁸⁶ Weisenfeld, "Who is Sufficient for These Things", 503.

⁸⁷ Robertson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 33.

relatively little geographic or spiritual claim. Instead, these missionaries attempted to duplicate New England in the South because they had previously failed to do so in their hometowns.

Moral Internationalism Versus Patriotic Isolationism: An Ideological Analysis of America's Debate on the League of Nations

Kelly Cullity

Abstract: This paper examines the national debate surrounding the United States' entry into the League of Nations through an analysis of the "letters to the editor" section of the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, as well as the rhetoric propagated by politicians both in support of and against the League. This examination highlights each individual newspaper's policy biases, which inevitably influenced its readers' perspectives on the viability and success of the international organization. By analyzing the rhetoric that a select portion of the American public utilized to articulate their views on the League of Nations, an ideological framework for each opposing side of the debate on the League of Nations appears, which helps to illuminate individual Americans' eventual support or rejection of the League of Nations. These newspapers, and the politicians whose voices they privileged, clearly influenced the views of letter writers published in their papers, and in all likelihood, the selection of letters chosen for print in the first place. Ultimately, newspapers did as much to skew the terms of the debate as they did to illuminate Americans' viewpoint on this critical political question.

On November 19, 1919, fifty-three Senators voted against the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, declaring the United States' refusal to accept the peace terms of World War I. Significantly, the rejection of the treaty also denied the United States' entry into the League of Nations, an organization created by the most powerful countries with the goal of ensuring collective security for the world via international cooperation and support.¹ American President Woodrow Wilson championed the creation of the League of Nations, and the organization enjoyed broad support across the globe as a way to provide lasting peace for a world that had scarcely emerged from the most horrific war in history. Yet, the United States, one of the most influential countries in the world by November 1918, chose not to join the League of Nations, thereby minimizing the impact and viability of the international peace-keeping organization. Were those fifty-three members of the Senate adequately representing their constituents when they voted against ratification and the League of Nations? How did average Americans talk about and understand the fight for the League of Nations and the implications that joining or not joining the organization would have on the county and the world? Finally, in what ways did politicians and newspapers influence the language and ideas that constituted the framework of ideas surrounding this debate?

¹ John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Breaking the Heart of the World: Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the League of Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 264-269.

An examination of the “letters to the editor section” of the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, as well as of the rhetoric propagated by politicians both in support of and against the League of Nations, clearly reveals that the language Americans used to discuss the League flowed from Washington DC to the masses across the country. Moreover, an examination also highlights each individual newspaper’s policy biases, which inevitably influenced its readers’ perspectives on the viability and success of the international organization. By analyzing the rhetoric that a select portion of the American public utilized to articulate their views on the League of Nations, an ideological framework for each opposing side of the debate on the League of Nations appears, which helps to illuminate individual Americans’ eventual support or rejection of the League of Nations. By analyzing over one-hundred and forty “Letters to the Editor” published in the three newspapers in 1919, it becomes clear that an overwhelming majority of readers supported ratification of the League. Yet, the disparity of opinions between the letters printed in the three newspapers, highlights the influence of the political lens through which each newspaper cast the debate. From the conservative-leaning *Chicago Daily Tribune* to the liberal-leaning *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, these newspapers, and the politicians whose voices they privileged, clearly influenced the views of the letter writers published in their papers, and in all likelihood, the selection of letters chosen for print in the first place. Ultimately, newspapers did as much to skew the terms of the debate as they did to illuminate Americans’ viewpoint on this critical political question.

The November 1918 armistice to end World War I marked the beginning of what would come to be a grueling task: coming to an agreement on peace terms by the victors of the war. The four year-long battle solidified resentments between countries and established new hierarchies of international power. The winning nations established the Paris Peace Conference to find equitable solutions to the war’s lingering problems and avert another total world war in the future. Wilson – the first American president to travel outside of the country during their presidency – made the trek to Paris to represent the United States in these efforts and became essential to the peace negotiations. He was most vocal in his insistence on the creation of the League of Nations, an international organization comprised of member states that would use new forms of diplomacy to promote peace and abolish war. For Wilson, and many members of the international community, the success of the peace terms of the Versailles Treaty depended on a League of Nations to support and enforce them. Wilson’s steadfast belief in the necessity of the League of Nations led him to make many concessions during the peace talks. Having helped shape the League Covenant in Paris, Wilson returned to America in June of 1919 determined to ensure that congress ratify the Treaty of Versailles and, subsequently, allow for American involvement in the League of Nations.²

² Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2003), 83-97.

In a speech on July 10, 1919, which his audience deemed “not one of his best,” Wilson formally introduced the treaty to the Senate.³ Unsurprisingly, Wilson’s own party of Democrats responded with a standing ovation; the opposing Republicans, however, sat silent. They interpreted Wilson’s speech as lacking depth and detail regarding the League of Nations and felt that they were once again being excluded from important negotiations and decision-making.⁴ Republican frustration toward Wilson’s handling of the Treaty of Versailles stemmed from his almost total exclusion of Republicans from his envoy at the Paris Peace Conference. In a continuation of partisanship and power dynamics, Wilson refused to divulge the details of the treaty with the Senate until they had been finalized with Germany, and even then, Wilson was reluctant to share the content and direction of the League of Nations.⁵ From Wilson’s first Senate speech in July through the remainder of 1919, the Senate’s debate on the League of Nations raged as Democrats and Republicans sparred over the benefits and disadvantages of joining the international organization.

The conceptualization of an organization analogous to the League of Nations began well before Wilson took office in 1913. Throughout the early twentieth century, intellectuals, politicians, and businessmen from a variety of western nations expressed significant interest in solidifying processes to enable peace to become a constant way of life.⁶ In the United States the efforts of these men coalesced with the creation of an American League to Enforce Peace (LEP) in 1915. Former president William H. Taft and one-hundred other prominent men gathered in Philadelphia where they established a four-pronged platform for an eventual international body that would include “a permanent Court of Justice international, with jurisdiction to consider and decide all controversies of a justiciable character arising between two or more members of the League.”⁷ A clear precursor to the League of Nations, the LEP set a number of important precedents.

First, the concept of an international peacekeeping organization was not new in 1919 when Wilson introduced it to the Senate. With large conventions in Philadelphia and Washington DC, organized factions within almost every state in the country, and coverage in major newspapers, the goals of the LEP were likely known by most politicians.⁸ Second, ideological responses to the possibility of American involvement in such an organization were also beginning to form as early as 1915. In 1916, Wilson addressed the LEP at its national convention. While he asserted that he was not condoning any specific long-term peace-keeping plan moving forward, he did highlight his belief in the purpose of LEP. He stated, “I feel that the world is even now upon the eve of a great consummation . . . when coercion shall be summoned not to the service of political ambition or selfish hostility, but

³ Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (Chicago: Encounter Paperbacks, 1945), 5.

⁴ D.F. Fleming, *The United States and the League of Nations, 1918-1920* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1932), 237.

⁵ Bailey, 3.

⁶ Hamilton Holt, “The League to Enforce Peace,” *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York* 7, no. 2 (1917): 65-69, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1172226>.

⁷ William Howard Taft, “The Proposal for a League to Enforce Peace: Affirmative” *Faculty Scholarship Series 3939* (1916), https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/3939.

⁸ Holt, 67.

to the service of a common order, a common justice, and a common peace.”⁹ By contrast, former Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan believed that the LEP violated United States sovereignty: “If we join with Europe in enforcing peace, then we can hardly refuse to let them join in enforcing peace over here. And if I know the American people, there is no disposition here to abandon the Monroe Doctrine.”¹⁰ Such ideological divisions would permeate the 1919 debate on the League of Nations. Finally, and most fundamentally, American politicians expressed a strong desire for something incredibly significant to be born out of the destruction of World War I well before Wilson addressed the Senate on July 10, 1919, which makes the conversation in 1919 a continuation of what had come before.

Senate debates opened shortly after Wilson’s underwhelming speech, amidst the heat and humidity of July. Senators took turns praising and lambasting the League of Nations. Between July and December of 1919, seventy-five percent of senators would make at least one speech concerning the League of Nations on the Senate floor; some would even speak multiple times for hours on end.¹¹ Rhetorical flourishes were plentiful, and ideological beliefs of the League of Nations largely fell along party lines. Wilson’s Democratic Party overwhelmingly stood behind his proposal for the League of Nations. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, initial response to the treaty showed that out of forty-seven Democrats in the Senate, forty of them whole-heartedly approved of treaty ratification with no amendments or changes. Those who did not fall directly into the pro-League category considered themselves to either be undecided or would approve of the League with specific amendments added.¹² Republicans, on the other hand, comprised almost the entirety of the Senate’s opposition to the League of Nations. Out of forty-nine Republican senators, only one was adamantly pro-League, while the rest fell in the categories of acceptance with added amendments or complete refusal.¹³ The numbers plainly show that American involvement in the League of Nations was a partisan issue.

Politicians in support of the League of Nations cited many reasons for their approval, but the most overwhelmingly consistent reason centered on morality. As Senator Charles Swanson (D-VA) affirmed in his July speech, “Never before in a world crisis has a legislative body had dependent upon its conclusions such important and far-reaching consequences. It is recognized that without our concurrence and cordial co-operation the

⁹ Woodrow Wilson, Address delivered at the First Annual Assemblage of the League to Enforce Peace: “American Principles” Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/206570>

¹⁰ “Bryan, Under Fire Defends His Course.” *New York Times*, May 19, 1916. Accessed April 26, 2019. <http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/docview/97949335?accountid=10358>.

¹¹ Cooper, 124.

¹² Cooper, 112.

¹³ *Ibid*, 112.

contemplated League of Nations is doomed to utter failure.”¹⁴ As the first speech in the Senate after Wilson’s introduction of the treaty, Swanson set the tone for those in support of the League of Nations. He continued his speech by extolling the idyllic world order the League would create: “If observed, there is not a member of the League, great or small, that ever would have its individual political existence threatened; and no more would the history of the world be encumbered with the frightful wreck of peoples and nations through lust of conquest.”¹⁵ Swanson drove home the importance of the United States in ensuring world peace. Swanson’s rhetoric, that League supporters would soon adopt and disseminate, focused on doing what was right for the world and, subsequently, right for the United States.

League detractors in the Senate also believed that they were doing what was right for the United States by preventing the United States’ entry into the League of Nations. Republican senators, and a few Democrats, expounded on the importance of protecting American sovereignty above all else, which meant not giving over America’s decision-making power to an international body and protecting the Monroe Doctrine. Prominent anti-League senators, such as Borah (R-ID), Johnson (R-CA), and Knox (R-PA), hammered such threats into the minds of the American public. They stressed the harmful changes that joining the League of Nations would bring to the United States, including an end to diplomatic policies that George Washington and Thomas Jefferson carved out over one hundred years prior. They focused on the perceived power imbalance between Great Britain and the United States formed by the League and on their fears of undermining American sovereignty.¹⁶ Johnson doubted joining the League of Nations would benefit the United States when he declared, “All of us, believing in our traditions, loving our national institutions, should here resolve that America’s greatness shall continue unlimited and unsullied, but that greatness must be for America and Americans. We are standing at the crossroads, and one leads to imperialistic control, and the other is the straight and narrow path of Americanism.”¹⁷ Both pro-League and anti-League politicians in the Senate clearly established the terms of debate that newspapers would disseminate and many average Americans would adopt: moral internationalism versus patriotic isolationism.

Newspapers covered these two opposing ideological arguments extensively throughout 1919. Analysis of three major newspapers, *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, highlights the importance of the League of Nations

¹⁴ Special to *The New York Times*. “Opens Ratification Fight.” *New York Times*, July 15, 1919. Accessed April 27, 2019. <http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/docview/100268003?Accounted=10358>.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Special to the *New York Times*. “Borah Says League Betrays America.” *New York Times*, June 6, 1919. Accessed April 28, 2019. <http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/docview/100447987?accountid=10358>.

¹⁷ Special to the *New York Times*. “Johnson Wants Nation to be America Alone.” *New York Times*, July 5, 1919. Accessed April 28, 2019. <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/100408972/E48E9FF646B46E7PQ/4?accountid=10358>.

debate to the nation as a whole. All-encompassing coverage of speeches, partisanship, implications of passage or defeat of the treaty, and inner workings of the political process of ratification dotted the pages of these three newspapers. The liberal *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* both skewed their coverage clearly in support of the League, while the conservative *Chicago Daily Tribune* emphasized anti-League opinions within the pages of their newspaper.

Of the three newspapers, the editorial staff of the *New York Times* presented the most compelling and whole-hearted support for entry into the League of Nations. *New York Times* editorial staff member Elmer Davis highlighted his paper's advocacy: "Throughout the fight in the Senate and through the campaign of 1920 *The Times* gave its utmost support to the cause of the League and to those public men who promised to support that cause."¹⁸ Reading through the copious number of League of Nations' articles published by the *New York Times* in 1919, it is evident that the vast majority of their articles chronicling the League centered on the need for ratification of the treaty. Headlines declaring "Nation for League, Cummings Finds," "Republican Congress Majority Declared Reactionary," and "League Opponents Seen as Partisan" are representative of the kind of coverage the *New York Times* gave to the League of Nations debate and the specific message it endeavored to disseminate to its readers.

The pro-League bias of the *New York Times* permeated the body of their reporting, just as it did their headlines. In their treatment of pro-League senators, the *New York Times* often printed multiple paragraphs directly quoting their speeches with little commentary in between, choosing instead to allow the politicians to speak for themselves. When covering anti-League senators, however, they would paraphrase the majority of their arguments while providing only a handful of direct quotes. By doing this, the *New York Times* editorial staff was able to partially craft the argument of the anti-League senators for the consumption of their readership.

For example, on July 22, 1919, the *New York Times* provided coverage of that day's debates in the Senate, which pro-League senators dominated. In their reporting, they included twenty-four paragraphs featuring direct quotes from pro-League Democratic senators Pomerene (OH) and Harrison (MS). They chose not to have their arguments filtered through the lens of the editorial staff and, instead, allowed these senators to speak for themselves. At the end of the article, the writer gives the impression that equal treatment will be given to the opposing side when he writes, "The opponents of the treaty will have their turn again in the debate tomorrow. Senator Moses of New Hampshire will make the principal speech for the foes of the League of Nations."¹⁹ However, the next day's article, highlighting the views of the opposition, was only one-third the length of the previous day's article and included just four paragraphs comprised of direct quotes from

¹⁸ Elmer Davis. *History of the New York Times, 1851-1921* (New York: The New York Times, 1921), 373.

¹⁹ "League Opponents Seen as Partisan." *New York Times*, July 22, 1919. Accessed April 28, 2019.

<http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/docview/100353569?accountid=10358>.

anti-League Republican senator Moses (NH).²⁰ Even more telling, the journalist still framed this article with direct quotes from senators urging adoption of the treaty and American entry into the League of Nations. The editorial staff of the *New York Times* clearly wanted to drive the message of League adoption into the minds of their readers, even in articles that were theoretically focused on the message of the opposition.

The *Los Angeles Times* mirrored the ideological leanings of the *New York Times* and its coverage of the League of Nations debate; however, the editorial staff of the California paper offered more equal treatment of direct quotations from each group. In fact, many of the articles concerning the political dealings of the League of Nations debate were filled almost completely with direct quotes and very little editorial commentary. Nevertheless, many of their headlines still favored the League. Headlines like, “Wilson Dominates in Treaty Fight. Incompetent Management of Majority in Congress is Viewed with Alarm,” and “President’s Tour Crystallizes Public Opinion in Manner that Throws Obstructionists into Disorder,” and “Senator Reed is Egged from the Stage. A Thousand Go Wild and Refuse to Permit Address Against Treaty” clarified the *Los Angeles Times*’ take on the debate.

Whereas the *New York Times* tended to focus its reporting on what politicians and intellectuals were saying, the *Los Angeles Times* gave a voice to far more opinions of ordinary Americans. For example, in March of 1919, the *Los Angeles Times* conducted a straw poll among its readers to gauge support for the League of Nations. The results stated that 1,850 readers were for the League, 89 were against it, 50 were for a League with amendments, and 53 submitted blank ballots.²¹ They followed the poll with quotes of readers both for and against joining the League of Nations. Seven months later, as Senator Johnson (R-CA) intensified his anti-League rhetoric, the *Los Angeles Times* published an open letter from twelve of his constituents opposing the senator. In it, they assert that Johnson’s views against the League were not in line with those of this state and accused him of using the partisanship of the battle to further his own political career. They went on to assert that, “Your present course, taken in face of innumerable petitions, showing conclusively that an overwhelming majority of the people of this State do not coincide with your views, is past our understanding and we believe drastic steps should be taken to convince you that the thinking people are unalterable opposed to your arbitrary stand.”²² Is an open letter from twelve constituents out of over three million truly newsworthy? In the minds of the *Los Angeles Times* editorial staff it certainly was, as it propelled their own agenda forward of garnering support for the League of Nations.

²⁰ Special to the *New York Times*. “MNary Supports League Covenant.” *New York Times*, July 23, 1919. Accessed April 28, 1919. <http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/docview/100322124?accountid=10358>.

²¹ “Vote Exceeds Twenty to One.” *Los Angeles Times*, March 24, 1919. Accessed April 5, 1919. <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/160651420/786CFE6EABB74BC1PQ/13?accountid=10358>

²² *Ibid.*

Of the three newspapers, the *Chicago Tribune* was the ideological outlier. While the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* both actively advocated for joining the League, the *Chicago Tribune* was vehemently opposed to United States involvement in the peace-keeping organization. The *Tribune* maintained a pro-World War I stance throughout the war, advocating for intensified war efforts from citizens and the government alike. Unsurprisingly, the editorial staff of the *Tribune* faulted Wilson for what it deemed to be a lackluster military presence in Europe and the lack of a united front at home.²³ At the end of the war, Wilson's unwillingness to share the terms of the treaty until Germany formally accepted them proved particularly frustrating to the editorial staff of many newspapers, including the *Chicago Tribune*. Wilson wanted to personally introduce the terms of the treaty so that he could control the messaging to ensure maximum support from the public and Congress. Unfortunately for Wilson, the *Tribune* obtained the full text of the treaty and published it before he had his chance.²⁴ The public leak of the treaty text proved to be a major setback for Wilson and hindered his ability to define the terms of the debate. Although the *New York Times* also published the text with permission from the *Tribune*, the *Tribune's* decision to publish coupled with the editorials appearing in the paper in 1919 solidified the animus the *Tribune* felt toward United States entry into the League of Nations and any internationalist foreign policy.

Throughout 1919, the *Chicago Tribune* editorial staff emphatically repeated that the United States must stay out of further European entanglements and focus on American interests above all else.²⁵ They wrote, "What we may now hope for is a searching study of the treaty from the viewpoint of American interest and security, an open debate which will be given publicity throughout the country, and consequently a taking of counsel among the American people..."²⁶ Emphasizing American interests, they were unconcerned with the morality of the issue if it meant putting the needs of the world over the needs of the nation. In an effort to differentiate the ideology of the two political parties, the *Tribune* highlighted the Democrats' positive belief in being a part of an *international* organization, something that the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* were less prone to do. When covering Wilson's speech introducing the Versailles Treaty to the Senate, for example, the *Tribune* wrote, "Again and again the president frankly disclosed his conviction that national interest must yield to international advantage in the new world regime."²⁷ After quoting much of Wilson's speech, the *Tribune* covered the views of the opposition within the same article, stating that "those who differ from the president are standing more firmly for reservations

²³ Lloyd Wendt, *Chicago Tribune: The Rise of a Great American Newspaper*. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1979), 431-432.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 442.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 464.

²⁶ "The Senate and the Covenant." *Chicago Tribune*, date unknown. Accessed April 5, 2019.

²⁷ Arthur Sears Henning. "Take League of New War, Wilson Says. Rejection Will Break Hear of World, Senate Told." *Chicago Tribune*, July 10, 1919. Accessed April 5, 2019.

protective of American rights and sovereignty.”²⁸ Here the *Tribune* disseminated anti-League rhetoric, American protectionism, and opposition to Wilson’s internationalism.

An analysis of these three newspapers’ coverage of the League of Nations debate in 1919 provides clear insight into the specific biases that guided their coverage. Moreover, the rhetoric that each paper used to solidify their arguments came directly from politicians themselves – either in the form of direct quotes, as the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* tended to favor, or in the form of analysis that borrowed heavily from the senators’ own speeches, as was the case with the *Chicago Tribune*. Coverage of Wilson’s September 25, 1919 speech at Pueblo, Colorado, which many historians consider to be one of his best orations, crystallizes these differences.²⁹ Given on a speaking tour of the United States to convince the American people of the importance of the League, the Pueblo speech was Wilson’s last speech before a stroke left him virtually incapacitated physically and mentally for the remainder of his presidency. Analyzing the coverage of this speech by the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune* provides clarity on the bias of each of these newspapers.

Coverage of speech content and audience response to Wilson, combined with a comparison of the number of direct quotations included in the respective articles, reveals clear biases. Both the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* gave significant attention to the repudiatory concerns of League opponents. For example, the *New York Times* chose to include in its coverage Wilson’s response to concerns about Great Britain having more power in the League of Nations because of its colonies. The *New York Times* wrote, “President Wilson said that anyone who stated that the United States was put at a disadvantage was either deliberately saying what was untrue or had not read the covenant.”³⁰ The *Los Angeles Times* covered Wilson’s comments regarding the Shantung in China, a particularly contentious issue among anti-League Americans, in depth. It wrote, “The President went into the Shantung settlement at length, declaring it was the League of Nations which would give China her opportunity to free herself from the inroads made upon her by other nations.”³¹ The *Chicago Tribune*, in contrast, did not mention a single aspect of the President’s speech that rebutted anti-League views. The silence of the *Chicago Tribune* emphasizes its desire to undermine the viability of the League.

Similarly, in the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* coverage readers learned that “cheers many times interrupted his declarations”³² and that Wilson’s speech was met with

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ J. Michael Hogan, *Woodrow Wilson’s Western Tour: Rhetoric, Public Opinion, and the League of Nations*. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 23.

³⁰ Special to the *New York Times*. “Wilson Will Hold Treaty Rejected by Senate Change.” *New York Times*, September 26, 1919. Accessed April 4, 2019. <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/100388335/78BA5BC39E2D472FPQ/1?accountid=10358>.

³¹ “President Urges Flat Acceptance or Rejection of German Peace Pact.” *Los Angeles Times*, September 26, 1919. Accessed April 4, 1919. <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/160682604/73A8249CD12E41B2PQ/1?accountid=10358>.

³² Ibid.

“enthusiastic applause.”³³ According to the *Chicago Tribune*, however, the audience was “respectful and friendly, although not particularly enthusiastic.”³⁴ By amplifying or minimizing the reaction of the audience, the reporters were able to influence their readerships’ views on the treaty. If readers at home, who would never have the ability to see Wilson speak in person, felt that audiences were only mildly enthusiastic about Wilson’s advocacy for the League of Nations, it could absolutely sway their own opinions. This disparity in coverage of audience response to Wilson’s speech is the clearest instance of conflicting reporting finding its way onto the pages of the ideologically opposed newspapers and allows for a very tangible example of the importance of opinion and bias in newspaper coverage.

Finally, the number of direct quotations reporters chose to put into their articles marks another clue into the bias of these newspapers. The *Chicago Tribune* included no direct quotes from Wilson, whereas both the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* included multiple paragraphs of direct quotes in their articles on the speech. The number of Wilson’s direct quote included in the coverage is particularly significant because the inclusion of Wilson’s actual rhetoric was an important way to foster sympathy for the president’s goals in joining the League. For example, the *Times* newspapers quoted Wilson as saying, “In acquiescing in the covenant of the League we do adopt, and we should adopt, certain fundamental moral principles of right and justice.... We always have lived up to them, and we do not intend to change our course of action or our standards of action.”³⁵ These use of direct quotes from Wilson helped readers connect with his message, giving them more of an impetus to support the United States in the League of Nations. Without direct quotes, which was the style of the *Tribune*, the writing was cold and distant. In the *Chicago Tribune*, Wilson’s message lacked energy and emotion; it was lost.

Politicians crafted the political message of each side of the ideological debate regarding the League of Nations, and these three newspapers reported on the content of the debates through a skewed political lens; the pertinent question, however, is how did this rhetorical and ideological bias shape the views of average Americans? Analysis of just over one hundred and forty letters to the editor clearly shows that readers largely favored American entry into the League of Nations. Ninety-five readers wrote in to support the treaty, whereas only thirty-nine wrote in opposition; unsurprisingly, the vast majority of those in support came from the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*, while the vast majority of those opposed came from the *Chicago Tribune*. The ideological leanings of the readers submitting letters to the editor highlight the power that newspapers possessed in their reporting and ability to craft the opinions of their readership. In addition, it gives another tool with which to view the bias of these newspapers. More than likely, the editorial staff of each of these newspapers chose letters to the editor that supported their own arguments.

³³ “Wilson Will Hold Treaty Rejected by Senate Change.”

³⁴ Philip Kinsley, “Act, Then I’ll Decide,” *Wilson Word to Senate*.” *Chicago Tribune*, September 26, 1919. Accessed April 8, 2019.

³⁵ “Wilson Will Hold Treaty Rejected by Senate Change.”

For that reason, it follows that *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* would include more pro-League letters from readers, while the *Chicago Tribune* would include more anti-League letters from readers. In addition, the content of the letters submitted by the readers of the three newspapers follow a similarly fundamental rhetoric, either pro-League or anti-League, that repeats much of the politicians' ideas and language as disseminated through the content of each newspaper.

The *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* published the vast majority of the pro-League letters to the editor; in fact, almost ninety percent of the pro-League letters published came from those two newspapers. Rhetoric found in the letters shared many similarities with each other and with the language of politicians, most significantly, the morality of supporting United States engagement in the League of Nations. American readers of both newspapers specified that supporting the League to ensure a future built on peace was the right thing to do for the country and for the world. An added element of this argument that readers cited more frequently than politicians, however, dealt with the very personal human cost of war. For these readers, the League was an avenue with which they could avoid war at all costs and, subsequently, guarantee that American lives would not be lost in another great war. As World War I veteran Captain Thomas G. Chamberlain wrote to the *New York Times* in response to Republican senators' refusal to support the League:

It takes a real statesman to put personal and political grievances aside and to consider only the common good. Is the principle for which we fought to be lost in order that President Wilson may be rebuked? Few men are strong enough to turn the other cheek, but this is what we ask of Senator Lodge. We ask it in the name of 60,000 of our American comrades who now lie sleeping in lonely graves in the far-off fields of France, and who went forth to fight in the faith that they were making a better world.³⁶

While pro-League politicians utilized the language of memorializing the fallen soldier to further their political agenda, it was average Americans who diligently spread the message throughout the newspapers' pages. For many of these Americans, the reality of war was more than hypothetical; they had lost husbands, brothers, and sons. The desperate need to find a lasting peace and to protect their loved ones went hand-in-hand. As one American mother wrote to the *Los Angeles Times*, "Her heart will tell her that the only guarantee she can have of her husband or son coming home and staying is in an extension

³⁶ Thomas G. Chamberlain. "Senator Lodge's Grievance." *New York Times*, March 30, 1919. Accessed April 6, 2019. <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/100321886/fulltextPDF/4A4E5CED84A644BFPQ/1?accountid=10358>.

of the United States of America into the United States of the world.”³⁷ Within the pages of the letters to the editor sections of the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* was the connection between the morality of an internationalist foreign policy via the League of Nations and the ardent desire for the protection of American lives.

Pro-League letters to the editor spanned a wide gamut of reasons for support, beyond the moral implications of American involvement in the League. The number of letters to the editor found in the *New York Times* far exceeded the breadth of letters found in either the *Los Angeles Times* or the *Chicago Tribune*. The *New York Times* published seventy-six letters to the editor in 1919 focusing on the League of Nations, just over half of those analyzed for this study, and the vast majority of those provided positive support of the League. Clearly, the *New York Times* wanted to include as many extra voices as possible in supporting the League, including as wide a variety of Americans as possible. Interestingly, while many of the letters to the editor published in the *New York Times* came from average Americans, a fair amount also came from intellectuals in support of the League. For example, the *New York Times* published a letter to the editor from Bernadotte E. Schmitt, an historian of European diplomatic history. He wrote, “The advantage of a League of Nations consists not merely in the possibility of adjusting disputes before they become serious, but it will make the terms of peace more acceptable to the disappointed. A nation will not insist upon a strategic frontier if the League will guarantee it against aggression.”³⁸ Schmitt’s argument provided context and depth that most other lay writers’ letters to the editor did not. By giving voice to politicians, its editorial staff, intellectuals, and everyday Americans, the *New York Times* ensured that their readers would find at least one voice – and one argument – that could convince them to support the League.

One of the alternate arguments that was found in both the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* centered on the selfishness of Republican senators, who seemed willing to put their own political interests above what was best for the country. This was especially salient in the *Los Angeles Times* letters to the editor section, where numerous constituents of Senator Johnson, an ardent League foe, voiced their displeasure with his political maneuverings. In fact, many of these *Los Angeles Times* readers sent in their pro-League letters undoubtedly written through an anti-Johnson lens. As J.N. Gridley penned in his “Open Letter to Hiriam” in the *Los Angeles Times* letter to the editor section, “Although I am a Democrat, I voted to send you to the Senate, and I am writing this letter to tell you I am sorry for it, and to ask you to resign and come home.”³⁹ Gridley was not alone in his

³⁷ Christine Shelton Crouse. “Women and the League of Nations.” *Los Angeles times*, March 2, 1919. Accessed March 26, 2019. <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/hnplatimes/docview/160667312/12EE5F75B3644502PQ/2?accountid=10358>.

³⁸ Bernadotte E. Schmitt. “Can We Stay Out?: A Bad Outlook for Peace if Settlement is not Backed by a League.” *New York Times*, March 16, 1919. Accessed April 6, 2019. <https://search.proquest.com/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/100337196/pageviewPDF/E0C100876833493CPQ/2?accountid=10358>.

³⁹ J.N. Gridley. “Open Letter to Hiriam.” *New York Times*, July 14, 1919. Accessed April 6, 2019. <https://search.proquest.com/hnplatimes/docview/160718086/8093D5A878C84B19PQ/19?accountid=10358>.

repudiation of Republican senators blocking American entry into the League. In fact, pro-League letters to the editor authors in the *Chicago Tribune* went a step further and included the *Tribune* journalists themselves in the category of obstructionists. For this reason, the vast majority of pro-League letters published in the *Tribune* can also be interpreted as anti-*Tribune* letters. Joseph Jacobs wrote in to the *Tribune*, “To find a journal of your reputation and ambitions degrading a matter of such stupendous import to the level of a low factional strife among partisan politicians is a grievous sight.”⁴⁰ Another reader, the Reverend George William Brown, penned to the *Tribune*, “I am sick, heartily sick, of your attitude on the league of nations.”⁴¹ Of the ten letters to the editor in support of the League of Nations found in the *Chicago Tribune* in 1919, only one included any sort of substance regarding why ratification of the treaty and entrance into the League was of paramount importance. The rest of the letters to the editor focused on cursory issues, primarily anti-*Tribune* arguments. This was an attempt by the *Tribune* to keep the bulk of their in-depth coverage geared toward anti-League ideology and away from any salient details of League supporters’ views.

In all three publications, the anti-League rhetoric was considerably less varied. The vast majority of those who opposed the League of Nations focused on protecting American sovereignty, ensuring American power in the world, and continuing the Monroe Doctrine. Within this overarching belief in the need for American isolationism, letters to the editor writers cited various reasons for supporting this ideology. One recurring theme in these letters was the fear of established European power in conjunction with weakened American power. Likely, Americans realized the power they amassed as the country ended World War I largely unscathed, while the Europeans powers attempted to rebuild themselves and their societies. The fear of the League of Nations impacting the natural reordering of power following the war impacted the views of anti-League Americans. As Albert T.E. Smith wrote in the *Chicago Tribune*, “The league of nations would virtually abolish the republic of the United States of America.”⁴² Miss Jennie Dick echoed this sentiment when she wrote, “Once we accept the league of nations as Mr. Wilson presents it, America will become a sub ordinate nation, and, as Senator Lodge says, another flag will wave above Old Glory and we will be subject to every European breeze, of which there will be many.”⁴³ Fears of weakening American sovereignty and damaging America’s budding place as a world power rang true to many anti-League Americans.

The League of Nations debate marked an important ideological discussion on the future of American foreign policy, which politicians framed around two competing ideologies: moral internationalism versus patriotic isolationism. The Democratic Party, led by President Wilson, strongly favored entering the League of Nations, focusing on the perception that being a part of the international community was the moral thing to do to avoid another total war. The Republican Party, led by Henry Cabot Lodge in the Senate,

⁴⁰ Joseph Jacobs. “The New Order” *Chicago Tribune*, January 5, 1919. Accessed April 5, 2019.

⁴¹ Reverend George William Brown. “Makes ‘Em Ill.” *Chicago Tribune*, October 15, 1919. Accessed April 5, 2019.

⁴² Albert T.E. Smith. “The League of Nations.” *Chicago Tribune*, July 1, 1919. Accessed April 5, 2019.

⁴³ Jennie Dick. “Thank God for the Senate.” *Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 1919. Accessed April 5, 2019.

believed abstaining from the League of Nations was the only way to protect the United States from another foreign entanglement. The *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Chicago Tribune* all reported on this debate in Congress and around the country, but each did so through its own political lens, which impacted the tenor of their reporting. The *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* were both influenced by their liberal-leaning ideology and advocated for United States' entry into the League of Nations. Conversely, the *Chicago Tribune* made clear its lack of support for United States' involvement in the League of Nations because of its conservative-leaning isolationism. The ideological rhetoric that politicians utilized, and newspapers subsequently reported on, trickled down to average Americans in their own debates on the League of Nations, as seen in the letters to the editor sections of each newspaper. This impacted both the content of the letters to the editor that Americans submitted to these newspapers, and the letters that the newspapers chose to publish.

Ultimately, it is exceptionally difficult to determine how average Americans perceived the League of Nations by reading the letters to the editor section because newspapers operated with such extreme bias. The debate that transpired in 1919 was one that was founded in specific ideological views and with a clearly desired outcome from the politicians and the newspapers. For this reason, any analysis of average Americans' views via the letters to the editor section must be considered through the lens of the newspapers in which their comments appeared. By applying these considerations, we can learn a significant amount about how the editorial staffs of various newspapers viewed the League of Nations, but the true opinions of wide swaths of the American public still remain undetected.

From Starvation Flows Anarchy and Chaos: Herbert Hoover's Humanitarian Efforts During and After World War II

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Abstract: During and after World War I, humanitarian efforts assisted in the reconstruction of war-torn nations and provided desperately needed aid to starving people. Herbert Hoover led many of the humanitarian efforts in Europe from 1914 to 1923 often serving in multiple capacities at once, including heading the Commission for Relief in Belgium, the United States Food Administration, and the American Relief Association. While Hoover publicly claimed that his efforts in Europe were solely humanitarian, his work had an underlying political and economic motive, including the desire to promote American goods and fight communism abroad. Hoover considered communism to be a symptom of people in distress, not a genuine political ideology and, therefore, he could remedy communism with food and a push in the “right” direction. His humanitarian efforts fed millions in Belgium and various countries in Eastern Europe, opened new markets for American goods, and inserted American beliefs in democracy. However, Hoover did not achieve all his goals through his relief missions. Hoover failed to overthrow the Soviet government with his food diplomacy and, inadvertently, bolstered the weakened Soviet government. While Hoover expertly saved millions of Europeans from starvation, his relief programs shaped European politics for years to come.

World War I left European nations in disarray as many countries faced political and economic instability as well as enduring revolution and starvation, which threatened their populations. Both during and after the war, humanitarian efforts assisted in the reconstruction of war-torn nations and provided desperately needed aid to starving people. Herbert Hoover led many of the humanitarian efforts in Europe from 1914 to 1923 often serving in multiple capacities at once, including heading the Commission for Relief in Belgium, the United States Food Administration, and the American Relief Association. He was well-known and well-loved throughout Europe for his organization and support in providing aid to those in need. Hoover outwardly stated that the primary objective of these organizations was to supply food, medicine, and clothes to suffering European nations. While Hoover publicly claimed that his efforts in Europe were solely humanitarian, his work had an underlying political and economic motive, including the desire to promote American goods and fight communism abroad.

Hoover had twenty years of work experience in the mining industry that gave him the background he would use throughout his humanitarian career during and after the First World War. He was a junior partner of Bewick, Moreing, and Company, a London-based company, for seven years and traveled the world evaluating and managing over twenty company mines. Hoover oversaw the purchase, overseas shipment, and international

transport of large quantities of mining material.¹ After leaving Bewick and Moreing, Hoover worked as an independent mining consultant and financier, with a focus on raising money, restructuring corporate organizations, and financing new ventures. Hoover would later use his remarkable talent and experience in administration by aiding Europe during the First World War.

The build-up to World War I began in July of 1914, when American tourists were stranded in Europe, desperate to escape the impending war. These men and women bombarded the American Consul General Robert Skinner with desperate demands for help in returning to the United States. Unfortunately, England canceled all ships crossing the Atlantic, making transport difficult. Skinner came to Herbert Hoover to ask for his help in aiding the emotional tourists. Hoover agreed.² The English had already closed their banks and did not accept American money. In response, Hoover set up a loan system by which he and others used their own money to trade American dollars for British pounds. In the end, they lent out \$1.5 million in loans and only lost \$300 in the endeavor.³ Within six weeks, they cared for 120,000 Americans and arranged for ships to send them home. Aiding the stranded American tourists was Hoover's first encounter with humanitarian relief work, initiating a mid-career change that thrusted him from the mining industry into public life and humanitarianism. The invasion of Belgium at the onset of fighting elevated the humanitarian need to a whole new level, and again, Hoover quickly took the lead.

In August of 1914, Germany invaded the neutral country of Belgium, seizing all of its agricultural harvests. Belgium had been a thriving center of industry, finance, and international trade, but the German invasion halted all commerce.⁴ The paralysis of Belgian international trade had immediate dire consequences, as the country imported 70 percent of its food.⁵ The British and French blockade of imports to Germany meant that the Belgians could not obtain the food they desperately needed, and the Germans refused to feed them. Allied generals also refused to supply food to the 7,500,000 Belgians and 2,000,000 citizens of northern France, which was also occupied by Germany, despite international war protocols designed to protect civilians.⁶ The Allied nations did not want to risk food or supplies falling into the hands of the belligerent nations. American engineer, Millard Shaler, estimated that without aid, the Belgians would starve within two weeks.⁷ Understanding that the nations involved in the war would not help the suffering Belgians,

¹ Richard Ernsberger Jr., "The 'Man of Force' Who Saved Belgium," *American History* 49, no. 1 (April 2014): 36-38, <http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mih&AN=94092893>.

² Alfred Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover* (New York: Putnam, 1967), 127-128.

³ Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: Years of Adventure, 1874-1920* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1952), 145.

⁴ Ernsberger, "Man of Force," 36.

⁵ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 130.

⁶ Ernsberger, "Man of Force," 36.

⁷ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 130.

Hoover created a private entity called the Commission for Relief in Belgium (CRB) in October 1914. The CRB operated entirely on volunteer efforts in contributing food, money, clothing, medicine, and in distributing those goods. The United States and, interestingly, Great Britain and France primarily funded the CRB. The allied governments of Britain and France were not willing to actively feed the Belgians before Hoover's involvement, but they were comfortable funding the relief efforts. Hoover naively believed that the war would be over by the next summer and the CRB's work would finish. Instead, the war dragged on, and Hoover began what became a four-year humanitarian relief mission.

The first issue Hoover had to overcome was procuring ships to transport goods and sailing those ships passed the Allied blockade and the German submarines. Hoover negotiated with both the British and German governments for safe passage. His negotiations got him in trouble later when a disgruntled ex-CRB member accused him of breaking the hundred-year-old Logan Act, which criminalized private citizens negotiating with foreign governments.⁸ Both Germany and Britain initially refused to negotiate, thinking the CRB was composed of spies for the other side. Eventually, British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith agreed to allow Hoover's ships to pass the blockade on the condition that Hoover prevents supplies from falling into German hands. German Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg also agreed to tell the submarines not to torpedo the Belgian aid ships, as long as they were clearly marked and also agreed the Germans would stop seizing food and supplies from the Belgians.⁹

Unfortunately, the Germans reneged on their promises, when some of their submarines "accidentally" torpedoed Belgian aid ships and German troops stole supplies intended for the Belgians. Hoover intervened first by taking control of Belgian slaughterhouses after Germans were caught buying cattle from the Belgians. Similarly, he took control of the sale and manufacture of all cloth and clothing in Belgium when he discovered Germans taking donated clothing and reweaving them into military uniforms.¹⁰ Hoover had to return to Germany multiple times during his years as head of the CRB to insist the Germans abide by the already agreed upon terms to protect Belgian civilians' livelihood.

The CRB claimed to serve all those suffering from German invasion, but it prioritized helping women and children. Hoover sent American specialists to determine how to best sustain the Belgians including how many calories a child needed to survive. Throughout its years, the CRB opened soup kitchens and set up school lunch programs to ensure the Belgians received the aid, and the Germans did not. Between 1914 and 1919, the CRB distributed five million tons of food, primarily wheat and corn, which accounted for two million tons and 450,000 tons respectively.¹¹

⁸ Hoover, *Memoirs: Years of Adventure*, 199.

⁹ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 133-134.

¹⁰ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 135-136.

¹¹ Hoover, *Memoirs: Years of Adventure*, 182

Hoover claimed that the importance of food aid in the war was second only to military action and proclaimed that he had pioneered the first food administration in history.¹² When the United States entered the war in 1917, Hoover transferred control of the CRB to other neutral nations, the Netherlands and Spain, though the United States would continue to contribute financially to Belgian relief. Hoover's work in Belgium set him up for future appointments in humanitarian food relief during and after the war.

Hoover's admirable efforts in Belgium gave him an impressive reputation throughout the world and influenced President Woodrow Wilson's decision to appoint him as head of the United States Food Administration (USFA) in 1917. Hoover's responsibilities as the U.S. Food Administrator were to assure the supply, distribution, and conservation of food; facilitate the transportation of food; and prevent hoarding.¹³ Hoover's appointment was necessary because Europe's continual fight against starvation and the United States' poor crop season of 1916 led Americans to worry about potential starvation at home, resulting in their hoarding of food.¹⁴ The U.S. Food Administration was a direct response by the United States government to calm Americans' fears of starvation and to implement a propaganda-like food conservation program that proclaimed "food is ammunition, don't waste it."¹⁵ The mindset of food as ammunition would be essential in Hoover's later humanitarian efforts across Europe.

Herbert Hoover opposed the implementation of a federal food rationing program because it had "socialist overtones," and instead convinced Americans to self-regulate their consumption of food voluntarily.¹⁶ Hoover encouraged Americans to go back to simple foods through a program Americans referred to as "Hooverizing." To "Hooverize" was to support the "righteous" American troops and U.S. allies who were suffering and starving at the hands of the "evil" Central Powers.¹⁷ Hooverizing shifted eating habits, culinary practices, and domestic food preparation throughout the United States. Americans were pressed to have more home-grown fruits and vegetables and were prompted to plant "victory gardens" in their homes and public spaces.¹⁸ The U.S. Food Administration promoted drying and canning extra food and reducing the consumption of wheat and red meats, which were desperately needed abroad. Production and self-reliance became equated, especially among women and children, with fulfilling one's civic and patriotic duty as Americans on the home front.¹⁹

¹²Hoover, *Memoirs: Years of Adventure*, 172, 220.

¹³Peter I. Rose, "Getting to Know Herbert Hoover: Enigmatic Humanitarian," *Society* 47, no. 6 (2010), Rose, 531.

¹⁴Tanfer Emin Tunc, "Less Sugar, More Warships: Food as American Propaganda in the First World War," *War in History* 19, no. 2 (2012): 197.

¹⁵Rose, "Getting to Know Herbert Hoover: Enigmatic Humanitarian," 531.

¹⁶Tunc, "Less Sugar, More Warships," 197.

¹⁷Tunc, "Less Sugar, More Warships," 197.

¹⁸Tunc, "Less Sugar, More Warships," 199.

¹⁹Tunc, "Less Sugar, More Warships," 202.

Middle-class and upper-class women became the most susceptible to these propaganda campaigns and were responsible for the spread of Hoover's conservation program as many "rallied around the flag."²⁰ The federal government offered women free lessons on conservation, helped distribute war-time recipe books, and urged other Americans to conserve vital foods. The U.S. Food Administration told American women that "hunger breeds madness" and convinced them of their humanitarian duty to Hooverize since hunger could extinguish not only lives but also freedom and democracy by compelling starving masses to seek socialist alternatives.²¹ With this food conservation program, Hoover began to inject anti-communist rhetoric into his humanitarian efforts. This tone would infiltrate Hoover's humanitarian aid in the years after the war.

At the Paris Peace Conference in January 1919, world leaders began discussing issues of aiding and reconstructing war-torn Europe. Woodrow Wilson appointed Herbert Hoover to serve as an advisor to the American delegation because of Hoover's first-hand experience aiding and negotiating with the Europeans. Hoover administered the relief and rehabilitation of Europe primarily through the American Relief Administration (ARA). According to the ARA's historian H.H. Fischer, the primary goal of the agency was to provide food relief, but it also engaged in other work including rehabilitation and to be a "catalyst for sustainable development."²² While the ARA fed starving Europe and helped rebuild the devastated countries, it did so by using volunteerism as an administrative tool and used food to undermine communist regimes.

Hoover made no claims to deny he was an active participant in the broader international struggle against Bolshevism. Hoover commented how "it soon became obvious that some governments were not organized strongly enough to take on the task of feeding some six or seven million children still on our hands."²³ He viewed the millions of starving children as "not only pitiable little persons, but they were a menace to their nations. Unless remedied, their distorted minds were a menace to all mankind."²⁴ Hoover believed that without the necessary foodstuffs, populations in Europe would turn, as many did, to political extremism including Bolshevism, which would have a considerable appeal. While he was clearly against the spread of Bolshevism, he also saw no contradictions between invoking humanitarian themes and hoping for the fall of all communist regimes. Hoover considered communism to be a symptom of people in distress, not a genuine political ideology and, therefore, he believed that he could remedy communism with food and a push in the "right" direction.²⁵

²⁰ Tunc, "Less Sugar, More Warships," 194.

²¹ Tunc, "Less Sugar, More Warships," 204.

²² Rose, "Getting to Know Herbert Hoover," 532.

²³ Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: The Cabinet and the Presidency, 1920-1933* (London: Macmillan, 1952), 20.

²⁴ Hoover, *Memoirs: Years of Adventure*, 321.

²⁵ Bruno Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 240.

In addition to supplying food to Europe's destitute population, Hoover also concerned himself with securing European markets that could relieve American farm surpluses as a result of war-time farming. These situations fueled his fight against the continued Allied blockade.²⁶ After the war ended, the Allied governments wanted to continue the blockade of belligerent, neutral, and newly formed countries. Twenty-eight European countries needed aid due to Europe's high inflation, high unemployment rates, and increased cost of living. Hoover overstepped the Blockade Committee claiming that "starvation does not await the outcome of power politics."²⁷ Subsequently, Hoover also kept allied European nations out of his relief administrations because he believed their hatred and desire for vengeance would cloud their judgment when it came to feeding enemy nations.²⁸ Hoover firmly believed that "unless Europe could be fed, pestilence stopped, and reconstruction started, there could be no peace in Paris."²⁹

Hoover's refusal to admit Allied European nations into his relief administration upset the Allied nations, and he attempted to lessen their chagrin by declaring that the United States would not use food, medicine, or clothing for political pressures and claimed only to aid in setting up effective organizations. The United States Congress also stepped in and passed the Lodge Amendment which barred charity to the enemy. This amendment motivated Hoover to find other ways to feed the children in those countries. He quietly gave money to the Friends Service Committee, a Quaker committee that fed the children in enemy nations that Hoover could not maneuver his way into.³⁰ Hoover still found ways to intervene in countries that were threatened by communist revolutions through food diplomacy. He believed it was his duty to feed starving Europe because "from starvation flows anarchy and chaos," and Hoover actively tried to stop the spread of Bolshevism throughout central Europe in countries like Austria, Hungary, Finland, and Poland.³¹

Austria could not provide for its starving citizens or to even partially pay for Hoover's aid. Hoover determined that Austria needed the ARA's assistance and used contributions from other counties and the money allotted to the ARA by Congress and charitable organizations to feed the Austrians. ARA officials reported to Hoover that there were rumors of an uprising on May Day, May 1st in Austria. Herbert Hoover asked the Austrian government to post on the city walls "any disturbance of public order will render food shipments impossible and bring Vienna face to face with absolute famine."³² His threat was deemed successful, and the fear of starvation kept the Austrian people from a

²⁶ Lawrence Emerson Gelfand and Hoover Presidential Library Association, *Herbert Hoover-The Great War and Its Aftermath, 1914-1923 (Herbert Hoover Centennial Seminars; 1)* (University of Iowa Press, 1979), 87.

²⁷ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 160-161.

²⁸ Herbert Hoover, *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1992), 94.

²⁹ Hoover, *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson*, 89.

³⁰ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 164-165.

³¹ Herbert Hoover, Woodrow Wilson, and Francis William O'Brien, *Two Peacemakers in Paris: The Post-Armistice Letters; 1918-1920* (College Station, TX: Texas A and M University Press, 1978), 26.

³² Benjamin M. Weissman, *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia, 1921-1923* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1974), 34.

revolution. Even though threatening to prevent access to food aid was uncharacteristic of his previous humanitarian efforts, especially those in Belgium, Hoover's strong anti-communist motives changed the way he administered aid to central Europe. This ideology would be tested by events in Hungary.

Hungary, like Austria, had few financial resources but received the ARA's services regardless. However, Hungary had a short-lived communist government in place, and Hoover sought to find a way to feed the Hungarians without aiding the government. Hoover released a statement declaring that the relief in Hungary was purely humanitarian to avoid the appearance that the ARA supported Hungary's communist government. The changing of Hungary's boundaries by peacemakers in Paris, Hoover believed, denuded Hungary of its industrial and agricultural areas vital to national existence which gave rise to its communist impulses.³³ On March 22, 1919, Bela Kun declared himself dictator of Hungary. Bela Kun, the communist dictator of Hungary, was taken by the Russians as a prisoner of war during World War I and indoctrinated by Lenin before being sent back to Hungary to start a communist revolution.³⁴ While simultaneously providing relief to the Hungarians, Hoover attempted to dispose of their leader. By planning to overthrow Kun, Hoover became deeply involved in European politics and demonstrated his desire to block the spread of Communism. Hoover's newfound willingness to intervene in European politics added a powerful new motive to Hoover's humanitarian efforts.

Hoover implemented a similar tactic of food diplomacy in Hungary as he had in Austria by appealing to the masses' desire and need for food. On July 26, 1919, Hoover warned the Hungarian people that food relief would not be forthcoming unless there was a government that was more representative and responsible than the communist regime of Kun. On August 1st, Hungarians overthrew Bela Kun. Hoover saw the Hungarians removal of Kun as a direct response to his threat to withdraw food relief.³⁵ Hoover's ability to supply and deny relief meant that he could assist anti-Bolshevik nationalists while opposing the reactionary regime in Hungary. Hoover would use his political influence in Poland, as he had in Hungary.

Germany, Austria, and Russia shared parts of Poland for one-hundred and fifty years before Poland received its independence after World War I. General Jozef Pilsudski took over shortly after the war and declared himself dictator of Poland. The Allied nations would not recognize Poland as a legitimate independent country with Pilsudski at the head. Hoover attempted to negotiate with Pilsudski to instate Ignacy Paderewski, a famous Polish pianist, as Prime Minister and allowing Pilsudski to be chief of state. Hoover's plan succeeded, and Poland gained recognition as an independent country, but Hoover's meddling in Polish politics quickly backfired since Paderewski was not familiar with administering a country.³⁶

³³ Hoover, *Memoirs: Years of Adventure*, 397.

³⁴ Hoover, *Memoirs: Years of Adventure*, 398.

³⁵ Hoover, *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson*, 139.

³⁶ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 172-173.

Hoover became involved in the politics of newly independent countries again when France denied Finland the right to be recognized as an independent nation. For a century before its independence in 1917, the Russians ruled over Finland. After the war, Finland wanted recognition as an independent country, but France refused. Without recognition, Finland could not trade or sell products with other countries. Hoover, feeling France wrongfully blocked Finland from independence, again injected himself into the political scene. Hoover and Wilson met with the French Prime Minister, George Clemenceau, to mediate discussion of Finland's independence and were successful. Finnish people were elated to gain their independence and praised Hoover expressing that "the recognition of Finland has been brought about entirely by Mr. Hoover, by his urgent and repeated representations to the various governments."³⁷

Hoover used his role as head of the ARA not only to feed central Europe but also to shape its political governments pushing them away from Bolshevism and toward more democratic states. While his food diplomacy in Austria and Hungary worked to dispel any communist leaders or threats of revolution, his direct political engagement in Poland backfired and left the Poles with an incompetent ruler. Of these four countries, only Finland was relatively untouched by Hoover, likely because Finland wanted recognition as an independent country, and he did not have to intervene in Finnish politics directly but only had to negotiate with the French Prime Minister. Hoover would not be allowed to use such bold tactics when he administered to the starving Russians a few years later because the Soviet government was wary of Hoover's prior political interventions and blatant anti-communist feelings and demanded that the ARA stay out of Russian politics.

During the Russian Revolution (1917) and the Russian Civil War (1917-1922), the Bolsheviks came to power and raided the peasants' grain storages. The Bolshevik policies left the plains of places like the Volga Valley with little to no grain reserves. By the spring of 1921, it was apparent that Russia would be facing a severe famine, ultimately threatening twenty-five million Russians.³⁸ Russian author Maxim Gorky appealed to the world for aid on July 13, 1921, but the Soviet government would not officially announce the seriousness of the famine until August 2nd. With the official admission that Russia needed aid, Vladimir Lenin announced he was willing to cooperate with capitalist powers as long as they do not get involved politically in Russia.³⁹ Herbert Hoover once again took control of the Americans relief to the Russians, and he tried to change public opinion of the Soviet government covertly.

The Allies were intent on making war with Red Russia and wanted to reinstate the previous tsarist regime. Hoover refused to start another war, since World War I had scarcely ended, and instead determined that the ARA had a chance to stop the fighting and at the same time save millions from starvation by feeding Russia.⁴⁰ William C. Redfield,

³⁷ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 172-173.

³⁸ Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, 190.

³⁹ Weissman, *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia*, 4, 11.

⁴⁰ Hoover, *Memoirs: Years of Adventure*, 411-412.

President of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, furthered Hoover's reasoning behind feeding Russia by giving two reasons for Americans to aid Russians during famine relief:

The first reason is humanity. The second reason is that of our own domestic trade...Russia will someday come again to her own...When she recovers, she must turn for guidance and supplies of every kind for reconstructing her new life to that nation which has been supremely her friend in her times of trial...Nothing could be more certain to react largely and favorably upon American business than unselfishness at this moment.⁴¹

By bringing food to Russian civilians, Hoover hoped to demonstrate both the negligence of Communist authorities and the generosity of American capitalists all while creating markets for American goods in the years to come.⁴²

American and Russian delegates met to discuss the terms of famine relief in Riga, Latvia in 1921. Hoover demanded that the Russians free the eight known American prisoners, give full liberty to the Americans to administer relief including allowing the ARA to travel without interference, and required Russians would pay to store food, transport food, and distribute food on a non-biased basis. The Russians agreed as long as the Americans did not try to get involved politically, as they had in central Europe, and they released about one-hundred American prisoners.⁴³ The agreement between the Americans and Russians signed on August 20, 1921, referred to as the Riga Accords, officially began the ARA's Russian relief administration.

Feeding the Russians while avoiding restoring its economy and bolstering the communist government was a difficult undertaking, and many European nations did not agree with the United States' and Hoover's involvement in famine relief. The American people were not convinced of Hoover's plans either, but Hoover appealed to the idea of American exceptionalism by stating that "our people, who enjoy so great liberty and general comfort, cannot fail to sympathize to some degree with the blind gropings for better social conditions."⁴⁴ He also justified the ARA's involvement in Russian famine relief because "to assert the humanitarian right for the starving people of Russia was to affirm their rights to political stability and give them a chance to rejoin the ranks of civilized nations."⁴⁵ While appealing to the American public, he also claimed the Russian people wanted freedom from their Communist leaders, and the Americans had a duty to protect people from communism.

While Russian relief took many of the same forms as relief in Belgium and Central Europe, Russia showed signs of worse starvation than other parts of Europe. People ate bark and leaves to sustain themselves, there were no cats or dogs, and most disturbingly,

⁴¹ Weissman, *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia*, 103.

⁴² Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, 196.

⁴³ Hoover, *Memoirs: The Cabinet and the Presidency*, 23.

⁴⁴ Hoover, Wilson, and O'Brien, *Two Peacemakers in Paris*, 87.

⁴⁵ Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, 240.

there were signs of cannibalism.⁴⁶ The ARA had to act fast to relieve the millions of suffering Russians. The first relief ships left New York in mid-January carrying 200,000 tons of grain.⁴⁷ Like Hoover's prior work, the ARA prioritized feeding the children first by constructing soup kitchens. All food was to be prepared and eaten on site to prevent children from being robbed of their food.⁴⁸ By August 1922, the ARA fed 11 million Russians every day in 19,000 kitchens.⁴⁹

The ARA had a herculean task ahead of it in feeding the starving children, and later the adults. They started with only 200 American supervisors in Russia and employed the help of 120,000 Russians to assist in distributing aid across the nation.⁵⁰ Russian citizens helped rebuild the railroad system that had been destroyed during the Russian Civil War to allow food to move across the vast nation quicker. The ARA also provided vaccines, as diseases like typhus spread across Russia, and provided farmers with wheat seeds for the next year's crop.⁵¹ Hoover and the ARA's efforts to assist the stricken nation with food and vaccinations allowed the Russians to work toward their self-reliance as well as demonstrate the Communist regimes inability to support its people.

By April 1922, Hoover considered withdrawing aid from Russia, stating that "relief must be confined to adverting actual starvation."⁵² Hoover believed that Russia was becoming self-reliant because ARA officials predicted Russia would have an abundant harvest due to adequate rainfall. Russia also set up trade with other nations that allowed them to import their own food and not rely on the ARA. The promise of a good harvest and successful trade negotiations indicated that Russia would soon be self-sufficient. There was not a consensus on Hoover's decision to withdraw aid, but the ARA decreased relief through the winter of 1922 and ultimately left Russia after the harvest of 1923.⁵³ Maxim Gorky commended the ARA's relief efforts, insisting that their "help will be inscribed in history as a unique, gigantic accomplishment worthy of the greatest glory and will remain in the memory of millions of Russians who were saved from death."⁵⁴

Herbert Hoover was a skilled organizer of humanitarian efforts as seen by his continual presence in Europe between 1914 and 1923. He was trusted to facilitate the delivery of desperately needed goods, and other leaders went to him for advice or seeking help. While his early relief efforts in Belgium were seemingly free of political intrusions, his later aid in central Europe and Russia had, both covert and overt, political implications and

⁴⁶ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 189.

⁴⁷ "The Great Famine," PBS, accessed May 8, 2019, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/famine/#transcript>.

⁴⁸ Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, 234.

⁴⁹ "The Great Famine," PBS, accessed May 8, 2019, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/famine/#transcript>.

⁵⁰ "The Great Famine," <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/famine/#transcript>.

⁵¹ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 189.

⁵² Weissman, *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia*, 132.

⁵³ Weissman, *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia*, 134.

⁵⁴ Steinberg, *Herbert Hoover*, 189.

anti-communist motives. Hoover fed millions of Europeans, opened new markets for American goods, and inserted American beliefs in democracy in places like Austria and Hungary. However, Hoover did not achieve all his goals through his relief missions. He failed to overthrow the Soviet government with his food diplomacy and, inadvertently, bolstered the weakened Soviet government. The ARA's food relief allowed the Soviet government to focus their power and limited resources to other reform policies strengthened the Soviet leaders because they did not have to focus their efforts on feeding their starving population. While Hoover expertly saved millions of Europeans from starvation, his relief programs shaped European politics for years to come.

Convict Labor: The Modernization of Southern Tradition

Jordan Dietrich

Abstract: Industrialist and southern state governments used the clause “except as a punishment for crime” in the thirteenth amendment to justify three methods of convict labor: the convict lease system, chain gangs, and peonage (debt slavery). This paper looks at the use of convict labor in Georgia in the wake of the abolishment of slavery. While prior historians treated these methods as separate, I will argue that it is more accurate to treat convict labor as a singular entity. Despite legal and custodial changes, the system of convict labor did not face a meaningful end until World War II. My research shows that labeling citizens as criminals justified a system of inhumanity built solely for profit in industries like coal and later building state roads. To those caught in the vice grip of Georgia’s “justice” system, labels made little difference in the daily experience of hunger, violence, and punishment. Instead, convict leasing allowed the South to maintain its racial hegemony and control of an exploited labor force while modernizing and profiting. While early research emphasized progressive reformers’ role in ending convict leasing, the resiliency of convict labor as a whole show that private entities ignored public scrutiny for decades. Only when the system lost its profitability did Georgia experience change in its convict labor system. This paper emphasizes that, much like slavery, the long-term consequences of convict labor as black labor exploitation quite literally built the American road to economic wealth.

Most Americans learn that at the end of the Civil War, America ended slavery with the thirteenth amendment, emphasizing the words “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, ...shall exist within the United States.” However, few pay attention to what comes after that first comma, “except as a punishment for crime where of the party shall have been duly convicted.”¹ With this collective amnesia, we buried what could arguably be the most inhumane treatment of Americans in our history, convict labor, in the form of the convict lease system developed in the wake of Reconstruction, and its equally corrosive next iteration, the chain-gang.

While this might seem like a bold claim for some students of American history, particularly those familiar with the history of slavery or the consistent mistreatment of American Indians, the level of depravity and violence in the name of industrial profit makes convict labor unique amongst a long history of brutality. From the late 1860s through the 1940s, under the guise of “punishment for a crime,” private entities, states, and local governments sought to extract as much labor as possible from a population of overwhelmingly able-bodied black men. These institutions of convict labor are at least as abhorrent as America’s long institution of slavery, which is often thought to be the absolute form of oppression. This becomes evident when one considers that even as entrepreneurs

¹ [Amendment] U.S. Const. amend. XIII. Sec. 1.

and state/local governments sought the benefit of convict labor, convicts were not individually valued, even as property or an individual investment. Convicts toiled in violent, dangerous inhumane conditions, where commonly those tasked to look after their wellbeing “expended less than what was needed for subsistence”. They did not care if convicts lived or died, so long as they were profitable, because as an early lessee aptly pointed out under these circumstances, “One dies, get another.” These systems of exploitation were allowed to flourish in the majority of southern states from the beginning days of Reconstruction, and legally states continued the practice into the early twentieth century, with Alabama being the last to outlaw the convict lease system in 1928.² Despite de jure change along the way, the de facto end of peon convict labor was only officially enforced when America sought to limit the fodder for Nazi and Japanese propagandists in WWII and chain gangs largely met their demise in New Deal era.³

Early scholarship of the convict lease system aimed to show that in the wake of the Civil War, the destruction of the South created a prime opportunity for a new system of labor exploitation to develop in order to replace slavery. Convict leasing allowed capitalist entrepreneurs to find cheap labor with which to rebuild infrastructure in the South and lure in Northern investors with the aim of industrialization. Yet these historians, including A. Elizabeth Taylor in the 1940s, were quick to believe that the moral crusade of progressive reformers defeated the institution and the corrupt industrialists who profited. While Taylor’s work was groundbreaking, its emphasis on progressive reformers and newspapers’ criticism of convict leasing as the leading cause of its political unpopularity and ultimate downfall fails to address why decades of prior criticism did not defeat convict leasing. However, Taylor’s strengths come in the description of human tragedy brought on by convict leasing and extensive coverage of Georgia’s desire to repurpose convict labor for road construction.⁴

While his work comes sixty decades later, the journalist Douglas Blackmon’s work echoes Taylor’s in the focus on criticism and human tragedy. However, he goes far deeper into the cruelty inflicted on convicts and investigative efforts to end or reform convict leasing. For all Blackmon’s brilliant reporting though, he errs in the basic premise of insinuating that convict labor is “slavery by another name,” particularly as his research indicates it is of a far more brutal nature than slavery. Yet, he is the only living scholar who identifies the effect WWII has on convict labor. While Blackmon’s work is primarily

² Matthew J. Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866-1928*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 3-4.

³ Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black People in America from the Civil War to World War II*. (New York: Anchor Books, 2008), 381.

⁴ Elizabeth A. Taylor, “The Origins and Development of the Convict Leasing System in Georgia,” *The Georgia Quarterly*, vol 26, no 2. (June, 1942): pp. 113-128, www.jstor.org/stable/40576830.

Elizabeth A. Taylor, “The Abolition of the Convict Lease System in Georgia,” *The Georgia Quarterly*, vol 26, no 2. (June, 1942): pp. 273-287, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40576850>.

focused on the state of Alabama, he successfully interweaves the ways convict labor infects the South as a whole.⁵

The biggest bodies of research of convict labor come from Alex Lichtenstein with his singular focus on Georgia and Matthew Lichtenstein with his focus on the South. Their research depicts convict labor across the South as allowing for rapid rebuilding and industrialization while preserving a racial hierarchy, satisfying both redeemers and northern interests, but also being distinctly different than the institution of slavery. However, their singular focus on economic and political aspects fails to depict the depravity of the system. Both men focus far too little on peonage or misdemeanor convict leasing. These forms of exploitation are highlighted in Blackmon's work as prime examples where the small players and acts of evil flourished.⁶ Unfortunately, the collective body of research around convict labor, focuses more on the lessees and state actors, and not the convicts themselves. The effect of convict labor for vested parties is easily observed, but less obvious are the consequences for those who managed to survive. Scholarship makes it clear that laws are written to intentionally criminalize black people, which serves as confirmation bias to ideas of racial inferiority and justifies their mistreatment. Yet historians seem to dance around the issues of what it means to label black Americans as criminals for the black community itself, failing to address the long-term consequences. This is an important aspect of Michelle Alexander's trailblazing work on mass incarceration and one wishes her research covered this time frame as well.⁷

While essentially all southern states had convict labor systems, Georgia is unique in that its perfect storm of conditions created a textbook prototype of convict leasing amongst the southern states. Convicts were used in a wide variety of industries, spreading profits amongst numerous capitalist entrepreneurs in the state's postwar economic transformation. For this reason, it outlasts many other states' usage of convict leasing. Combined with a consistent "political narrative" and "progressive transition" into chain gangs, Georgia became the focus of study for many historians on the subject. In addition, from its earliest days, criticisms of convict leasing are well documented and public knowledge, as is the fight to end the practice.⁸ This essay focuses on the state's legal switch from convict leasing to chain gangs under the guise of humanitarian progressive reform and the public good, despite consistent conditions for convicts. I will argue that in the state of Georgia, convict labor should be treated as singular entity from the end of the Civil War until World War II, because despite legal and custodial changes, meaningful changes do not appear until this moment. There are more similarities than differences between convict leasing and the chain gang. Dividing the two into separate eras creates a false image

⁵ Blackmon, *Slavery by another Name*.

⁶ Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another*.

Alexander Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South*. (New York: Verso), 1996.

⁷ Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. (New York: The New Press), 2012.

⁸ Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor*, xv.

of progress that convicts would not have recognized. In one way or another the state's wealth and modernization was built upon convicts' labor, but the convicts themselves would not benefit from these gains.

Large scale convict labor is "born out of empty treasuries and increasingly large numbers of convicts."⁹ Prior to the Civil War, Georgia held a minuscule number of prisoners, conceivably as the largest population of those who would be imprisoned were under authority of slaveowners, rather than the state. As the war ended in 1865 only four convicts remained in state custody, but nearly half a million newly freed people led white Georgians to refocus on the penal system. In the following years the percentage of white convicts went down, while the number of black convicts dramatically increased. By 1868 blacks made up 177 of the 205 people who were sent to prison. The state faced a question of what to do with the many convicts whom they did not want to reform or teach valuable skills that would transfer to post-prison life. A three-person committee appointed by Governor Jenkins determined the best solution was a convict labor system that fostered economic development, extracted natural resources, and punished through manual labor. In a clear indicator of corruption to come, the committee included Mark Copper, whose new company, the Iron and Mining Company of Dade County, stood to benefit from the availability of convict labor. The general assembly passed legislation to "farm out the penitentiary" for up to five years. With this act, the state turned its back on a humanitarian, reform-based penal system of its past and instead created a system dedicated to physical punishment reliant on racial assumptions that black Americans were well suited for unskilled labor. In the process, the state abdicated its authority over citizens to lessees- an empowerment that held grave consequences.¹⁰

One of the common claims about the necessity of convict labor was the difficulty that industrialists had recruiting and maintaining free labor. Of high annoyance were black Americans' assertions of their right to mobility and job choice. In the wake of the Confederacy's defeat, convict labor became a "weapon of suppression of black aspiration" assuring the continuation of the South's racial hierarchy.¹¹ Historians Lichtenstein and Mancini agree this is both backwards and forward thinking. On one hand we see a "triumph of industrialist capitalists over an agrarian feudalism, free labor over slavery." Yet, these new capitalist entrepreneurs are the continuation of "laborlords, as slaveholders had been before them, a selling and exploiting the labor of convicts."¹² Moreover, while post-war conditions inclined the state toward leasing, the US military and Republican Reconstruction cemented the state's path. Despite being the party that led the demise of slavery, Republican desires to rebuild a modern industrial south made convict leasing a reality. The first convicts were leased in 1868 and their labor stimulated railroad and industrial economic

⁹ Taylor, "Origins and Development", 113.

¹⁰ Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 17-35.

¹¹ Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name*, 6.

¹² Lichtenstein, *Twice the Labor*, 5-9.; Matthew J. Mancini, "Race, Economics and the Abandonment of Convict Leasing", *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 63, no. 4, 1978, pp. 346-347.

development amenable to all, Radical Republicans and “Redeemers” alike. Industrial entrepreneurs quickly created a “new regime”, recognizing they could reject a Republican agenda while still benefiting from the economic opportunities which federal dollars brought to the state. They built a coalition with the planter class as they refused to “weaken the authoritarian social order of the black belt.”¹³

As Democrats returned to power, the system served as both a form of labor recruitment and a mechanism for the control of black Georgians. Convicts offered a cheap, consistent labor force that provided for personal and state wealth, creating “mutually reinforcing” economic and social justifications to “stave off abolition.” One major priority was the building or repairing of railroads, essential infrastructure to open markets and “encourage the extractive industry.”¹⁴ By 1880, the state almost doubled its track mileage of which most of the hard labor of grading was done by convicts. By 1869 all convicts within the state of Georgia at the time were leased to railroad contractors Grant, Alexander and Company, who “promised to treat convicts humanely and not overwork them.”¹⁵ By 1868, Milledgeville penitentiary existed only as a sick farm (a holding facility for those too sick or injured to work) and a transfer point, all other duties belonged to lessees. Yet, when exhausted or sick convicts were dropped off, contractors demanded new healthy laborers to meet their quota, despite the fact that it was the contractors who worked them to that condition and faced no penalty for a convicts’ deaths. By 1869 leasing produced considerable revenue for the state and Georgia stopped appropriating any money to maintain the penal system.¹⁶

As the convict size grew, it surpassed the population the old penitentiary could house. Many felt the only way to make the system work was to continue down the path of convict leasing, rather than build a new penitentiary. The state recognized that choosing to use per capita lease contracts was advantageous, bringing in more money the more convicts they leased to industrialists. To the profiteers, this was an effective and profitable system that cemented the state’s economic incentive to locate supposed criminals. And as industrial entrepreneurs became reliant on convict labor, the average age of conviction fell and length of sentence increased. At the highpoint of convict leasing in the 1890s, 90% were black, almost half were minors, and a quarter were sentenced for life.¹⁷

Reminiscent of chattel slavery, industrialists desired able-bodied men as a “source of fuel”, but unlike slavery they were hardly even valued as property. They could be “reduced to starvation in the name of profits” as lessees sought to use the “minimal capital investment” in any laborer. There was no need create a family structure or encourage reproduction, as babies and the elderly were of no use to the industrialist. Moreover, the

¹³ Lichtenstein, *Twice the Labor*, 36.

¹⁴ Matthew J. Mancini, “Race, Economics and the Abandonment of Convict Leasing”, *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 63, no. 4, 1978, pp. 339.

¹⁵ Taylor, “Origins and Development”, 114.

¹⁶ Lichtenstein, *Twice the Labor*, 51-57.

¹⁷ Mancini, “Race, Economics and the Abandonment,” 343-344.

state was more than willing to locate convicts to fill the industrialist's voracious appetite for expendable labor. In the four decades of convict leasing, there were 1,617 recorded deaths.¹⁸

In 1874 the legislature approved changes to convict leasing, increasing the maximum length of contracts to five years and allowing for convicts to be used for both public and private works in the state, as they freed up leasing to industrialists beyond the railroad. These new contracts put convicts into seven companies and four industries, which included railroads, mining, agriculture and brickmaking. By 1876, the Georgia was convinced convict leasing was a reliable source of revenue. The legislature created significant changes, as they concluded that longer leases for fewer lessees was the most beneficial system, ending the reliance on per capita leasing. As soon as the approved contracts ended, they could be parlayed into twenty-year leases. The state would pay for a physician and the chaplain and the industrialist would be responsible for all other costs.¹⁹ Those convicted of a term five years or longer would typically be leased to mining companies who valued convicts with longer term sentences as extraction required a certain set of skills and thus an investment in training. In total, three Georgia penitentiary companies signed a \$500,000 contract to be paid in yearly installments for all the convicts in the state. The Dade Coal Company received 300 long term convicts, while the other two companies evenly split the rest.

Legislators made no significant changes again until 1881 due to reports of convict mistreatment. New legislation gave the Principal Keeper (system overseer) an assistant and one of them was required to visit each convict camp monthly without notice. In order to address reports of violence, the governor was to appoint a "whipping boss" or warden for each camp who alone could punish convicts. These changes were meant to remedy some of the extreme brutality of the system. In addition, the profit from leasing system would go to the common school fund.²⁰

By 1895 cracks emerged in the mining industry. As coal prices and demand decreased, mining companies remained saddled with the fixed costs of "caring" for the convicts. Productivity of forced labor also lagged far behind that of free labor. Despite averaging more annual days worked, Georgia mines produced less. Over the course of the system's existence, Georgia "produced only half the coal dug per man" compared to states reliant on free labor. Georgia's mines offered limited geological resources provided little room for productivity, which is why lessees believed they would not be profitable without convict labor.

In addition, because industrialists relied on forced labor, they chose not to modernize. Georgia mines neglected to use machines until after 1905. When profits were low, the flaws in this system became painfully obvious. When legislatures visited mines, they found that convicts were "in the very worst condition"—starved, insufficiently clothed and worked

¹⁸ Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another*, 15, 85.

¹⁹ Taylor, "The Origin and Development," 116-119.

²⁰ Taylor, "The Origin and Development," 124.

“with great cruelty”—in order to reduce costs and attain the maximum workload out of weakened prisoners.²¹ This cruelty included “water treatment” (similar to waterboarding) indicating the “distinction between punishment and torture [was easy] to blur.” Dade Coal was forced to declare bankruptcy and lose its convicts, but the company which took over its holding remained reliant on convict labor. Again, while those in control changed, convicts felt little difference.²²

In 1895, the House Committee on Penitentiary determined that “with few exceptions we find all the camps in bad condition, and the convicts not well treated, and we most heartily condemn the present lease system.” Rather than ending the system, the events of 1895 and the economic dip in 1897 convinced the state to make modifications to be implemented in 1899. The total number of convicts held reached 2,235 by this point. New legislation limited leases to no more than five years and officially approved subleasing of convicts. The legislature got rid of the principal keeper, creating a three-person prison commission to oversee both the felony and misdemeanor convicts, as well as state farms for females, boys under fifteen, and disabled men. With this law, counties and municipalities could make requests to use convict labor for local projects, such like road construction.²³ Prison officials claimed this essentially ended leasing as the state was “back in control” of convicts’ wellbeing, despite there being no evidence that convicts experienced any substantial improvement in their conditions. Moreover, lessees maintained their control by “suggesting” wardens or by paying them additional money out of pocket. Wardens then typically took the word of the mine boss on who to punish and how, effectively keeping discipline and punishment in the lessees’ interest.

As the economy rebounded in the early 20th Century, the cost of convicts and commodities drastically increased. While guaranteed money through 20 year leases likely sounded like a good idea, one could argue it led to the downfall of convict leasing, as the fixed costs of convicts lead to companies subleasing convicts when labor was not needed. According to *The Georgian*, Georgia received \$225 per convict in 1908, but companies nonetheless subleased them for as much as \$600.²⁴ The state missed out on massive profit, but the fixed cost of convicts also meant leasing was not ideal for lessees anymore either. Between 1868 and 1899, the end of the twenty- year leases, contractors paid between \$11 and \$50 per convict. By 1904, that number increased to \$225 plus an estimated \$100 for upkeep. By 1907 the cost of subleasing convict labor reached the price, but lacked the flexibility, of free labor at the same time of an economic downturn. Only because industrialists no longer found exploitation of convicts profitable did the window of opportunity to end the system open.²⁵

²¹ Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work*, 142-149.

²² Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another*, 75.

²³ Taylor, “The Origin and Development,” 125-127.

²⁴ “Convict Lease, State Road, State Schools, Pauperism.” *Atlanta Georgian and News*, June 26, 1908.

²⁵ Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another*, 97.

Facing falling profits, the state of Georgia began to seek the reform of the convict leasing system in 1894. A civil engineer at University of Georgia by the name of O.H. Sheffield declared a “rational solution to the road problem” would be using convict labor to improve the state’s roads. Prior labor done through a statute labor system was ineffective and the state recognized the need for a large, efficient, and consistent labor force to tackle an infrastructure project of this magnitude. However, most felon convicts were tied up in leasing contracts and only misdemeanor convicts could be worked by counties or cities.

By 1900s the Good Roads Movement reigned in the South, complete with their own publication entitled “Southern Good Roads.”²⁶ Large farm owners and industrialists needed the infrastructure. Progressive reformers justified using convicts on the road as a “model of reform and progress.” In 1903, Georgia—anxious to become the “direct exploiter rather than recruiter” of convict labor—allowed counties to keep felony convicts for road work, beginning the slow switch to chain gangs.

The public chain gang, in which convicts would be physically bound together as they performed menial labor, was sold as a humanitarian and racially moderate way to have state sponsored economic modernization and labor efficiency. The state attempted to show that progress and tradition were symbiotic, as advocating for chain gangs relied on rationalism and racism. Lichtenstein claims “the abolition of convict leasing and turn toward public chain gang did not bring about the demise of these antimodern tendencies in the region but rather reconciled them with the advent of modernity,” for the second time since emancipation. This was aided by the influence of progressive reformers, who called for a move away from the overt racial brutality of leasing and sought a policy of “benign paternalism” in which the state kept control of the “childlike race.”²⁷

Attempts were made to get rid of leasing from the policy’s inception. Some of the most vocal criticism of the system came from the principal keepers’ reports and official legislative investigations which took place in 1878, 1881, 1890, and 1896. Despite thousands of pages of evidence depicting the brutality of the system gathered by those who *oversaw and created the system*, only in 1908 did a series of events come together to bring convict leasing to its demise. By June, newspapers reported a bill was to be introduced in the general assembly to have convicts work on public roads.²⁸ A June 26th *The Georgian’s* editorial in support chain gangs began the paper’s crusade to eradicate convict leasing, running front page stories until legislatures agreed to abolish the system.²⁹ The State Democratic Convention came out against convict leasing, and politicians ran against it, including state senator candidate H. Y. McCord who took out a full page ads advocating for its abolition. The combination of agitation alongside the possibility of exploiting

²⁶ *Southern Good Roads*. Southern Good Roads Publishing Company, July 1910.

²⁷ Lichtenstein, “Good Roads and Chain Gangs,” 88-110.

²⁸ “Col. Mercer Writes on Convict Leases.” *Atlanta Georgian and News*, June 2, 1908.

²⁹ “Convict Lease, State Road, State Schools, Pauperism.” *Atlanta Georgian and News*, June 26, 1908.

convict labor for road labor led to one final legislative investigation which lasted from July 20th until August 25, 1908.³⁰

While the cards stacked up against convict leasing, it is important to recognize not all believed the time was right to end the system. The Columbus *Enquirer-Sun* summed up the opposition saying “morality is a very good thing but it don’t go very well with a low tax rate.” Abolishing the lease system meant that convicts would become a liability, rather than an avenue of profit for the state as it took up their care and forewent contract funds.

Despite some hesitation, a majority of the public came to oppose leasing. On August 2nd, 1908, even prior to the release of the investigation, citizens held mass meetings around the state to oppose leasing, including priests and labor unions³¹ On August 25th the General Assembly heard the legislative investigation which included testimony from 128 individuals. The report illustrated inhumane conditions, violence, corruption and neglect, including charges that state inspectors failed to do their job as the mine camps were never actually examined. While many people were already aware of the inhumane conditions within the convict leasing system, many were shocked by the visibility of lessees’ corruption and by the inefficiencies of government oversight. The embarrassment of government ineptitude combined with progressive ideals and the desire to exploit forced labor for the “public good” pushed support for ending leasing over the edge. Ultimately the assembly approved the abolition of leasing on September 19th and it was signed into law on April 1st 1909.

Under this new legislation, misdemeanor convicts were to be employed on public roads or other public jobs and could not go to private parties for work. Those convicted of felonies would be offered to counties and cities, with counties getting first pick at the cost of \$100 per year. All convicts not used on public projects would go to the state farm. None could be used in competition with free labor. Blacks and whites needed to be separated as much as possible. The prison commission would serve as supervisor over all convicts, making and enforcing the rules and regulations of labor camps.³²

With the transition into chain gangs, everyone got what they wanted. The state government and progressive reformers appeared like the good guys, defeating the corruption of private interest. Industrialists rid themselves of the expensive fixed cost of convict labor at a point it no longer made financial sense to maintain and they directly benefited from the improved infrastructure of state roads. Counties and cities benefitted as roads brought higher property values and thus property taxes that could fund the roads. Once again, the state subsidized the wealth acquisition of white Georgians. Instead of direct subsidization through the recruitment of convicts for capitalist entrepreneurs, building infrastructure through chain gangs allowed for the expansion of manufacturing and the commercial sector as well as urban centers. Georgia proved “good roads and prosperity are synonymous.”

³⁰ “H.Y.McCord Candidate for State Senator.” *Atlanta Georgian and News*, June 1, 1908.

³¹ “Citizens Demand the Lease Stop.” *Atlanta Georgian and News*, August 1, 1908.

³² Taylor, “Abolition of the Convict Lease System,” 278-287.

This prosperity would benefit everyone but black Georgians, as “modernization always [occurred] on the backs of forced black labor.” In 1912 alone, the chain gangs built or permanently improved 21,000 miles of road. Incredibly, chain gangs were even more disproportionately black than during convict leasing, making up 95% of the forced laborers. Progressive reformers claimed work on the roads in the open air was healthier than convict leasing for convicts and more well suited to blacks’ capacity for hard labor. They believed road work created an opportunity for each convict to “improve his character and pay his debt to society.” Counties with growing urban areas were more likely to use chain gangs as they provided a mechanism to police and control members of the black working-class who were separated from plantations. The Black Belt experienced rapid road construction as the counties with higher black populations had a larger numbers of misdemeanor convicts to draw from due to the system preying on black Georgians. Those with smaller black populations complained about their inability to build roads due to a lack of labor to draw from.³³

Of note, these patterns developed before the end of convict leasing. By 1908, 50% of forced labor was already working on roads. The use of the chain gang allowed counties to heavily police black behavior, knowing black Georgians would be unlikely to be able to pay legal fees and could easily become an “absolutely dependable” labor source that was believed to cost half that of free labor. The visibility of the chain gangs in high black populated areas served as a warning to African Americans to “behave” lest they wanted to end up on the chain gang. The brutality of the chain gang is spelled out in activist Selena S. Butler’s speech, in which she likens America to the “dark ages” and argues that the state failed to control the conditions of those in forced labor.³⁴

One element of convict labor beyond private large-scale industrialist exploitation or even public chain gangs, is that of peonage, or debt slavery. Despite the fact that it was outlawed by Congress in 1867, the practice flourished until the 1940s. There are obvious connections between sharecropping and perpetual debt, but peonage goes beyond this well-known system. Defendants at the county level faced fees tacked on top of their penalties which many could not afford, particularly as the fees were often far more onerous than the fines themselves. Whoever acquired the prisoner would pay off the debt. This created a predatory relationship between sheriffs, judges and “buyers” (local companies or farm owners looking to acquire labor), as “arrests surged and fell not as acts of crime increased or receded but in tandem to the varying needs of the buyers of labor.” Many were brought in on trumped up charges or by bounty hunters on the basis of rumors, but in some cases, counties opted to prosecute individuals for misdemeanors instead of felonies so the sheriff and other locals would receive the “proceeds from the prisoners’ lease.” Regardless, there were financial incentives to convict as many people as possible, which was “predicated on the absolute defenselessness of black men” in the legal system. One key to this racketeering was “confessing judgement.” In these situations, white farmers who

³³ Lichtenstein, “Good Roads and Chain Gangs,” 99-110

³⁴ Selena S. Butler, “The Chain-Gang System.” Speech, Nashville, Tennessee, September 16, 1897.

lent black tenants' money would enforce their debts by swearing out criminals warrants for fraud. As black defendants knew conviction was certain, they would "confess [their] responsibility before being tried" and accept the white landlord as their "surety" rather than accept a verdict. Black farmers would sign a contract to work without compensation until the bond was paid off. Similar "contracts" with local whites created black peons across the state, particularly as southern states criminalized what was deemed routine black behaviors. We might recognize the roots of the modern plea bargain in this profit scheme as defendants understood the system was not built with their justice in mind. "Admitting" to a lesser crime was often the only way to limit the amount and kind of forced labor they would have to complete.

Douglas Blackmon argues *Plessy v. Ferguson* emboldened white southerners, with the Supreme Courts blessing they came up with even flimsier reasons for imprisoning black Southern as long as they pretended black men's right were not violated. Records show, when there were records at all, that under the reason for conviction the phrase "not given" was reason enough. Records and investigations also shine light on the fact that peonage did not end in 1908 with the end of convict leasing or morph into chain gangs. Instead it continued to exist in the extralegal shadows for years.³⁵

In 1930, Georgia held more forced labor than ever before with over 8,000 men on the chain gang alone. In 1932, 24 years after the end of convict leasing, police in Macon, Georgia rounded up sixty black men on "vagrancy" charges and delivered them to a J.H. Stroud who pleaded for cotton pickers. The case of John S. Williams highlights the ubiquitous nature of peonage in the South. Peon Gus Chapman escaped Williams' planation and made it to the Atlanta courthouse where he accused Williams of murdering another forced laborer. Those allegations led two investigators from the Department of Justice's Bureau of Investigation to the plantation where they found eleven men still held against their will. When the investigators explained he committed the crime of peonage, Williams' responded "well if that is the case, me and most of the people who have done anything of the sort were guilty of peonage." Despite evidence that showed Williams kept labors chained up at night and his admission that he hunted down runaways, the agents left knowing they were unlikely to get a conviction in a Georgia court. While in committing peonage, Williams was like "tens of thousands of white farmers in the region", he differed in the fact that he murdered all eleven labors in the days after the investigators' visit, determined never to have a black man testify of enslavement on his property. Williams has the distinction of being the only white man found guilty of murdering a black person in the state of Georgia from 1877 to 1966. While the violence on his property was extreme even amongst stories of grotesque violence against convict laborers, his case highlights the state and federal governments inability to protect African Americans from violence, let alone exploitation.³⁶

³⁵ Blackmon, *Slavery By Another Name*, 57-68.

³⁶ Blackmon, *Slavery By Another Name*, 358-363.

It is important to point out that despite 80 years of investigation and reporting, change did not happen until it was in the political and economic best interest for people in power. In one of the first reports, principal keeper John Darnell said that he was "impressed with the belief that the General Assembly did not anticipate the very demoralizing consequences."³⁷ Continuous agitation to end convict labor might have greased the political wheels, but in almost every instance it came down to profit as "public indignation constituted a chorus of disapproval in the background, paralleling rather than causing the abolition." For decades the state willingly gave up its power and its authority over convicts and only insisted on taking it back when politicians had economic incentives to use convicts on the chain gang and industrialists had economic incentives to let the system go. Both convict leasing and peonage were outlawed decades before and the state-run chain gangs faced heavy criticism for continuous ill treatment of laborers, yet convict labor continued into the 1920s and 1930s. It was not until white Americans faced massive challenges or desires that large-scale convict labor finally met its demise.

In Georgia, chain gangs began to unravel during the Great Depression. Counties could no longer afford the "upkeep" of chain gangs and "remanded them to state authorities." Some were angered by the state's use of forced labor, with so many free laborers unemployed. In addition, the need for federal relief funds which mandated that no convict labor could be used on the projects, as well as continued muckraking about penal conditions, such as John L. Spivak's fictionalized *Georgia Nigger* (and its haunting photographs), eroded support for the practice. New Deal funds through the Public Works Administration allowed the state to build Tattnell Prison in the 1930s, so the state could house convicts rather than keep them on the chain gang.³⁸ Georgia finally outlawed corporal punishment and the use of confinement measures such as shackles and chains in 1946. Some continued to use road gangs into the 50s and this remained a legal component of the penal system into the 1990s, but became the exception rather than the norm.³⁹

The federal government was aware of convict labor's prevalence in the South. It encouraged the practice during its inception as it sought to rebuild the South. Decades later, Teddy Roosevelt felt he could end the practice, sending investigators into Alabama that spread into other states, but northern investigators underestimated the tenacity of the system and the danger in rocking the status quo, particularly for Southern blacks who spoke up. Even the U.S. district judge Emory Speer in Georgia, a born and bred Southerner, underestimated the magnitude of the system and difficulty in dismantling it. In 1905, the Supreme Court overturned his order against Georgia's convict leasing system, determining that the federal courts could not enforce the anti-peonage laws. While federal law enforcement was able to bring about indictments of slavery, in southern courts it was difficult to hold white Southerners accountable. Roosevelt's moral crusade seemed

³⁷ Taylor, "The Abolition of the Convict Lease System in Georgia," 273.

³⁸ Bryan, Wright. "Cut in Chain Gangs Begun By Georgia." *New York Times*, July 4, 1937.

³⁹ Alex Lichtenstein, "Chain Gangs, Communism, and the "Negro Question": John L. Spivak's *Georgia Nigger*," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (1995): 633-58. www.jstor.org/stable/4058329.

unattainable despite clear signs of “convict rings” and the South’s “resentment of exposure grew.” Wary of investigations that went nowhere, Roosevelt and the justice department gave up, even giving a presidential pardon to one of the few men who was found guilty of slavery. Despite investigation after investigation, witness after witness, overall the federal government and the state governments accomplished nothing. It was not the cruelty that ended convict labor. There were no shortage of horror stories and officials with special reports. Armed with knowledge, even the federal government caved to the barbaric actions of the South, unwilling to aggressively intervene on behalf of African-Americans.⁴⁰

The South was allowed to dictate justice until “Nazis [made] White Supremacy a negative term.”⁴¹ Franklin Roosevelt and his attorney general Francis Biddle knew that “second class citizenship of African-Americans would be exploited by the enemies of the United States” at the same time they were “called upon to sacrifice in the struggle to protect freedom and liberty” overseas. The federal government decided now was the time to make it clear they would criminally prosecute anyone practicing slavery. Biddle’s directive, issued just five days after Pearl Harbor, acknowledged the long history of federal law enforcement ignoring reports and listed the federal statutes which could be used to prosecute enslavement. Biddle’s memos went further, declaring it impossible for someone to sell themselves into slavery of any kind, including peonage and henceforth everything was to be labeled “involuntary servitude and slavery.”⁴²

After the war, the Truman administration oversaw changes to the criminal code that made any form of slavery “indisputably a crime.” True enforcement of the law, reckoning with the violent horrors of racial ideology in Nazi Germany, and the determination of black veterans to find victory at home in *Brown v. Board of Education* helped finally bring convict labor to its knees. Reports of abuses would trickle in for years to come, but profound change finally took hold in the South. Even then, however, it was the economic prosperity of war time production that limited black Americans susceptibility to the cruelties of the misdemeanor system of fines, and new farm equipment that limited the need for manual labor. The nation that beat Hitler still had a way to go before it could claim the moral high ground.⁴³

Conclusion

One of the consistencies in American history is the exploitation of black labor. It is as American as apple pie and its consistency often leads us to view each new iteration in comparison to the original sin of slavery. Yet we are naïve if we fail to see the ways in which oppression matures and manifests beyond the era of slavery. The distinctions in the new

⁴⁰ Blackmon, *Slavery By Another Name*, 170-277.

⁴¹ Adriene Lentz-Smith, “Freedom Struggles” (classroom presentation, NEH Institute Civil Rights Movement: Grassroots Perspectives, Durham, North Carolina, July, 2018).

⁴² Francis Biddle, “Circular No. 3591.” Washington DC. December 12, 1941. Office of the Attorney General.

⁴³ Blackmon, *Slavery By Another Name*, 376-382.

systems of exploitation are important to differentiate from those of slavery as they unveil much about those who perpetuate racism. However, sometimes it's equally important not to put a new label on a continuous practice. Convict leasing allowed the South to maintain its racial hegemony and control of an exploited labor force while modernizing. Labeling citizens as criminals created justification for an unfathomable system of inhumanity built solely for profit. We consider slavery to be the ultimate form of oppression, but post-Civil War capitalist entrepreneurs created a system viler and deadlier. It is of small solace that convict labor ensnared thousands and not millions and lasted decades as opposed to the centuries of slavery. Georgia's abolition of the chain gang was sold as progressive victory, returned convict to state control and away from greedy, corrupt and violent private interests. Yet life on a chain gang appeared similar to convict leasing. Gone might be the days of wading in mine water, but instead legs remained shackled to the other poor souls forced to labor way to benefit white Georgians, whether in private or public coffers. Some may argue that convict leasing and chain gangs are distinct enough to separate but overlapping both systems was peonage. For eight decades, Georgia protected the inhumane exploitation of black labor using the same label: criminal. To the unfortunate souls caught in the vice grip of Georgia's "justice" system, the labels of convict leasing, chain gangs or peonage made little difference in the daily experience of hunger, violence, and punishment, all at the behest of someone else's profit.

Only when the system lost its profitability did Georgia experience change in its convict labor system. Private companies relinquished control of their convict laborers once they found their fixed costs to be restrictive, allowing the system of exploitation to mature into chain gangs, under the guise of progressive modernity and the public good. Ultimately the Great Depression and the injection of federal funds led the state away from chain gangs, but the federal government only fully stepped in to defend itself from charges of hypocrisy by the Axis Powers. Criticism of convict labor existed from its earliest days, but while citizen action might have forced government change on other issues, the resiliency of convict labor shows that private entities can ignore public scrutiny for decades. Much like slavery, it might be easier to pretend as a nation we have moved on from the consequences of the past, until we stop to consider that black labor exploitation quite literally built the American road to economic wealth.

The Cloud of Unknowing: Medieval Mysticism, Gender, and Sexuality

Alex Knox

Abstract: *The Cloud of Unknowing* is a fourteenth century medieval text that is regarded as a seminal text in Medieval England mysticism. The anonymous author's work reflected the standard of what he believed mysticism should have been in Medieval England. The association between visionary mystics and the devil is a crucial aspect of understanding the anxiety surrounding gender, sexuality, and religion in *The Cloud*. The text has been largely ignored over the last few decades but can help historians understand mysticism and the concerns of the male authority of the church had regarding the increasing feminization of mysticism. Exploring concepts of mysticism, gender, and sexuality in *The Cloud* provides a nuanced examination of mysticism.

Historians regard *The Cloud of Unknowing* (hereafter referred to as, *The Cloud*) as a prime example of a mystical text from late Medieval England. The text was written in the fourteenth century. The text's author is unknown, and there are few biographical details about the author in the text. The author is believed to be male, as evidenced by his education. Some thought Walter Hilton (d. c. 1396) was the possible author, though today, most historians consider this unlikely.¹ The author might have been Carthusian, a Catholic monastic order founded in the eleventh century, in practice.² Some scholars, such as Wolfgang Riehle, argue that the author might have been a priest and that he was a well-versed theologian and mystic.³ The obfuscation of his identity appears to be deliberate, considering the few things that are definitively known about him. This might reflect his emphasis on Christian humility, that is, a desire to focus on the text as a guide for contemplative devotion and not on the author himself.

While the author's focus remains on contemplative prayer throughout the text, a careful reading of *The Cloud* reveals anxieties and concerns about the state and direction of Christian mysticism. In the fourteenth century, there was an increase in lay people's participation in piety. While Christian mysticism existed before the fourteenth century, at that point, mysticism became very popular amongst women. Particularly, laywomen found new avenues to express their piety by engaging in mysticism, especially visionary mystical experiences. The anonymous author of *The Cloud* not only disregards visionaries but felt suspicious of that form of piety. He regards visionary experiences as heretical, hypocritical, and suspects that the devil's influence caused visionaries to have mystical visions. The

¹ James Walsh, S.J., "Introduction" *The Cloud of Unknowing* (New York: Paulist Press, 1981), 2-3.

² Walsh, 9.

³ Wolfgang Riehle, *The Secret Within: Hermits, Recluses, and Spiritual Outsiders in Medieval Europe*. Trans. Charity Scott-Stokes. (Cornell University Press, 2014), 169. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/csus/detail.action?docID=3138571>.

association between visionary mystics and the devil is a crucial aspect of understanding the anxiety surrounding gender, sexuality, and religion in *The Cloud of Unknowing*.

The author's anxiety was about the devil leading visionaries, and other Christians, away from a proper form of mysticism: that is, a type of mysticism that defers and reaffirms male authority within the church. The type of mysticism the author advocates for was generally practiced by men. This type of mysticism relied less on visionary experiences and engaged less in emotive piety associated with women, but rather it depended on close scriptural reading and rationality. *The Cloud* author's concerns revealed anxieties surrounding gender, power, and sexuality because these categories were in flux in the fourteenth century.

The anonymous author's work reflected the standard of what he believed mysticism should have been in Medieval England. This framing, of what was and was not proper mysticism, helped distinguish who was a mystic for both *The Cloud* author's contemporaries and has continued to do so for historians, who use *The Cloud* as a standard against which other mystical texts are judged. Whether a mystic was recognized as legitimate was influenced by the gender of the anonymous author and historians, as well as the gender and sexuality of the mystic in question. The power structures *The Cloud* author supported came from within the church's male hierarchy. *The Cloud* author opposed the feminization of mysticism in fourteenth-century England. The author sought to condemn non-normative sexuality within the pious Christian tradition, fueled in part by faith and tradition, and a need to control women's bodies and sexuality. The author provided a voice to conservative anxiety within Medieval Catholicism, helping to define Christian mysticism in increasingly narrow terms, which effectively provided gendered barriers to women's mystics and shunned non-normative sexuality. The works of historians Ruth Mazo Karras, Grace M. Jantzen, and Nancy Caciola illuminates the complexity surrounding medieval European sexuality, gender and mysticism, and demonic and divine possession, and the intersection of these topics.

The author's writing is in the same tradition as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (c. fifth century), an influential Christian theologian, who argued, essentially, that God is ineffable.⁴ According to the author, the only method by which devout Christians can have a true mystical experience of the ineffable God was through thought and prayer.⁵ Contemplative prayer was a key to the complexity of mysticism for the author. It is through contemplative prayer that a practitioner can enter into the "cloude of vnknowyng."⁶ The "cloude of vnknowyng" was how the anonymous author experienced and described his mysticism. The author is careful in describing the cloud:

"Lette not Þerfore, bot trauayle Þer-intyl fele lyst. For at Þe first tyme when Þou dost it, Þou fyndest bot a derknes, & as it

⁴ Riehle, 151-152.

⁵ Riehle, 152.

⁶ *The Cloud of Unknowing*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), Reprint, Early English Text Society. 16-17.

were a cloude of vnknowyng, Pou neuer what, sauynge þat þou felist in þi wille a nakid entent vnto God."⁷ ["Let there be no hindrance, but travel there until you feel this. The first time when you do it, you will find but a darkness, and as if it were a cloud of unknowing, you never know what it is, save that you feel in your will a bare intent onto God."]

The anonymous author clarified that the type of cloud he was describing was not a literal cloud:

"For when I sey derknes, I mene a lackyng of knowyng; as alle þat þing þat þou knowest not, or ells, þat þou hast forȝetyng, it is derk to þee, for þou seest it not wiþ þi goostly iȝe. & for þis skile it is not clepid a cloude of þe aire, bot a cloude of vnknowyng, þat is bitwix þee & þi God."⁸ ["For when I say darkness, I mean a lack of knowing; like all the things that you do not know, or, that you have forgotten, it is dark to you, because you do not see it with your spiritual eyes and because this is not a cloud of the air, but a cloud of unknowing, that is between you and your God."]

For the anonymous author, entering the cloud of unknowing served as an effective way to move towards God.

This type of mysticism that the author deemed proper tended to exclude women. For example, the author placed heavy emphasis on praying, thinking, and reading (in contemplative prayer).⁹ While these stages are essential, praying, thinking, and reading alone was not enough for a mystical understanding of God. Instead, it served as critical first step for beginners.¹⁰ These actions, praying, thinking, and reading, cannot be divorced from each other. It is the confluence of these three actions that brought one closer to God.¹¹ This form of mysticism privileged certain abilities, such as literacy, over other forms of piety.

The type of mysticism *The Cloud* author engaged in and promoted depended upon the Catholic Church authority, and by the university-educated men. The church authority provided guidance on what was appropriate to pray, think, or read. Men were the only

⁷ *Cloud*, 16-17. All translations are my own.

⁸ *Cloud*, 23.

⁹ *Cloud*, 71.

¹⁰ Richle, 154.

¹¹ *Cloud*, 71-72.

gender allowed to attend universities, and many of them became clergy after university.¹² Most universities both educated and functioned as the training grounds for the clergy. Misogyny was a characteristic of university life, and clerics carried misogynistic beliefs with them after they left university.¹³

The fact that reading served as a foundational aspect of mysticism excluded most women as a whole, as most women could not read and were forbidden from preaching to teaching. The vast majority of late medieval women would not have had access to Christian manuscripts nor to the education needed to understand them.¹⁴ The author provided an alternative to the majority of the English population that could not read: "Alle is one in maner, redyng & heryng; clerkes redyn on books, & lewid men redyn on clerkes, whan þei here hem preche þe worde of God."¹⁵ ["All is in one method, reading, and listening; clerics read books and laymen have the clerics when they {lay people} hear him preach the word of God."] Even with this alternative option, the essentialness of a clerical intermediary still reinforced a patriarchal power structure that had the power and discretion to determine what was mystical and what was heretical. The author defers to the authority of the church in all matters, and the emphasis on reading highlights how the author privileged male university education over women's non-university educated but more affective piety.

The fourteenth century brought about a change in how Medieval society thought about gender and sexuality. The mystic Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) had used the phrase "effeminate age" to describe her time period.¹⁶ She states that "The effeminate age was more than a rhetorical trope: it was a shorthand designation for a complex set of notions about "natural" gender roles and their inversion or transgression."¹⁷ By the time the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* was writing, there was effeminacy within spirituality, and the author harkens back to a more masculine, male, and sexually normative type of theology. Women's piety became associated with the prophetic, the ecstatic, and it felt new to many people of the late Middle Ages.¹⁸ Despite this anxiety about effeminacy, Medieval England remained a patriarchal system, as was the Catholic Church and men controlled what was perceived as true mysticism and who was perceived as a true mystic.¹⁹

For the author, the problems within Christianity in Medieval England were not in the structure of the church itself, but rather in individuals that failed to follow the rules. False Christians were those who engaged in activities that they should not be doing. They were not, essentially, in their proper place within the church nor living a good Christian life. The

¹² Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sharing Wine, Women, and Song: Masculine Identity Formation in the Medieval European Universities*, from *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000) 187-202; 188.

¹³ Karras, 196.

¹⁴ Jantzen, 324.

¹⁵ *Cloud*, 71.

¹⁶ Caciola, 274.

¹⁷ Caciola, 274.

¹⁸ Caciola, 276.

¹⁹ Jantzen, 225.

only way to combat such a problem was to defer to the authority of the church. *The Cloud* author enthusiastically encouraged the reader to follow the direction of the church before engaging in any contemplative action.²⁰ Deference to church authority was not only about maintaining the status quo but also sought to quell anxieties about gender and sexuality. False mysticism contributed to those anxieties. "False mysticism was seen as the demonic counterpart of communication with God and was regularly characterized in terms of sexual obscenities and murderous evil."²¹ The Medieval Catholic church had a patriarchal structure. Mysticism for visionary women meant having a direct connection to God; this meant that women could circumvent the church's patriarchal structure by receiving direct revelations from God.²² Women's piety was also bodily, and many women mystics controlled their sexuality, as well as other aspects of their physical selves, and the sexuality of those around them.²³

While not all visionaries were women, and not all male visionaries were associated with femininity, engaging in the form of piety associated with women posed a problem for men. For example, Richard Rolle was a visionary mystic; he experienced sweetness and other physical reactions typical of women's mystical experiences. Furthermore, Rolle wrote primarily for women and was associated with the feminine, because he cross-dressed once by wearing his sister's dresses.²⁴ The anonymous author of *The Cloud* was particularly critical of the type of mysticism Rolle engaged in because it was ecstatic, erotic, and unmanly. Rolle exemplified the increasing feminization of Medieval English mysticism, and it is in part in response to Rolle that *The Cloud* was written.

The Cloud of Unknowing narrowly frames proper mysticism. The author relies on gendered language to exclude any form of piety associated with women or effeminacy. A new form of piety had developed amongst late Medieval women that was ecstatic.²⁵ Male ecclesiastical authorities taught laypeople and clergy how to identify demonic possession from divine possession.²⁶ Divine possession became prominent by the thirteenth century and was associated with new monastic groups, such as the Beguines, religious laywomen.²⁷ "In short, they engaged in the form of public self-fashioning aimed at presenting themselves to an audience as divinely inspired visionaries."²⁸ In divine possession, visionaries were believed to be in communication with God.²⁹ Such an intense experience

²⁰ *Cloud*, 63.

²¹ Jantzen, 325.

²² Jantzen, 169-170.

²³ Jantzen, 160.

²⁴ Jantzen, 190.

²⁵ Caciola, 276. Caciola preferred the term "divine possession" instead of mysticism for a few reasons, one of which is to juxtapose it with demonic possession. The people she wrote about who experience divine possession would have been normally referred to as mystics. Caciola, 19-20.

²⁶ Caciola, 35.

²⁷ Caciola, 56.

²⁸ Caciola, 56.

²⁹ Caciola, 63.

would often cause various outward symptoms, such as trances or bodily rigidity.³⁰ Those symptoms are associated with demonic possession as well. *The Cloud* author cautioned against such piety. The anonymous author provided examples of both proper (divine) and false (demonic) mysticism. The author aimed to strike a delicate balance of guiding the audience towards a proper contemplative Christian life while warning the audience of potentially heretical practices. The author limited his examples of improper mysticism for fear that even giving numerous detailed examples would further spread heretical views.

The Cloud author was mainly concerned with the behavior of visionaries. The author was concerned about people who thought they were having a genuine mystical vision but were deceived by the devil.

"For som men aren so kumbred in nice corious contenaunces in bodily beryng, Ðat whan Ðei schal ou3t here, Ðei gape wiÐ Ðeire mouþes as Ðei schuld here wiÐ hem, & not wiÐ here eres. Som, when ei schulen spoke, poynten wiÐ here fyngres, or on Ðeire fyngres, or on Peire owne brestes, or on Ðeires Ðat Ðei speke to."³¹ ["For some people are so hindered in curiously foolish gestures in their physical bearing, that when they should listen, they gape with their mouths as if they could hear with them, and not with their ears. Some, when they should speak, point with their fingers, or prod on their own breasts or those that they speak to."]

The Cloud author further elaborated, "Som ben euer-more smyling & lei3ing at iche oþer worde Ðat Ðei speke, as Ðei weren gigelotes & nice japing jogelers lackyng kontenaunce."³² ["Some are evermore smiling and laughing at each other and the words that they speak, as if they were harlots and foolish gaping entertainers lacking proper behavior."] "*Giglelotes*" was a gendered pejorative for women; it roughly meant a harlot.³³ While harlot is a useful translation of *giglelot*, it is clear, given the context of the entire passage, the author was also invoking the idea that *giglelotes* cannot control their bodies.

All aspects of Medieval women's lives were eroticized.³⁴ Culturally and linguistically, women were associated with the sexual, which made it difficult to break away from late Medieval England's assigned gender roles. The very nature of men and women from the Medieval perspective was critical to understanding the problem of women's mysticism.

³⁰ Caciola, 64-65.

³¹ *Cloud*, 99.

³² *Cloud*, 99.

³³ Middle English Dictionary, ed. Sherman M. Kuhn and John Reidy (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963), s.v. "Giglelot". While the Middle English Dictionary described *giglelot* as a harlot, the Modern English word harlot does not fully encapsulate *giglelot*. It invokes an idea of an unrestrained and promiscuous woman.

³⁴ Jantzen, 87.

Men were associated with rationality and intelligence, while women were viewed as carnal, weak, and emotional.³⁵ Women were also considered to be more prone to crying.³⁶ They believed that it is a part of women's weak nature because women are more emotional. Even when men, like Rolle, acted emotionally or adopted physicality in their piety, it was a problem even if those were expressing mysticism because they were acting as if they were women. Acting like a woman, or the perception of acting womanly, served as an inhibitor from proper mysticism and a true union with God, according to *The Cloud*. This is juxtaposed to the ordained, male, and masculine mysticism found in the text.

The concern with the body was another aspect of *The Cloud of Unknowing* that is noteworthy. The anonymous author emphasized:

"Bot I sey if Þat Þees vnsemely & vnordeinde contenaunces ben gouerners of Þat doþ hem, in so mochel Þat he may not leue hem whan he wile: Ðan I sey Þat Þei ben tokens of pride & coryouste of witte, & of vnordeynde schewyng & couetise of knowing."³⁷ ["But I say that these unseemly and uncontrollable gestures that govern people, in so much that they may not cease them when they want to: then I say that they are tokens of pride and curiosity of wit, and of uncontrollable display and avaricious desire for knowledge."]

First, the lack of bodily control reveals an anxiety about controlling earthly bodies. For Medieval England, the concern over controlling the body was a problem particularly associated with women. People in Medieval England believed that women had less control over their bodies than men. In context with the gendered language, the author aimed to frame true mysticism in explicitly gendered language. The author continued, "& specyaly Þei ben verrei tokens of vnstabelnes of herte & vnrestfulnes of mynde, & namely of Þe lackyng of Þe werk of Þis book."³⁸ ["And especially they are the very tokens of the unstableness of the heart and an unrestful mind, and namely they lack the work of this book."] That is, those who have an unstable heart (such as women) were not capable of doing the mystical work found in *The Cloud*. In order to help aspiring mystics, the author presented a strict guide of mysticism based on thought and prayer, under the guidance of the church authorities.

The Cloud author focused on "Vnordeinde." "Vnordeinde" in this instance, meant something uncontrollable.³⁹ "Vnordeinde contenaunces" (uncontrollable gestures) and

³⁵ Caciola, 134.

³⁶ Caciola, 134.

³⁷ *Cloud*, 99.

³⁸ *Cloud*, 99-100.

³⁹ Middle English Dictionary, ed. Robert E. Lewis et al. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), s.v. "Vnordeinde".

uncontrollable knowledge (the desire to go beyond what was considered a socially acceptable amount of knowledge) pose a threat to the Cloud author's true mysticism. The inability to control oneself was explicitly associated with women. Women were believed incapable of controlling their own bodies because women were susceptible to give in to bodily desires and more likely to fall under demonic possession.⁴⁰ In Medieval mysticism, the definition of mysticism was narrowed to limit itself to the knowledge of Biblical texts.⁴¹ Seeking knowledge outside the official church doctrine was associated with heretical movements, such as the Lollards. A common belief of Lollards was that people should be able to read the Bible for themselves. The work of *The Cloud* not only provided a spiritual guide towards proper mystical contemplation but the avoidance of a bodily, feminine form of medieval Christian piety.

It is not only that the feminine form of mysticism was incorrect, but rather that it might be the work of the devil. The author was deeply suspicious of visions and visionaries, fearing that such revelations might not come from God, but rather from the devil. This is a recurring concern for the Cloud author. "For I telle þee trewly þat þe deuil haþ his contemplatyues, as God haþ his."⁴² ["For I tell you truly that the Devil has his contemplatives as God has his."] By the thirteenth century, the devil was a central figure in Medieval English Christianity, and there was a deep concern over demonic possession in the thirteenth century.⁴³ This was particularly true for women; due to their natural inferiority to men, women were perceived as naturally more susceptible to demonic possession. The symptoms that *The Cloud* author previously attributed to people such as *giglelots* illuminated a concern about gender and mysticism. These further echoed older traditions of Christianity that Eve, and by extension, all women, was the cause of the downfall of Adam, and by extension, all humanity. By virtue of their gender and their nature as women, women are uniquely susceptible to being misled by the devil and causing harm to society.

The signs for demonic possession varied, but a few key symptoms were noteworthy. These symptoms included but were not limited to bodily rigidity, frenzies, silence, super strength, and excessive passivity.⁴⁴ Divine possession followed similar cadences. God, as an ineffable divine creator, made it difficult for humans to describe mystical revelations. For instance, Margery Kempe (1373-1438) experienced similar symptoms, including, but not limited to, frenzies, excessive crying, and trances (see chapter four). For *The Cloud* author, these are possible symptoms of demonic possession, but for Margery Kempe, those actions were a sign of her mystical vocation.

One of the subtler ways in which gender influenced *The Cloud* views on mysticism is how the author treats the gift of tears. In general, Medieval Christians viewed the gift of

⁴⁰ Caciola, 53-54. Symptoms of demonic possession included an inability to control the body.

⁴¹ Jantzen, 30-31.

⁴² *Cloud*, 86.

⁴³ Caciola, 76.

⁴⁴ Caciola, 53.

tears as the ability for penitential regret.⁴⁵ This was a form of mystical experience particularly common amongst religious laywomen, although anyone could experience it.⁴⁶ Once again, Margery Kempe provided a counter-note to the mystical standards established in *The Cloud of Unknowing*. Kempe saw her frequent and loud crying as a gift from God. *The Cloud* author does not hold this type of piety in high regard. The author argued that

"Wepe þou neuer so moche for soro of þi synnes or of þe Passion of Criste, or haue þou neuer, so moche mynde of þe ioes of heuen, what may it do to þee? Sekirly moche good, moche helpe, moche profite, & moche grace wol it grete þee; bot in comparison of þis blinde steryng of loue, it is bot a litil þat it doþ, or may do, wiþ-outen þis."⁴⁷ ["You will never weep as much for your sin nor the Passion of the Christ if you knew the joys of heaven; what may it do for you? Surely, much good, much help, much profit, and much grace will it give you, but in comparison of this the blind steering love it is but a little that it does, or may do, without this."]

This passage is interesting because of the author's position. While the author acknowledges some good that comes from penitential remorse, crying was ultimately seen as a passive action. This, in turn, plays into more significant Medieval ideas about women and passivity. Turning crying into a passive state, rather than an active one, the author subtly demoted women's mysticism.

The threat of heresy in emotive piety opens and prepares the body up to the devil in a similar way that chastity prepares the human body for Christ. The devil was a consistent threat to *The Cloud of Unknowing*. *The Cloud* author took care to warn the audience of the possibility of being overwhelmed by the bodily senses. From a Medieval perspective, bodily senses were the downfall of humanity. The devil tricked humans by using their bodies. Visionaries are particularly susceptible, according to *The Cloud* author because they rely too heavily on their bodily senses, to try to gain an understanding of the ineffable.⁴⁸

"& þan as fas þe deuil haþ power for to feyne sum fals li3t or sounes, swete smelles in þeire noses, wonderful tastes in þeire mowþes, & many queynte hetes & brenynges in þeire bodily brestes or in þeire bowelles, in þeire backs & in þeire reynes,

⁴⁵ Caciola, 68.

⁴⁶ Caciola, 68.

⁴⁷ *Cloud*, 39.

⁴⁸ *Cloud*, 96.

& in þeire pryue membres."⁴⁹ ["And then as fast the Devil has power to give false light or sound, sweet smells, in their noses, wonderful tastes in their mouths, and much clever heat brought to their physical breasts or in their bowels, in their backs, and their gut, and in their private members."]

The "Pryue membres" aspect reinforced the notion that the devil tricked human beings through bodily senses, particularly in a sexual manner. The author's scathing criticism of visionary experiences, and associating the emotive, bodily mysticism with lust and the devil, underscored the threat of unordained lay piety.

The issue here, again, was that this form of mysticism was all too bodily.

"Bot I sey þat þe werke of oure spirit schal not be directe neiþer upwards, ne donwardes, ne on o syde ne on oþer, ne forward ne backward, as it is of a bodely þing. For whi oure werke shuld be goostly, not bodely, ne on a bodely maner wrou3t."⁵⁰ ["But I say that the work of our spirit shall not be directed neither upwards, nor downwards, nor to the side or other, not forward or backward, as if is of a physical being. For with our work we should be spiritual, not bodily, not done in a physical manner."]

The author later elaborated that bodily spirituality could not bring a Christian closer to God.

"For kyndely þei ben ordeynid þat with hem men schuld haue knowing of alle outward bodely þinges, & on no wise by hem come to þe knowing of gostely þinges. I mene bi þeire werkes."⁵¹ ["For kindly have they been taught that the bodily senses should have knowledge of all outward physical things, and in no way by these senses come to know spiritual things. I mean by their works."]

A closer examination of *The Cloud of Unknowing* demonstrates that the anonymous author was concerned with the sexual normativity of his religious community. One aspect of this concern related to the threat of the devil. Another aspect was the author's concern with sexuality. To fully explore the importance of sexuality for the anonymous author, it is

⁴⁹ *Cloud*, 96-97.

⁵⁰ *Cloud*, 106.

⁵¹ *Cloud*, 124.

imperative to understand sexuality in Medieval Christian communities. Historian Ruth Mazo Karras's exploration of chastity as sexuality highlights that chastity not only dominated discourse but also became regulated by the church.⁵² Chastity was an essential part of Medieval religious life; so much so that, for Medieval Christian Europeans, chastity was treated as a sexual identity.⁵³ For Medieval people, "To be chaste was to identify oneself as someone devoted enough to spiritual matters that one could transcend the flesh. This is an even more profound aspect of personal identity than simply a question of whether someone was ritually pure or not."⁵⁴

The church's regulation of chastity and the dominance of chastity in discourse established not only the prominence of chastity but the imperative nature to the formation of identity for chaste Medieval Christians. It was not only people who were tricked by the devil and who were susceptible to false mystical experiences (i.e., heresy, demonic possession), but some people were prideful enough that they willingly ignored the council of the church.⁵⁵ Their pride served as a block to truly understand what a Christian should be; the author argued that these people were far more concerned with the bodily and the profane world. One chapter of *The Cloud* served as a critique against those who thought following the rules of the church was too difficult.⁵⁶ "& for þei were neuer grounded in þis meek blynde felyng & virtuous leuyng, þerfore þei deserue to haue a fals felyng, feynid & wrou3t by þe goostly enmye..."⁵⁷ ["And for you who were never grounded in this meek blind feeling and virtuous living, the first desire to have feigned a false feeling and brought by the Devil."] In addressing lechers, the author revealed his concerns over those who fail to keep to their proper chaste sexual orientation.

For I trowe & alle soche heretikes, & alle þeire fautours, & þei mi3t cleerly be seen as þei scholen on þe last day, schulde be sene ful sone kumbrid in grete & horryble synnes of þe wored & þeire foule flessche priuely, wiþ-uten þeire apeerte presumption in myntenynge of errour. So þat þei ben ful properly clepid Antecriste discyple; for it is seide of hem þat for alle þeire fals fare in apeerte, 3it þei schul be ful foule lechers priuely.⁵⁸

[For I trust that all such heretics and all their followers that they might clearly be seen as should on the last day, and should

⁵² Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 46-47.

⁵³ Karras, 53.

⁵⁴ Karras, 53.

⁵⁵ *Cloud*, 104.

⁵⁶ *Cloud*, 104.

⁵⁷ *Cloud*, 104.

⁵⁸ *Cloud*, 104-105.

be full hindered in great and horrible sins of the world, and privately foul their flesh, without thus maintain a part in the presumption in the error. So that they are full properly named Anti-Christ disciples; for it is said of them that for all evermore false skill, they should be full of foul lechers privately.]

Echoing his previous chapter, the author's concern over lechers echoed his concern over *giglelots*. The concern with lechery and those who act as if they were *giglelots* highlights anxiety about sexuality, gender, and mysticism in *The Cloud of Unknowing*. The Middle Ages witnessed an explosion of laywomen's piety amongst Christians. This piety was typically more erotic than male mysticism and piety. The best-case scenario was that these women, and those who engaged in piety associated with women, were misled by the devil. At worst, they were prideful of their heresy and were servants of the Anti-Christ. Furthermore, while heretics are accused of committing multiple sins, the sin that stands apart from the rest in the passage of *The Cloud* is the sin of lust. The violation of community norms of sexuality, that is, ultimately not only harmful to the individual but poses a threat to the community.

As other historians, such as Grace M. Jantzen, have demonstrated, *The Cloud* author probably wrote about Richard Rolle in chapter fifty-seven.⁵⁹ The possible rebuttal against Richard Rolle's visionary mysticism is imperative, given that Rolle was deemed feminine.⁶⁰ While *The Cloud* author does not address *giglelots* in this chapter, it is essential not to divorce chapter fifty-seven's critique of visionaries with earlier chapters' critiques on visionaries. Rolle fits into earlier critiques well because not only did he wear his sister's dresses, but also the type of piety he engaged in was associated with the feminine. *The Cloud of Unknowing's* author's critique can be understood as a critique of Rolle's masculinity in that, Rolle failed to perform pious masculinity correctly.

The author was not merely unforgiving in one section of the text, but his disdain was evident throughout the text. Chapter fifty-seven is notable in this regard. *The Cloud* author described the visionary's imagination as so strong that it could penetrate planets and that visionaries, they refashioned God for their purposes.⁶¹ The author connected visionary mysticism with the devil. The issue with this type of mysticism was that it was not only harmful to the individual, but it was also harmful to the community. The devil posed a significant threat to Medieval Christians. Heresy was often likened to a sickness that spreads.

"Somme of ðees men ðe deuil wil diseyue wonderfully. For he wil seende a maner of dwew- aungelles foode ðei wene it be- as it were comyngoute of ðe eire, & softly & sweetly fallyng in ðeire mowðes; & ðerfore ðei haue it in costume to sitte

⁵⁹ Jantzen, 191.

⁶⁰ Jantzen, 190.

⁶¹ *Cloud* 105.

gapyng as þei wold kacche flies."⁶² ["Some of these men the devil will deceive wonderfully. For he will send a manner of dew—they will want it to be angel's food—as if were coming out of the air and softly and sweetly falling in their mouths, and therefore they have the mouth custom to sit gaping as if they would catch flies."]

One of the ways how the devil can threaten Christians is through magic. This was another area of Medieval society in which gender defined acceptable behavior from unacceptable behavior. Magic, like religion, was gendered. The thin line between mysticism, magic, and heresy was often blurred, particularly for women. Heresy was something women were particularly prone to. Magic, like sexuality, was often associated with women. As a rule, magic was a type of heresy. While it may be tempting to overlook the author's brief exploration into necromancy, this would miss a prime opportunity to explore what constituted magic, heresy, or mysticism and the influence of gender and sexuality on those categories.

There are tolerable forms of magic in *The Cloud of Unknowing*. The examination of magic associated with males was not treated as carefully as heresy. Male magic served as a grey area of acceptability, and even respectability. Specifically, the author wrote briefly and approvingly about necromancy. Necromancy is a type of magic and was generally practiced by men. Unlike other forms of more feminine magic, necromancy is a reading and text-based type of magic. Necromancy is the calling of wicked spirits or the spirits of the dead to do the bidding of the necromancer. This often led men to have sole dominion over necromancy; most known necromancers were members of the clergy. The author was not only in communication with necromancers, but the anonymous author sought the necromancer's advice on the crucial matter of explaining the nature of the devil to the audience.⁶³ The author explained,

For as I haue conceyuid by som disciples of nygromauncye, þe whiche han it in science for to make aduocacion of wickyd spirites, & by som vnto whom þe feende haþ apperid in bodily licnes: þat in what bodily licnes þe feend appereþ, euermore he haþ bot o nose- þerel, & þatis grete & wyde. & he wil gladly kast it up, þat a man may see þerate to his brayne vp in his heed.⁶⁴

⁶² *Cloud*, 105.

⁶³ *Cloud*, 103.

⁶⁴ *Cloud*, 103.

[For I have understood by some disciples of necromancy, in which a science made an invocation of wicked spirits and by some unto whom the devil has appeared in bodily likeness: in what bodily likeness the devil appeared, he has but one nostril, and that is great and wide and he will gladly cast it up, that a man may see there at to his brain up in his head.]

This text perfectly highlights the male dominance in the church power structure because it defines what is acceptable in matters of magic, mysticism, and heresy. *The Cloud* author's description of the devil also emphasizes his physicality, which the author associated with the ungodly. Necromancy is portrayed as a field one studies in, rather than a magic one performed. The nonchalance in describing something that should be viewed as heretical is palpable: necromancers were prideful enough to believe that they could safely summon the devil and get him, and other wicked spirits, to do the necromancers bidding. Talking to the dead is not intrinsically heretical because Catholics talk to the dead by praying through saints. By the fourteenth century, necromancy was viewed as a possible danger for humans. Necromancers have a place within spirituality in that they work to win over wicked spirits and were not treated with the same disdain as other heretical ideas, such as Lollardy and female mystics, because in confirmed a hierarchal male power structure and the power of the church.

Despite the clear and real threat the Devil presented to Christians in the Middle Ages, it seems an almost cognitive dissonance that necromancers, who got close enough to the Devil so that they were able to describe his physical appearance, were suspected without the fear of demonic possession. However, for Medieval people, piety and necromancy were not mutually exclusive. Women were merely more susceptible to the devil's traps, whereas clergymen were educated and expected to be chaste, and thus more capable of engaging in magic than women. In exploring the relationship between mysticism, heresy, and magic, Jantzen argued that "Churchmen had long taught that women were simultaneously oversexed and rationally and morally inferior to men. They were, therefore, 'naturally' less spiritual than men, and were the ones who would most easily succumb to the devil's allurements, particularly sexual allurements..."⁶⁵

The Cloud of Unknowing is regarded as a seminal text in Medieval English mysticism. The text has been largely ignored over the last few decades, which is a shame given that there is plenty that *The Cloud* can offer to help historians understand mysticism and the concerns the male authority of the church had with the increasing feminization of mysticism. Exploring the concepts of mysticism, gender, and sexuality in *The Cloud* provides a nuanced examination of mysticism in the High Middle Ages in England.

⁶⁵ Jantzen, 270.

Ancient Greek Ideas on the Nature of Reality and Their Influence on the Discovery of Quantum Mechanics

Michelle Spremich

Abstract: The discovery of quantum mechanics in the 1920s would not have occurred without the influence of ancient Greek ideas. Beginning with Pre-Socratic thought, and the subsequent formalization of Aristotelian logic historians can trace the chronological chain of ideas that began with the debate on the particulate or continuous reduced nature of reality. These ideas shaped how scientist think, and the debate set the tone for how modern scientific evidence would be interpreted. This paper explores how the ancient debate directly enabled the quantum pioneers in their discovery of quantum mechanics, and by consequence, how the ancient particle/continuum debate was resolved.

On October 27, 1924 physicists and mathematicians met at the Fifth Solvay Conference to discuss the significance of quantum mechanics and its transformative impact on contemporary physics. In the decades prior to the conference, mounting evidence of sub-atomic processes demonstrated that the physics behind the preeminent Newtonian mechanical view of the universe was no longer sufficient in its explanation of light and subatomic phenomena. Most surprisingly, the desire to fix the inadequacies within classical physics led to evidence that seemed to suggest that electrons possessed qualities that were particulate and wave-like in nature; a duality which violated logic. This duality puzzled scientists who struggled to make sense of how an electron could both display the mutually exclusive qualities of a continuum and a discrete unit.

The impassioned debates surrounding the significance of subatomic behavior at the Solvay conference legitimized quantum mechanics as a new field in physics, but its discovery did not occur in a vacuum by a handful of modern scientists. By understanding Anaximander, Heraclitus, and Parmenides's ancient ideas regarding the reductive nature of the universe, their attempt to resolve opposites, and the subsequent emergence of Aristotle's law of Noncontradiction, one can see how these ideas set the foundation for quantum scientists. Quantum mechanics should not only be credited to a few quantum pioneers in the 1920s; rather, viewed as the apex of the persistent and cumulative historical inquiry into the reduced nature of reality.

Science depends on rational thought. A shift in thinking Greece during the sixth century BCE created an environment in which intellectuals asked questions without assuming theological explanations. Prior to this century, natural phenomena were

mechanically thought of consequences caused by divine impulse.¹ A single individual helped transform western thinking from metaphysical explanations to rational analysis. Thales of Miletus abandoned divine influence in his explanation of earthquakes by theorizing that the shaking was caused by water rather than the whims of an angry god. The importance of this intellectual shift from theological explanations to natural cause cannot be overstated; it set off a chain of ideas that directly influenced later thinkers to support their ideas with rational thought rather than reliance on metaphysics.

Anaximander continued the rational discussion and reasoned his way to conclude that the universe is reducible to a continuous primary substance. This he referred to as *apeiron*, or that which has no boundaries.² He did not rely on sense perception in order to formulate his theory; *apeiron* cannot be observed nor can it be defined. A fragment of his surviving writing states:

The Non-Limited (*apeiron*) is the original material of existing things; further, the source from which existing things derive their existence is also that to which they return at their destruction, according to necessity: for they give justice and make reparation to one another for their injustice, according to the arrangement of Time.³

This was the first instance in which the fundamental nature of reality was thought to be reducible to a continuous form. More importantly, Anaximander began to question the fallibility of the human senses. His theory held that there is an underlying nature of reality unobservable to the human eye, therefore only being comprehensible through the use of reason. In contrast to the other Milesian materialists who believed that the universe is reducible to a primary element, he insisted that reality is reducible to a substance that cannot be defined due to the fallibility of the senses. Anaximander's theory is relevant because his idea would be revisited by atomic theorists of the 19th century, who theorized that an unobservable microscopic substance is at the heart of all matter.⁴ In addition, *apeiron* is the fundamental substance that is responsible for the creation of complex macroscopic objects through the mitigation of opposites. Anaximander implies that contradictory forces are not mutually exclusive. It is a cooperative duality that is necessary for the universe's existence. This concept would be evidenced by the electron's simultaneous particle and wave-like behavior, as discovered in the beginning of the twentieth century. An electron's dual nature being an essential property of the atomic structure, from which all things are created.

The heart of reality depends upon a necessary dichotomy, and Heraclitus of Ionia agreed. He continued Anaximander's work by favoring a prime universal continuum but

¹ G.E.R. Lloyd *Early Greek Science: Thales to Aristotle*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1970), 117.

² J.L.E. Dyer, *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler* (New York: Dover Publication, Inc., 1953), 13.

³ Kathleen Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943), 19.

⁴ Roland Omnès, *Quantum Philosophy: Understanding and Interpreting Contemporary Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 135-136.

disagreed on its core essence; he believed that all material things are reducible to fire rather than *apeiron*. However, when we analyze his surviving written fragments—it seems like paradoxical nonsense. One surviving fragment states that fire, “rests from change.”⁵ He resolves this paradox by theorizing that two polarized states such as the states of rest and change are not mutually exclusive; rather, opposites are necessary because they exist in tension, and it is that tension that is a catalyst for change and material transformation.⁶

A second and third surviving fragment attributed to Heraclitus states, “Everything flows,” and, “In the same river, we step and we don’t step.”⁷ These simple phrases further support his belief of an ever-changing universe that is in constant motion. Scientist and mathematician, Werner Heisenberg further substantiates a continuously evolving universe in his Uncertainty Principle; a mathematical equation which proves that the position and momentum of a subatomic particle cannot be observed simultaneously. When an observer views an electron, they will only witness its blurred path,⁸ and like a river that is constantly in a state of motion, an electron’s inherent motionless quality cannot be observed by the human senses.

Parmenides of Elea agreed with Heraclitus and Anaximander. Reason alone should be used to seek objective truth. However, in contrast to Heraclitus’s view, he rejected the existence of change and argued that any observable variation is an illusion of the senses. He argued that reality itself is a whole unfractured system, a universal particle that had no beginning or end. It was never created nor will be destroyed, and the only real thing is existence itself. He writes:

For nothing else either is or shall be except Being, since Fate has tied it down to be whole; and motionless; therefore, all things that mortals have established, believing in their truth are just a name: Becoming and Perishing, Being and not-Being, and change of position, and alteration of bright color.⁹

Parmenides addresses opposing states such as Being and Not-being by reasoning that states of mutual exclusivity cannot logically exist within a universe that is an indivisible unit. Differences cannot exist because the universe is a unified state, and if it were subject to internal change it would exist as a fractured state of imbalance. His idea that the universe exists as a single unit suggests that although reality is not reducible to a single essence from the human perspective, the whole universe is reducible to a particle due to the universe’s already reduced state. Furthermore, the idea of mutually exclusive concepts cannot exist in an undivided unit due to its unified state, despite human sense perception suggesting otherwise.

⁵ Kathleen Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, 27.

⁶ Werner Heisenberg, *Physics and Philosophy* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1962), 6.

⁷ Kathleen Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, 28.

⁸ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 104.

⁹ Kathleen Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, 44.

Much of Parmenides's theories were proven incorrect by future science. However, it is important to note that certain critical aspects of his ideas are relevant to modern science. For example, his assertion that the universe is one universal particle is not far off base. Erwin Schrödinger's work on wave function mechanics relies on a mathematical equation that only works in a universal closed system which suggests that the universe is a single unit despite perceptive change.

Anaximander, Heraclitus, and Parmenides's work were significant because they utilized reason in their analysis; however, according to Aristotle their conclusions were not acceptable because they could not be verified by observation. In his famous work *Physics*, Aristotle offers a balanced approach by concluding that the senses can be trusted to a certain degree, but one should use caution because observation or reason alone can lead the individual astray in the quest for absolute truth.¹⁰ One must supplement observation with logical analysis; however, it is necessary to begin the process of deduction with a universally agreed upon fact. In the opening lines of *Physics*, he states, "The natural way to go about this is to start with what is more intelligible and clear *to us* and move from there to what is clearer and more intelligible *in itself*." Unlike Parmenides, Aristotle stressed that change within the universe is a self-evident truth because it can be observed. Although he agreed with Anaximander's prime continuum he disagreed on the *nature* of the continuum; the continuum cannot be defined as an unobservable primary substance because it cannot be observed. Rather, he used reason based on observation to conclude that the continuum is defined as an uninterrupted process of change caused by a process of mutual influence between all matter within the universe. Furthermore, he dismissed the belief of a particulate reality because it is logically inconsistent due to observed perpetual fluidity of change and mutual influence between material objects Dr. John Bell of Stanford writes:

Aristotle defines continuity as a *relation* between entities rather than as an *attribute* appertaining to a single entity; that is to say, he does not provide an explicit definition of the concept of *continuum*. He observes that a single continuous whole can be brought into existence by "gluing together" two things which have been brought into contact, which suggests that the continuity of a whole should derive from the way its *parts* "join up".¹¹

Aristotle's idea of a continuum based on the process of mutual influence has been validated by modern science. Werner Heisenberg discovered that the process of change is dependent on the probabilistic interactions of quantum objects which is essential in the continual creation of objective reality.¹² Reality is continually created through interaction. To ensure that an observation followed by reason does not lead to nonsensical assumptions, Aristotle outlined formal rules of logic. He believed his logical methods were

¹⁰ G.E.R. Lloyd *Early Greek Science: Thales to Aristotle*, 99.

¹¹ Aristotle, *Physics*. A New Translation by Walter Waterfield. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 9.

¹² John L. Bell, *Continuity and Infinitesimals*, The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

necessary guidelines to access ultimate truth; most notably, The Law of Non-Contradiction. Nothing can both exist and not exist at the same time and in the same respect. Put more simply, no statement is both true and false.¹³

The law of Non-Contradiction is especially relevant to modern science because it created a rule that states that an object cannot simultaneously be in two states at the same time. Any fact must be either true or false. Quantum mechanics reaffirms this standard. Wolfgang Pauli's Exclusion Principle states that no two electrons can exist in the same space at the same time, and if Aristotle's logic was not correct then atoms would consequently collapse in on themselves.¹⁴ Therefore, the structure of the atom depends on the Law of Non-Contradiction for its existence and further validates ancient Aristotelian ideas.

Aristotle invented logical methods that would be the foundation for future scientific research.¹⁵ By criticizing Anaximander, Heraclitus, and Parmenides, Aristotle discovered that the search for universal knowledge should begin with logical relationships between axiomatic sense objects. The seventeenth century British mathematician and astronomer, Isaac Newton exemplified these core Aristotelian values in his explanation of motion. By observing planetary movement, he reasoned his way to explain their movements with his Three Laws of Motion.¹⁶ It is key to note that like Aristotle, Newton relied upon observation supplemented by reason, without the use of experimentation. That he was able to invent his eponymous Laws of Motion serves to further validate the efficacy of Aristotelian logical process. However, unlike Aristotle who believed that the universe could be reduced to a continuum, Newton believed that reality is reducible to phenomenon that is particulate in nature due to his claim that motion and subsequent change were caused by the interaction and influence of macroscopic objects and fundamental particles therein.¹⁷ It is important to emphasize, that Newton revised a two-thousand-year-old Aristotelian idea by modifying a core element. Change is caused by the interaction of particles rather than a continuum of objective mutual influence. Like Aristotle, Newton had no way of proving or falsifying his belief in a particulate reality, but his argument was accepted due to its foundation in Aristotelian logic which relied on observation supplemented by reason.

According to science historian Thomas Kuhn, despite Newton's inability to prove beyond a doubt a-particulate reduced nature of reality, the idea persisted due to his scientific brilliance in other aspects of physics.¹⁸ For example, since he was able to predict the movement of the heavenly bodies through his invention of differential calculus he was seen by the scientific community as an authority in physics and his findings were rarely

¹³ G.E.R. Lloyd, *Early Greek Science: Thales to Aristotle*, 99.

¹⁴ Aristotle. *Metaphysics*.

¹⁵ George Gamow, *Thirty Years That Shook Physics: The Story of Quantum Theory*, (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc), 66.

¹⁶ Edward Grant, *A History of Natural Philosophy: From the Ancient World to the Nineteenth Century*, 6.

¹⁷ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 104.

¹⁸ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 104.

questioned.¹⁹ His work in optics suggested that light is particulate in its most reduced form, because it behaved in a manner that as described by his three Laws of Motion. Most notably, the First Law which states that an object will move in a straight line unless acted upon by an outside force. By shining white light through a prism, he found that light moved in a straight line suggesting its particle-like quality. However, one notable scientist disagreed. In 1678 Christiaan Huygens proposed that light displays properties of a wave-like continuity, but the theory was largely ignored due to Newton's dominance in the scientific community.²⁰ Although Huygens's wave theory went largely unnoticed. It is important to emphasize his dissenting opinion because it demonstrates that the two-thousand-year-old particle/continuum debate that began two-thousand years ago in ancient Greece still had an impact on the science community in the seventeenth century. continued to make an impact on science during the seventeenth century.

Newtonian classical physics worked because it was intuitive. It made sense that the universe functioned similar to a giant universal mechanism, in which all particles influence each other. This process of mutual influence is responsible for motion and change, with every event caused by a preceding event in deterministic fashion. The process is observable and predictable through logic-based mathematics which further validated Aristotle's assertion that the senses can be trusted, and ultimate truth is accessible with logical analysis.

In the early 1800s, Newtonian ideas regarding the mechanical nature of the universe persisted. However, in the year 1800 Thomas Young challenged the Newtonian-particulate understanding of light when he conducted an experiment that would change future science. By shining light through a barrier containing two narrow slits he discovered that after the light traveled past the barrier the experiment resulted in bands of light as a consequence of constructive and destructive interference.²¹ If light was particulate in nature it would not create bands of light because such interference can only be created by continuous wave-like phenomena similar to ripples in a pond.²² It is critical to understand that although light's wave-like and continuous nature replaced Newton's prime particle, the Double Slit experiment further validated the Newtonian determinism because light's path through the double slit can be calculated to determine its final position. Another important feature of the experiment is that it reinvigorated the particle/continuum debate after a particulate reality was thought to be settled by Newtonian physics. Although the Newtonian model accurately described phenomena in its relationship to motion, as a consequence of particulate mutual influence; the conclusions of the Double Slit Experiment suggested that Newton's particle model was incomplete, despite its deterministic nature.

The Double Slit Experiment affirmed the continuous nature of light in reconciliation with the Newtonian deterministic universe. However, in the early 1900s classical mechanics was found to be problematic, because it did not accurately explain the heat spectrum. It

¹⁹ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 19.

²⁰ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 19.

²¹ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 19.

²² Roland Omnès, *Quantum Philosophy: Understanding and Interpreting Contemporary Science*, 38.

was discovered that the universe should be overwhelmed with infinitely high temperatures if light is both wave-like and infinitely divisible.²³ The struggle to solve the infinite temperature problem was the catalyst responsible for the discovery of quantum mechanics.²⁴ In 1901, theoretical physicist Max Planck found that the underlying issue within the infinite temperature problem, rested on the classical understanding that energy is continuous in nature. Planck formulated an equation that replaced light's continuous quality with a discrete, quantized unit. According to Planck, when an object radiates heat it actually emits energy in discrete packets, not a continuous wave. Planck's quantization of energy fixed the infinite temperature problem by accurately describing temperature limitations; however, quantized energy as proposed by Planck stood in contradiction to light's well-established continual nature. If light was particulate and continuous in nature it violates the ancient and proven Law of Non-Contradiction; therefore, the dual nature of light appeared to be logically impossible.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Planck's quantized theory of energy set in motion a major change in physics. Specifically, the desire to understand the true description of energy and resolve its ostensible paradoxical nature. According to Albert Einstein, there was no reason to assume that the classical physics behind light's continuous nature was incorrect, until Planck's discrete energy mathematically fixed the problem of radiation.²⁵ But it cannot be wave-like (as confirmed by Young) and simultaneously quantized in quality (as proposed by Planck). Therefore, in 1905 Einstein tested the dual nature of energy and conducted an experiment confirming Planck's quanta. By shining light on a metallic surface, he discovered that the interaction between light and matter ejected photoelectrons from the surface of the metal plate. This process was known as the *photoelectric effect*.²⁶

The significance of the photoelectric effect cannot be understated. Although it seemed paradoxical that continuous light emitted a particle from a metal surface, Einstein found that the continuous nature of the shining light is composed of discrete photons. These were responsible for the displacement of photoelectrons on the metallic surface. The interaction of photons and the atoms that make up metallic surfaces demonstrates that change occurs through the process of mutual influence. The light *caused* the photoelectrons to be dislodged. The photoelectric effect, demonstrated that the dual nature of light is only paradoxical when not analyzed through its most reduced particulate form.

Energy's simultaneous wave and particle duality proved to be false, Einstein's confirmation of light's reduced particulate nature through the photoelectric effect did not invalidate Young's Double Slit experiment. When Young shined a coherent light source through the Double Slit barrier, light was viewed through a macro perspective and

²³ Richard Olson, *Science as a Metaphor: The Historical Role of Scientific Theories in Forming Western Culture*, 296.

²⁴ George Gamow, *Thirty Years That Shook Physics: The Story of Quantum Theory*, 16-17.

²⁵ George Gamow, *Thirty Years That Shook Physics: The Story of Quantum Theory*, 16-17.

²⁶ Albert Einstein, Leopold Infeld, *The Evolution of Physics. From Early Concepts to Relativity and Quanta*. (New York: Simon & Shuster, Inc., 1938.), 253.

therefore continuous in quality and correct from the experiment's perspective. He was unable to further reduce the light source to its particulate state. This was due to the fallibility of his sense perception and the limited technology available during the early nineteenth century. Anaximander was right; there is an underlying micro reality within the macro world inaccessible to the human senses. Furthermore, energy's opposing particle/continuous state is only paradoxical when observed through comparative analysis of light through a micro and macro perspective. An observer must reduce light to its most fundamental form in order to invalidate its apparent opposing nature. The photoelectric effect further substantiated the foundational Aristotelian logic behind scientific principles.

After Einstein's experiment on the photoelectric effect, scientists turned their attention to the structure of the atom. Without the photoelectric effect's evidence that further validated Aristotle's law of Noncontradiction, it is doubtful that Niels Bohr would recognize the problematic structure of the contemporary atom. Bohr discovered that an electron's orbit does not behave like a planet orbiting the sun as suggested by classical mechanics, such orbital structure would result in the electron crashing into the nucleus due to gravitational pull.²⁷ By consequence, atoms would destroy themselves and the universe would not exist.²⁸ Bohr further theorized that since Einstein discovered light could dislodge electrons from a metallic surface, then perhaps the electron can only occupy orbits in discrete distances from the atom. This dual nature explains how an electron emits energy in discrete units, rather than in a continuous fashion. When an electron is emitted or absorbed, it jumps an energy level by absorbing or radiating energy that coincides with the distance between orbits.

Bohr was correct, but he discovered something surprising. As an atom absorbed or emitted energy, the electron immediately jumped to another level without following a well-defined transitional path; it seemed to pop in and out of existence from one orbit to another. As Bohr confirmed the electron's particulate nature, Louis De Broglie postulated that particulate energy within the atom should have wave-like properties akin to light, and it must follow the same dual quality as proved by the photoelectric effect. There was no reason to believe that electrons should behave any differently. He therefore theorized that the particle within the orbit can also be viewed as a circular standing wave. The Davidson-Germer Experiment confirmed De Broglie's standing wave theory which consequently reinvigorated the paradoxical nature of the electron due to its reductive contradictory dual state.²⁹ The paradox directly inspired Schrödinger, and Heisenberg's work to mathematically explain the duality.³⁰

Schrodinger and Heisenberg approached the problem from two different perspectives.³¹ Inspired by De Broglie's wave hypothesis, Schrodinger analyzed the

²⁷ Albert Einstein, Leopold Infeld, *The Evolution of Physics. From Early Concepts to Relativity and Quanta*, 258.

²⁸ Roland Omnès, *Quantum Philosophy: Understanding and Interpreting Contemporary Science*, 137.

²⁹ George Gamow, *Thirty Years That Shook Physics: The Story of Quantum Theory*, 83-85.

³⁰ Werner Heisenberg, *Physics and Philosophy*, 14.

³¹ George Gamow, *Thirty Years That Shook Physics: The Story of Quantum Theory*, 87, 99.

electron's wave-like property while Heisenberg analyzed the electron's movement from a particulate standpoint. Both created different mathematical formulas that expressed the same idea; the electron's final state cannot be determined with knowledge of its initial position and momentum. Schrödinger's Wave Equation and Heisenberg's Matrix Mechanics mathematically proved that an observer can only calculate the *probability* of the electron's final state based on wave or matrix mechanics.³²

The significance of quantum mechanics rests on evidence that proves that when an electron is in its continuous wave form it is in a state of continuous superposition of states, because prior to its observation or interaction with other matter it has the potential to materialize in a random position. There is no way to predict where the particle will materialize due to the probabilistic nature of Heisenberg's Matrix and Schrodinger's Wave equation. This hinges on the fact that it is in the act of observation, that causes an electron to materialize. In other words, an atom's interaction with other atoms, causes the wave function to collapse. This then results in causing the electron to transform, from a wave of probability to a discrete event. As a field of probability decoheres into an event it proves that the electron's dual particle and continuous nature is necessary for the universe's existence because the continuous probabilistic wave function causes a discrete event.

The evidence derived from the study of quantum mechanics is not a reflection of new ideas; rather, it is the scientific confirmation of ancient theories. Anaximander, Heraclitus, and Parmenides all questioned the reliability of the senses and theorized that there is a layer of reality that is not observable from the human perspective. Anaximander's idea was verified by the discovery of the atom and subatomic processes which are only accessible through the use of advanced technology. Furthermore, Anaximander believed that the unobservable and undefinable *apeiron* is the essence that causes growth and evolutionary processes like a living organism.³³ The underlying abstract wave function is not structurally defined nor can it be seen; however, like *apeiron*, the wave function is the influencing mechanism that is the underlying cause of material transformation and evolutionary progress.

Like Anaximander, Heraclitus's ideas are just as relevant although they are more difficult to understand; specifically, the paradoxical phrase, "It rests from change." With these four words he said that a necessary quality of the universe in its natural state is of change and transformation. The work of quantum theorists proved Heraclitus's idea to be correct. Change is a necessary characteristic of the universe that relies on the necessary duality of events governed by the probability that a certain event will occur. Like fire, the universe rests from change. The transformative nature of the universe depends on such duality. Parmenides denied the existence of opposites in his assertion that change and separation are an illusion within a universal single unit. Everything with the universe including all aspects of life and matter are one. Quantum mechanics verifies the interconnectedness of all atoms within the universe. From a micro perspective there is no

³² Werner Heisenberg, *Physics and Philosophy*, 14.

³³ George Gamow, *Thirty Years That Shook Physics: The Story of Quantum Theory*, 28.

differentiation between atoms, and the tangible objects of our environment are merely an illusion.

Parmenides's theory of the of a universal whole was amended by Aristotle whose ideas were extremely critical in their influence on quantum mechanical theory. The desire to make sense of the mutually exclusive particulate and continuous nature of the electron drove scientists to dig deeper and solve this paradox. Without Aristotle's Law of Noncontradiction serving as an important foundation of science, the quantum pioneers would not have recognized the problem of an electron's dual nature and worked so fervently to solve what seemed to be a paradox. Furthermore, like Heraclitus Aristotle postulated that any substance is defined by its potential state, and any substance in the universe is created by the effects of mutual influence. This functions similarly to how atoms transform through interactions with other states of matter. Heisenberg stated that matter is never in a state of completeness, it is always transforming to become something else. It cannot be defined as it is in a single moment because it is always in a state of transition from potentiality to a new state of being.³⁴

Quantum Mechanics resolved the particle continuum debate by discovering that the true nature of the universe is not a particle, nor a continuum. It is both, and the duality and opposing forces are necessary for the universe's existence. Without a wave function of potential outcomes there is no event; in other words, with the absence of change there is no reality, and change depends on opposing forces working in cooperation to perpetuate the creation of reality. The ancient Greek ideas of Anaximander, Heraclitus, Parmenides, and Aristotle set in motion a chain of ideas, whose tradition of rational analysis laid the groundwork for a modern understanding of the reductive nature of reality and opposing forces within the universe. Since an idea is dependent on antecedent ideas, we can credit the ancients in their direct influence in the discovery of quantum mechanics and the resolution of the particle/continuum debate.

³⁴ Shimon Malin, *Nature Loves to Hide: Quantum Physics and the Nature of Reality, a Western Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 142.

The Cartography of Power: The Politics of Cartography, Geography, and Discovery in Hapsburg Spain

Joshua Lourence

Abstract: This paper attempts to fill that gap in knowledge by studying how the Spanish Hapsburg Monarchy attempted to control navigational information in the early sixteenth century focusing mostly on the reigns of Charles V and Phillip II of Spain. The activities that were supported by these monarchs included: gathering new geographical information (for example investing in mathematical schools and methods for solving the problem of longitude) as well as activities for controlling geographical information (for example locking up maps and sponsoring maps drawn favorably). These activities assisted the Spanish colonial project, kept other European colonial powers from developing serious colonies in the Western Hemisphere and altered how the old world perceived the new world, even to this day.

As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra wrote “we know little of Iberian colonial science and technology”.¹ This paper attempts to fill that gap in knowledge by studying how the Spanish Hapsburg Monarchy attempted to control navigational information in the early sixteenth century focusing mostly on the reigns of Charles V and Phillip II of Spain. The activities that were supported by these monarchs included gathering new geographical information (for example, investing in mathematical schools and methods for solving the problem of longitude) as well as activities for controlling geographical information (for example locking up maps and sponsoring maps drawn favorably). These activities assisted the Spanish in the colonial project, kept other European colonial powers from developing serious colonies in the Western Hemisphere and altered how the old world perceived the new world, even to this day.

Central Question, Potential Arguments, Significance.

This paper will attempt to examine three interrelated questions. The first will be, “how did the Hapsburg monarchs of Spain attempt to control geographical knowledge?” This leads to three separate sub-questions the first of which will be: “how did the Spanish attempt to acquire geographical information?” The second will be: “what measures did the Spanish government take to ensure that the geographical information did not leak to competing nations?” The third sub-question will be: “how did the Spanish use their geographical knowledge to bolster their claims to valuable colonial space?” This will lead

¹Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. *Iberian Colonial Science* Source: Isis, Vol. 96, No. 1 (March 2005), pp. 64-70. 64

to the question of “how did these attempts alter how the geography of the world especially the New World was perceived?” This will finally allow me to ask the question of: “how these efforts affected how other Europeans perceived the world”. My research has revealed that in spite of some earlier views that the Spanish state invested considerable effort and resources to organize institutions that would both use empirical ways of gaining knowledge and invent ways that would keep that knowledge within the control of the Spanish State. In other words, it seems that the Spanish State attempted to create a monopoly of geographical knowledge about the New World. The attempts to control geographic information in turn altered how the rest of Europe viewed the Western Hemisphere. A telling example of this effect is how the West views the world as divided into western and eastern hemispheres. While this line would seem somewhat arbitrary, it generally follows the lines that were distinctly marked in most Spanish maps, those made by the treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza.

I am interested in this topic because it represents an unprecedented moment when one continent of people discovered another continent without any foreknowledge before contact. A study of how Europeans assimilated the New World into their worldview could have the potential of laying the basis for how we view the world at the current moment. Overall, the Spanish colonial project drove Spanish science, which in turn affected how the Spanish and our society as the intellectual descendants of the European mindset view the world. I will attempt to use a variety of primary and secondary sources, and I will generally follow the information, so I will present evidence that describes how Spain collected information, then evidence about how Spain synthesized that information, evidence concerning Spanish attempts to secure strategic information and then finally evidence pertaining to the impact of these policies on the modern Western psyche.

One of the more celebrated political achievements of the Iberian Kingdoms that shortly followed the discovery of the New World, was the Treaty of Tordesillas. This Treaty merged the results of several different papal bulls that, while generally favoring Spain, contradicted each other. The treaty clearly shows signs of the religious justification for the colonial projects of both Spain and Portugal. For example in the third paragraph it reads “In the name of Our all mighty Father and Son and Holy Spirit, three persons in one true God²”, this particular passage refers to the Christian Trinity, but there are many other mentions of God in the document as well. While exploring this portion of the colonial mindset would be helpful to this project, adding that level of research to an already expansive topic would be too much for a limited space, instead I will focus on the state and state attempts to control knowledge, acknowledging the fact that the Church and State were very interconnected during the Hapsburg Monarchy and that the Church undoubtedly had an impact on the colonial project.

The majority of the text deals with Africa, namely how the colonial powers would interact with African rulers and how far the Spanish could explore the coast. The treaty

² *Tratado de Tordesillas*, *Wikimedia Commons*, (8 february, 2015)

even allocates fishing rights off of the coast of Africa. The treaty divided the world into two colonizable spheres based on a line that was demarcated “370 leagues west of the Cape Verde and Azores islands³”, which provided grounds for further disagreement because of the difficulty of determining longitude at sea, as well as several other controversies relating to the units the distance was measured with, whether the line was to be determined by the point specified in the treaty or by the papal bulls that proceeded it. According to Walter Mignolo, the papal bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas established “the right of Christians to ‘take possession’⁴. While this notion would obviously lead to a conflict between the Catholic nations that felt they had this right, and the nations they encountered that did not subscribe to this belief, it would also create conflict between the nations as they competed to “take possession” of the most valuable land possible.

The competition between the two nations, the exploration of Ferdinand Magellan from the Atlantic through the Pacific and eventually to East Asia, and the contradictory papal bulls that followed it necessitated a new treaty, the treaty of Zaragoza. This treaty extended the line made by the treaty of Tordesillas to the Pacific, raising the stakes of determining longitude because the treaty added valuable possible colonial space to whichever country could show that the territory was on their side of the line that was measured via longitude⁵. The treaty raised the stakes of the problem of longitude even further, As Mundy explained “The establishment of the second line [set by the Treaty of Zaragoza] was even more crucial than the first [set by the Treaty of Tordesillas], for while the former meant some stretch of the untamed Amazon would fall either to Spain or to Portugal, the latter held the promise of such prizes as the Philippines and Indonesia”⁶ Like the earlier treaty of Tordesillas this treaty also makes many religious references⁷ that would be fascinating to explore, but wouldn’t fit well in the space I have. The fact that both of these lines were based over longitude, a seemingly neutral measure that at the time couldn’t be measured, added the element of political competition to the study of longitude, allowing the first state to measure it the ability to exploit it to its own means. The conflict over colonial possessions would last for quite some time. According to *Frontiers of Possession*, uncertainty about the border between Spain and Portugal in South America would last until the 19th century, based on a diverse array of legal arguments that used evidence from Roman law, Papal Bulls, and treaties, including but not limited to those mentioned in this paper⁸. The very fact that these treaties were used by the states in conflicts over border territory for more than three centuries indicates the lasting impact they had on how these two states interacted with each other and visualized colonial space.

³ Portuondo, María M. 2009. *Secret science Spanish cosmography and the new world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 66

⁴ Mignolo Walter, *The Idea of Latin America*. Malden, Blackwell Publishing. 2005. 31

⁵ Padron, Ricardo “A Sea of Denial: The Early Modern Spanish Invention of the Pacific Rim” *Hispanic Review*, Vol. 77, No. 1, Re-Envisioning Early Modern Iberia: Visuality, Materiality, pp 1-27. 1

⁶ Mundy, Barbara E. *The Mapping of New Spain*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 14

⁷*Treaty of Zaragoza*. Treaty. Zaragoza. Archivo General de Indias .patronato real. Patronato, 49, R.9

⁸ Herzog, Tamar. 2015. *Frontiers of possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*. 5

These treaties created competition between the Spanish and Portuguese empires concerning how they depicted valuable territory with regards to where valuable territories lay with regards to the lines set by the treaties. According to Sandman, this competition with Portugal continued even after Portugal was annexed by Phillip II of Spain in 1580.⁹ The competition between the technically united nations drove the Spanish to improve their cartographic skills, notably the ability to determine longitude by sea. This led to many experiments that attempted to determine longitude at sea, for example, an eclipse survey. In 1577 the Spaniard Juan Lopez de Velasco who was appointed as the “main cosmographer-chronicler” of the Council of the Indies, (the Spanish institution in charge of governing the colonies on behalf of the king) sent a survey to the colonies instructing them to observe one of two lunar eclipses that would occur in September of 1577 and 1578. If they recorded the altitude of the moon at the time of the eclipse, relative longitude between points could be established.¹⁰ This survey was met by with little response. Only a few surveys (mostly from Mexico City) ever returned to Velasco, defeating the purpose of the survey, which was to get a wide spectrum of results in order to ascertain where the main points in the colonies were in relation to one another.¹¹ The actions and the response of Velasco reveal two important facts about this kind of scientific endeavors (those conducted by individuals as opposed to the state) were as successful as those that had state support. The fact that Velasco spent the time and energy to create this project demonstrates the need for the Spanish empire to find where colonies were. Specifically regarding longitude, both for navigational purposes and to support Spain’s claims in its rivalry over longitude with Portugal that stemmed from the treaty of Tordesillas and the Treaty of Zaragoza.

Velasco’s Surveys also demonstrate a divide between the educated cosmographers and those who made the observations that the cosmographers relied on, in this case, because those that were called upon to respond to a simple observation did not do it. This factor is especially telling because the survey seems to be especially designed so that a layman could complete it. The results of experiments like this demonstrate the necessity of the bureaucracy that the crown created in order to control the colonies and the information about them.

One of the responses to the discovery of the New World was the creation of a double-sided bureaucratic machine designed to effectively gather, control, and organize the necessary resources for the Spanish colonial project. The first of these institutions to develop was the Casa de la Contración (the House of Trade), which was established in 1503 to centralize trade.¹² This institution was a major place for cartographical discussion as it

⁹ Sandman, Alison. 2004. "An Apologia for the Pilots' Charts: Politics, Projections and Pilots' Reports in Early Modern Spain". *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*. 56 (1): 7-22., 9

¹⁰ Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain* 19

¹¹ Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain* 27

¹² Barrera-Osorio, Antonio *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution*; (University of Texas Press, Austin). 14

was the official trading hub between Spain and its colonies, all ships that traded with the Spanish colonies had to be registered with the Casa. It soon became a gathering place for cosmographers, who attempted to gather cartographical information from pilots and then incorporate this information into their charts¹³. The Casa also had a state-run center dedicated to navigation and mapping, with the notion of using the knowledge of that center to make sure commerce could flow smoothly¹⁴. This center employed cosmographers. According to Sandman, cosmography was a combination of empirical science and the humanities mixing disciplines such as “geography, cartography, ethnography, natural history, history, and certain elements of astronomy.”¹⁵ While this mix of disciplines may seem strange to the modern reader, the combination of these disciplines made sense when the majority of the information Europeans had about the world came from reading classical texts. This approach would sow discord as cosmographers conflicted with other groups that relied on more empirical information, like pilots.

The more humanistic approach of cosmographers contrasted with the almost nonexistent formal training that pilots received. Pilots desired easy to read charts in which compass bearings and longitude, the two measures they most relied on, were portrayed as straight lines. This contrasted with cosmographers, who wanted to include curved lines that would allow them to make more accurate calculations¹⁶. This caused conflict within the cosmographical community as some cosmographers suggested that pilots be taught humanistic theory in order to understand the Ptolemaic maps they wished to create while others proposed a more straightforward approach that could be understood by pilots.¹⁷ Eventually, Garcia de Cepedes became the Cosmographer Major, and instituted a map-making scheme based on information pilots would know instead of theory their lack of education would prevent them from understanding. This conflict is reflective of the overall changes that happened in Europe as the information of the New World encountered the traditions of the old. The fact that Garcia de Cepedes won the conflict between those who advocated theory over practicality indicates that the primary motivation for cosmographers was the needs of empire.

An important piece of evidence regarding what the Spanish State expected of a Cosmographer Major, the most prominent cosmographer in the House of Trade, is provided in an administrative document labeled “nombramiento cosomografo mayor Casa Contración” (the naming of a Cosmographer Major of the House of Trade. The first few lines of the document describe why the old chief cosmographer should retire, citing old age, forgetfulness and poor administrative ability¹⁸. From which we can surmise that the chief cosmographer- the head of Spain’s cartography had to have a good memory and

¹³ Portuondo, *Secrets Science*, 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid* 4

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 1.

¹⁶ Sandman, *An Apologia for the Pilot’s Charts*, 12.

¹⁷ *Ibid* 10-14.

¹⁸ Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 251,R.76 -7.

good administrative skills. The necessity of administrative skills indicates that cosmographers had to be in charge of an organization. In other words, the chief cosmographer, by reason of his abilities of cosmography was given a position of power within the state intuition, showing the value the state placed on those who had knowledge about the New World and the ability to convey that knowledge, as well as the necessity and complexity of such work.

Another interesting document that relates what the Spanish valued in these keepers of knowledge is a document that roughly translates to “Rodrigo Zamorano, cosmographer, asks for a raise” in which the Chief Cosmographer of the Casa asked for a pay raise. According to a table from *Experiencing Nature* he was the Chief Cosmographer and Master of Instruments for about seven years.¹⁹ Two of the reasons he gives for his need of a raise was the fact that he had taught pilots several days a week and his years of service to the crown.²⁰ The fact that he mentions these factors first means that he thinks that they are the most important. Thus it is clear from a cosmographer’s perspective, the greatest assets of cosmographers lay with the amount of experience he had. The fact that this cosmographer also cites his training pilots indicates that, in his view, training pilots was a valuable service to the state. I will speak more about training pilots later, but the fact that these two skills were mentioned indicate that cosmographers viewed their most valuable skills, not in the humanities origin of cosmography, but rather the more empirical, focused discipline the needs of empire forced cosmography to become. This is the opinion also expressed by Portuondo, who wrote, “At every step royal cosmographers obeyed a utilitarian mandate... In this utilitarian context, a royal cosmographer’s personal ambitions or intellectual inclinations that did not serve institutional ends had to be subsumed to the interests of the state or abandoned”²¹. This utilitarian usage of cosmography altered it into a more empirical science and less of a humanities discipline.

The other Spanish institution that dealt with policy regarding colonization was the General Council of the Indies. The General Council of the Indies was founded by the Crown in 1524. The Council of the Indies was placed in charge of “the administrative and judicial organization of the New World”. While it may seem like this would be an unlikely place for scientific research, the need for information about the western hemisphere “the council would eventually establish offices for the collection of information about the New World”²². While the Casa relied primarily on pilots who gave information directly to cosmographers, cosmographers who worked for the Council had to rely on surveys, and as seen by the results of the eclipse survey, the response to these surveys had to be capable of being understood by layman and had to be returned to the Council, thus limiting the efficacy of the research conducted by the Council.

¹⁹ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature*, 136.

²⁰ Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 262, R.11-1.

²¹ Portuondo, *Secrets Science*, 4.

²² Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing the New World*, 14.

The bureaucracy that Spain developed to govern trade and the legal affairs of the colonies also had departments designated to navigation and research. This connection between the state and the research institutions in the Casa and Council ensured that the needs of the Spanish empire were at the forefront of Spanish research.

The political competition between Spain and Portugal led to a competition for knowledge that could assist in the colonial project. Spain's response to this challenge was to create the House of Trade and the Council of the Indies. These institutions acquired knowledge through gaining it from individuals trained from other countries and trained its own pilots to navigate better through schools and licensing tests. Knowledge was also gained by funding exploration through large scale official expeditions and through surveys like the lunar eclipse survey and the *relación geografica*. These sources were used by cosmographers and chart makers to find and document the characteristics about its new colonial possessions.

One way that cosmographers gained information was from foreign countries. One of those countries was Portugal. As Barrera-Osorio stated "The Portuguese developed the most important technological knowledge for safe navigation in open seas during the fifteenth century"²³ This link to Portuguese knowledge became an obvious feature in early Spanish navigational work. When Sandman discussed prominent cosmographer Garcia Cepedes, she mentioned that one of the places he gained his geographical knowledge was from Portuguese libraries that he was able to gain access to after Phillip II annexed Portugal and created the Iberian Union.²⁴ One of the examples that she uses to demonstrate this reasoning is that the book uses Lisbon, the capital of Portugal as a reference instead of the port of the Spanish colonization project, which was Seville.

Another country that was under Spanish rule was the Netherlands (then called the Low Countries). The crown used printers and artisans from these areas to produce maps for example several Dutch and Flemish artists were commissioned by the crown to create maps of the Low Countries and also of Spain itself. While I have yet to find evidence that the map makers made charts of the Spanish possessions in the Western Hemisphere, they certainly assisted the empire by mapping its other regions: namely the Low Countries and Iberia itself.

One of the talented people who came from another country to work for Spain was the Portuguese cosmographer Francisco Dominquez. Dominquez was commissioned by King Phillip II in 1571 to travel with Francisco de Hernandez, the court physician, on an exploratory expedition in New Spain. Ostensibly, he was sent to create survey maps. None of the maps he made (if he made any) survive, and witnesses who responded to imperial questionnaires reported meeting the leader of the expedition but did not recall meeting a geographer or cosmographer with the expedition²⁵. While he did not make much of an impact on the progress of Spanish science, that fact that he was recruited from Portugal

²³ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature*, 32.

²⁴ Sandman, *An Apologia for the Pilot's Charts*, 9.

²⁵ Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 20.

before Portugal was annexed by the king of Spain indicates that Spain was willing to use experts that originated from outside of Spain in order to further their research.

Another example of the Spanish gaining talent from other countries was Sebastian Cabot. Cabot was born in Italy to John Cabot, and went on explorations in the North Atlantic with his father on behalf of the English crown. In 1512 on a diplomatic mission to the Spanish Court he was offered a job “based explicitly on his knowledge of the “codfish island” frequented by English fishermen (probably Newfoundland), and of the navigation to the Indies”²⁶. Within six years he rose to the rank of “pilot major”

The fact that Spain gained knowledge from people that were not Spanish indicates that to some extent, Spain relied on foreigners to provide it with the technical skills to run its empire. This highlights the fact that the Spanish did not produce knowledge in a vacuum but rather produced it in relation to previous classical literature like the works of Ptolemy and on the technical skills and discoveries of other nations as information about the developments of other nations became available either through books as in the case of Cepedes or qualified experts in the case of Cabot.

Another approach the crown took in order to increase the amount and quality of the information it gathered and distributed was to institute several policy changes. For example Garcia Cepedes wrote a pilot’s manual titled *Regiminiento de Nauegacion* that discussed various sailing skills that were necessary to plot a course and find longitude accurately, both skills which would not only enhance the ability of the individual pilot to navigate,²⁷ but it would also enhance his ability to convey accurate information to the cosmographer, which in turn would enhance Spain’s geographical knowledge and its superiority compared to rival European nations.

Another policy that the Spanish instituted was the pilot’s examination. In order to become a certified pilot in Spain, a perspective pilot was forced to take a pilot’s examination, were which was designed to test his skills at navigation and chart-reading. The exam was considered so important that a pilot who had not undergone the examination and gained the approval of the chief pilot was not allowed to pilot a Spanish craft²⁸. Even the most basic pilot’s tests would involve steering a course and finding latitude via astrolabe or another instrument like an astrolabe²⁹. Of these two skills the ability to plot a course was the more valued and least definable skill. According to Sandman “While success in determining a ship’s course was not actually testable, everyone concerned with navigation assumed it as an ability no pilot could do without”³⁰. This does not mean that finding latitude was an unnecessary skill, as Sandman further notes “by the 1570’s the ability to find latitude at sea was listed as a practical skill”³¹. The normal way to find latitude as

²⁶ Sandman, Alison, and Eric H. Ash. 2004. "Trading expertise: Sebastian Cabot between Spain and England". *Renaissance Quarterly*. 57, No 3, pp (813-846). 817.

²⁷ Céspedes, Andrés García de. *Regiminiento de Nauegacion*. 1590. Bibliotexa Virtual de Defensa.

²⁸ Barrera-Osorio, 40.

²⁹ Sandman, “An Apologia for Pilot’s Charts” 7.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 12.

³¹ *Ibid*, 12.

explained by Mundy was to “locate the pole star... [and] measure the vertical distance between the pole star and the horizon”³². The fact that the Spanish state expended the organizational energy to ensure that its pilots had skills that it deemed essential for safe navigation such as the ability to plot a course or find latitude, demonstrates the importance of trained pilots in maintaining an overseas empire. These factors also highlight the role that the needs of the Spanish state regarding skilled labor affected the priorities of the Spanish state’s education.

According to Duccio Sacchi author of “Gathering, Organization, and Production of Information in Sixteenth-Century Surveys in Hispanic America” There were two broad categories in which the state tried to gather empirical information. The first kind involved sending specialists who had specific instructions to either find empirical information themselves or to find and converse with “intelligent people” who knew the information required. The other major method that the Crown used to gather information was sending questionnaires to colonial administrators.

One of these questionnaires was called the *relaciones geograficas* and was created by Juan Lopez de Velasco was first and only “main cosmographer-chronicler” of the Council of the Indies³³. Velasco sent out a document containing fifty questions that were intended to produce information that could be later used for making a “chronicle atlas” of the West Indies that could be used for both history and for planning economic and military endeavors³⁴. The questions on the survey reflect the wide range of interest that the atlas was intended to portray. Some telling examples of the questions asked include, “Are there any quarries of precious stone?... What value might they have” (question 26). Questions of this nature clearly demonstrate that the official pursuit of knowledge in the Spanish empire was driven by the need to extract resources. The questionnaire also asked questions that showed the Spanish interest in native history, for example, question fourteen asked, “Who were their rulers in heathen times? What rights did their former lords have over them? What did they pay in tribute? What forms of worship, rites, and good or evil customs did they practice?”³⁵ While it could be argued that these questions were only used to further Spanish interests- in this case questioning previous systems of government among the natives to more effectively rule them and inquiring about their previous religions in order to convert them- it also seems that there was a general curiosity by the educated elite (the cosmographer chronicler and his audience would most certainly fall into this category) that played a role, possibly a small one, in how the Spanish attempted to investigate about the Western Hemisphere. This view seems to make sense, especially when one keeps in mind that cosmography was once a humanities discipline that encompassed many different modern disciplines, including cartography and history.

³² Mundy 14.

³³ Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 17.

³⁴ Ibid 18.

³⁵ Ibid 228.

Another tactic the Spanish Crown used to gain more knowledge about the New World was fund scientific expeditions led by specialists. One of the more famous expeditions of this kind was that of Francisco Hernandez a court physician who was sent to New Spain in 1570 to gather information about the potential use of native plants that were found in New Spain and the West Indies. Some of the major plants that he found were useful were chili cacao, corn tobacco, and tomatoes. When he commented on these crops he commented on how he thought they would react with the human body, for example, he wrote about tobacco “It comforts the stomach, but one should avoid its excessive use because it often greatly distempers the liver”³⁶. His accounts also included ethnographic and historical work, for example when he described the cacao bean he not only described the different varieties of the plant and their various uses as medicines and drinks. He also describes how the bean was once used as a currency before the arrival of the Spanish³⁷. This expedition shows not only the valuable information about local plants and geography but also ways that local resources like crops could be exploited and local customs that could aid the Spanish in governance as well as satisfy the natural Spanish curiosity about the New World and its inhabitants.

As proposed by an informative article in *Science* by M. Roche called “Early history of science in Spanish America”, unlike other types of imperial science, which had a strong theoretical framework, Spanish science was entirely empirical thus Spanish investments in New World Science were focused on making the colonies more profitable, so ethnobotany for medicinal plants, mining-related chemistry (for example the patio process) and cartography flourished while other sciences like physics tended to fall by the wayside³⁸. While Spanish colonial science may have excessively focused on the immediate needs of state, the institutions designed to gather knowledge and the resources the State expended on research of the colonies indicates the importance the Spanish State placed on gathering accurate information.

Another way the Spanish State attempted to control knowledge was by controlling who had access to the knowledge. This aspect could be divided into two categories: information that was printed in maps or books and knowledge contained by pilots and other experts trained by the Spanish. In investigating how the Spanish State attempted to secure both types of information, the importance that information about geography and technical skills about navigation played in creating and maintaining the Spanish Empire.

An example of the protection that the Spanish tried to place on valuable maps is evident from Philip II that all maps of the Philippines be found and kept “safe in the Council Offices; indeed, the originals should be put in the archives at Siamancas, and

³⁶ Francisco Hernández, *The Natural History of New Spain*, in *The Mexican Treasury: The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernández*, ed. Simon Varey, trans. Rafael Chabrán, et. al. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. 107-116, 115.

³⁷ Ibid 107-108.

³⁸ Roche, Marcel “Early History of Science in Spanish America” *Science, New Series*, Vol. 194, No. 4267 (Nov. 19, 1976), pp. 806-810.

authenticated copies were taken to council³⁹. Philip II also made sure another map was kept secret, he also commissioned another work of maps called the Escorial Atlas. The Escorial Atlas was a highly detailed cartographical work that contained work that was called “the most careful and accurate description ever to be undertaken for any province since the creation of the world” contained both detailed maps and a special map called a “key map”, which was an overall map of an area (in this case, the Iberian Peninsula) which could be used as a reference for other maps. This map was “created sometime after 1585 ... reflecting the Pan-Iberian kingdom Phillip created after his annexation of Portugal in 1581.”⁴⁰ The map was kept at Phillip’s library at Escorial and “probably never intended ... to become public”⁴¹.

These two incidents show the Spanish State’s desire to protect its maps, albeit for different reasons. The fact that maps of were ordered to be “kept safe” as well as stored in archives and taken to council illustrates the value the Spanish placed on accurate maps of potential colonial regions, especially in the case of the Philippines due to their strategic location, distance from Spain and point of honor that they were named after the king himself. In the case of the Escorial Atlas, secrecy seems to be less based on colonization and based more on other factors. Detailed maps of the Spanish heartland could have served an administrative purpose, but in the wrong hands could have also been very useful in the hands of the enemies of Spain. On the other hand, the fact that the map was never made private could simply mean that the map was intended for the private use of Phillip II, who had already shown a deep interest in maps. In either case, the fact that the Escorial Atlas was kept from the public most likely had little to do with the Spanish colonial project, but it does show the intense interest in maps displayed by at least the king if not the rest of the court and the intense interest in the maps of the Philippines further highlights this fact and demonstrates that Spanish concerns for the security of its maps extended to those of newly discovered lands.

The council of the Indies also practiced censorship of materials they deemed to pose a threat to the colonial project, mostly works that would reveal too much about Spanish colonies. As Portuondo States “The casa de la 127ontraction had been instructed since 1510 to keep maps and rutters to the Indies under close guard, and by the 1560’s the Council of the Indies followed suit”⁴² This heavy veil of secrecy regarding geographical information wasn’t just self-imposed on the institutions of discovery, it was also placed upon Spanish authors. A royal order forbade the “printing and sale of any book ‘that dealt with the subject of the Indies’ before it had been ‘seen and examined’ by the Council of the Indies”⁴³ This order seems to the result of fears that enemy states could gain knowledge

³⁹ Headley, J. M. 1995. "Spain's Asian Presence, 1565-1590: Structures and Aspirations". *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. 75 (4): 653-646. 628.

⁴⁰Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 3.

⁴¹Ibid, 3.

⁴²Portuondo, *Secret Science*, 104.

⁴³ Ibid, 105.

of the Spanish colonies through *any book* that was published relating to the Indies, even if they had nothing to do with geography. The Spanish policy regarding the secrecy of works relating to its colonies indicates the centrality of maintaining a monopoly of knowledge to the Spanish goal of dominating the Western Hemisphere.

An example of the Spanish attempts to control those with geographical knowledge was the pilot exams. As I stated earlier, perspective Spanish pilots were required to take pilot exams. The desire to keep Spanish information with Spanish pilots only can be seen through the state's policy regarding foreigners and the pilot's examination. Only pilots who passed the examination were allowed to sail Spanish ships but "Pilots had to be natives of the kingdom of Castile. Foreigners needed a royal dispensation in order to be examined or allowed to have charts or "paintings" of the Indies"⁴⁴. The fact that foreigners were not allowed access to Pilot's positions without a royal dispensation, (which probably required high-level political connections) indicates the fear of the Spanish State that its valuable information about the New World would get into enemy hands.

The Spanish Crown was not the only State that believed that trained pilots were the key to empire-building. Its rival England also believed that superior training of Spanish pilots made Spain more successful as a world power than England. As Sandman and Ash point out "By the middle decades of the sixteenth century, the English attributed Spanish maritime success to their pilots' training, which was designed to unite navigational theory and practice."⁴⁵ . The English also seemed to believe that their own lack of navigational expertise was the reason that they were falling behind the Spanish in colonial empire-building. Several English thinkers advocated that England institute a similar system to the Spanish in which pilots were taught and licensed in order to give England a greater maritime presence.⁴⁶ The fact that prominent English thinkers believed that England needed to replicate Spain's system in order to become more powerful indicates that Spanish methods were viewed as effective in training pilots, and thus, other states were willing to gain information from the Spanish, including trained workers like pilots.

One of these pilots was Sebastian Cabot. According to "Trading expertise: Sebastian Cabot between Spain and England" Cabot left Spain "after spending more than thirty years in Spain – the bulk of them as pilot major at the Casa de la Contratación"⁴⁷. The motivation for his move seems to be based on his desire to escape the conflicts within the Casa de la Contratación as well as a warm welcome including "money to pay his travel expenses, a comfortable pension, and a leading role in restoring England's diminished maritime expertise"⁴⁸. The article further asserts that Sebastian Cabot played a key role in developing England's navigational skills, partially through importing Spanish ideas and techniques and

⁴⁴ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature*, 40.

⁴⁵ Sandman, Alison, and Eric H. Ash. "Trading expertise: Sebastian Cabot between Spain and England". *Renaissance Quarterly*. 57, No 3, pp (813-846). 813

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 813-814.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 815.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 815.

partially redesigning them to be more efficient⁴⁹. With these improvements, England was able to become a maritime power that was able to begin competing with Spain for space and resources in the Western Hemisphere.

The State's attempts to monopolize knowledge did not solely extend to printed materials, it also extended to people. The failure of the State to maintain that monopoly in some ways could show that the competition that Spain faced in the Western Hemisphere was due in part to the knowledge that had leaked from Spain, through avenues such as Cabot.

Part of the Spanish desire to control knowledge led to Spanish control of knowledge and the imposition of Spanish ideas of the Earth onto other European powers and eventually, the people that those powers would colonize. The Spanish mainly did this through altering how the New World was portrayed on maps, but also in the University system, Spain established in the colonies.

An example of map disproportions by the Spanish State is one of the maps that Ricardo Pardon displayed in the article "A Sea of Denial: The Early Modern Spanish Invention of the Pacific Rim". With these maps, he demonstrated that the Spanish altered maps of East Asia to cognitively link China and other valuable East Asian territories to Latin America through tactics such as placing the meridian between the hemispheres to through China, even though doing so made the map extremely uneven. Attempts such as map distortions show that Spanish cartographers used maps to further the States' intellectual arguments, which were founded on the needs of State. An example Pardon gives is a map of the world in which China is in the same hemisphere as Latin America, thus cognitively linking the two in spite of the fact that they are separated by the Earth's largest body of water- the Pacific Ocean. Pardon argues that this led to the creation of the notion of "the Pacific rim".

According to a talk given by Walter Mignolo at the University of California, the Treaty of Tordesillas and the resulting Spanish and other world maps made by Europeans led to the idea of "Western" and "Eastern" Hemispheres.⁵⁰ This theory seems to be contradicted by many of the early maps that were made by the Spanish and other Europeans. As you can see from the figures I have included below, many of these maps avoided the idea of longitude altogether, i.e. figure1, which shows the concept of longitude, but no number system denoting longitude, figure 2 completely avoids the problem of latitude by using a crisscross design that has no numbering system. When many early maps do include a division of the hemispheres, they do not place the meridian at the line set by the Treaty of Tordesillas, but rather a large diversity of seemingly arbitrary points, most of which are in the Atlantic Ocean. For example, one map that I have has the meridian set on the island of Hierro in the Canary Islands. As can be seen in figure 1. The thickest line runs through the point in which radiates lines that go in almost all directions. The fact that the line lies

⁴⁹ Ibid, 815.

⁵⁰ Mignolo, Walter "The Humanities and the Current World (Dis)order" 20 November, 2014 California Room University of California Merced, Merced CA.

in eastern Brazil seems to indicate that this map may reflect the political mindset that developed as a result of the Treaty of Tordesillas.

The Spanish attempted to monopolize geographic knowledge by gaining as much information as possible, controlling who had access to geographic information, and imposing their narratives onto the maps that they made. These actions had several effects on other world powers, namely possibly slowing the implementation of colonial projects by rival European powers, notions about how the world was shape of the world (for example the notion of the world being divided), and a drive to develop seafaring knowledge and techniques like finding longitude at sea.

One of the most impactful effects of the Spanish attempts to control geographical knowledge was that it slowed down the colonial projects of rival European powers. Both Portuondo's thesis that the Spanish attempted to hide the New World, as well as the facts, pointed out by Sandman and Ash that the English naval prowess improved with the addition of Spanish techniques and structures both indicate that the Spanish were able to keep their competitors out of the Western Hemisphere at least for a time. While it is tempting to say that the slow start for other colonizers was due to Spanish policy, a host of other factors such as the civil strife regarding reformation and a general lack of interest in founding permanent colonies could just as easily slowed the colonization projects of rival states.

A mapping convention that has remained singed into the Western psyche is the idea that the world is divided into East and West by a line somewhere in the Atlantic. While I disagree with the notion presented by Dr. Mignolo, which traces the origin of this concept to the Treaty of Tordesillas, the compelling evidence shown by Ricardo Pardon in his article demonstrates that the Spanish did indeed use the concept of the hemispherical world to promote their colonial interests. The concept of the Earth divided by East and West seems to directly link to Spanish policy, if not directly to the Treaty of Tordesillas. This has left a permanent distinction in the western mindset that continues to this day.

The Spanish colonial project was a major force that promoted Spanish technological advancement. The Spanish State promoted many scientific projects that were driven by the needs of the colonial project. A prime example of this push was the quest to accurately measure longitude at sea, which was driven by the Treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza, which divided the Earth between Spain and Portugal. The results of this endeavor can be seen by the figures below, which not only advance from creative and decorative to utilitarian, but also move from less technical to more complex, including ways of demonstrating longitude. The difference between figure 1 and the latest map I've found for the period "Orbis terrae compendiosa descripto", which dates to 1595, seems to describe longitude, has fewer decorative features. The overall trend of the maps indicates that the Spanish conception of the Earth as demonstrated by these maps, shows a slow evolution towards the modern conception of the earth that is portrayed on modern maps.

The Spanish colonial project was based on the consideration of several factors, the one that is most pertinent to this study is the prospect of competition with other European

powers. This motivated the Spanish to create a bureaucracy designed to control knowledge and gain knowledge through acquiring it from other countries like Portugal as well as improving the training of cosmographers and pilots to better equip them to gather and convey information. The state also sponsored scientific activities that advanced the colonial project, such as cartographical expeditions. The Spanish then tried (although not always successfully as the case of Sebastian Cabot illustrates) to keep their newly gained geographical information from their competitors through securing paper and human databases of information. With this information, the state then imposed its own narrative onto the maps of the world at the time. These different knowledge gathering activities affected rival European powers by slowing their colonial projects and instituting mapmaking precedents that still exist in the Western mindset to this day. The emphasis that the Spanish state placed on information about the New World led to a shift in the discipline of cosmography as it shifted from a humanities based, to empirically based discipline. This emphasis also demonstrates the need of states to control information in order to govern effectively.

The Nazis' First Victims: Anti-Semitism, World War II, and Memory Within America

Trent Capurso

Abstract: While Germany was forced to come to terms with the escalation of World War II and the Holocaust, Austria not only participated in the war, but they also continuously deny that they were at fault for the war. Instead, they utilize the victim-theory and deny their role and refuse to accept that their own anti-Semitism was a driving factor in the war. In my paper, I argue that Austrian anti-Semitism before the war allowed the Nazis to commit mass killings of Jewish people and ensured that afterwards, Austrians would not acknowledge their role in the war. Additionally, this also prevented countless Jewish people from properly rebuilding their communities that they had prior to World War II. By not acknowledging their fault in the war, Austria has failed to move on from its legacy of anti-Semitism and will remain a polarized and contested site between scholars and public officials.

In 2008, Otto von Habsburg presented a speech on the 70th anniversary of the German-Austrian Anschluss where he stated that after World War II, "No state in Europe has a greater right than Austria to call itself a victim."¹ The vast majority of the Austrian populace continues to believe that Austria has no fault in perpetuating the Holocaust while simultaneously electing a far-right, anti-immigrant government. While many historians examine Germany and how they were forced to confront their culpability in the escalation of World War II, Austria has a much more complicated legacy that has not received nearly as much scholarship. Despite being portrayed as the "Nazi's first victims," the Austrians elected a fascist government prior to the Nazi "invasion" and contributed a great number of troops to the SS.² In spite of this, countless Austrians continue to insist that the so-called "victim-theory" is correct and that they struggled and triumphed over the National Socialism of the Nazis. It is a false success story that is built off of lies and rooted in Anti-Semitism spanning back several hundred years to the days of the Holy Roman Empire. Austrian anti-Semitism before World War II allowed the Nazis to commit mass killings of Jewish people and ensured that afterwards, Austrians would not acknowledge their or their country's role in the war as accomplices to the Third Reich. Additionally, this also prevented countless Jewish people from properly rebuilding their communities that they had prior to World War II. By not acknowledging their fault in the war, Austria has failed to move on from its legacy of anti-Semitism and has set the conditions for today's political

¹ Tony Paterson, "Anschluss and Austria's Guilty Conscience," *The Independent* (Independent Digital News and Media, October 23, 2011), <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/anschluss-and-austrias-guilty-conscience-795016.html>

² George C. Browder, *Hitlers Enforcers: The Gestapo and the SS Security Service in the Nazi Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 14.

climate of a polarized and contested site between scholars and public officials. To prove my argument, I use a multitude of sources including interviews, documentaries, scholarly monographs, museum exhibits, political cartoons, primary sources, and oral histories.

The Austrian Tradition of Anti-Semitism

When the Habsburgs ascended to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire in 1438, they instituted numerous Anti-Semitic policies. Prior to the Habsburgs ascension, Jews had long prospered in Austria, with many of them holding prominent positions in local government and as merchants in the surrounding lands before 1282.³ After 1282, the Habsburgs controlled the heavily Jewish populated lands in Austria near Vienna. As non-Catholics, the Habsburgs perceived Jews as thieves who stole resources away from the Catholic citizenry.⁴ The Habsburgs relegated the Jewish to tax collectors for Catholic landowners. As tax collectors, Jewish people were constantly harassed and hated throughout Austria. The Habsburgs also cancelled many of the citizen's debts against Jewish Austrians and imposed economic limitations against Jews that limited their prosperity. Extra taxes were imposed against Jewish citizens, prohibiting them from working in specific occupations such as high-level government officials, and preventing them from becoming the wealthy landowners.⁵ From the beginning of the Habsburg rule, Jews suffered biased treatment, but the Habsburg rulers only became harsher towards Jews over time.

Beginning with Leopold I, Jews were forcibly deported out of large metropolitan centers.⁶ While Jews were never completely deported from the cities, in 1496, Maximilian I formally expelled all Jews from the city of Styria and ordered all of their books, other than the Bible, to be destroyed.⁷ Other laws were passed to reduce the Jewish population such as the one passed in 1670 which permitted only the first-born child in a Jewish family to marry and have children.⁸ By the 1750s, Empress Maria Theresia deported Jewish people from Prague and removed many of their legal rights.⁹ In reference to Jewish people, the empress stated that there was "no greater plague on Earth than this race... the Jews are to be kept away and avoided", language that would later be used as justification by Adolf Hitler and the Nazis for the Holocaust.¹⁰ For reference, the Habsburgs did not do this for every group of people that were not Catholic. For example, the empress allowed Protestant businessmen and bankers to conduct business within the empire alongside the Catholic population. She never imposed any of the same economical limitations or displayed the

³ Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), p.19.

⁴ Beller, 24.

⁵ Beller, 25.

⁶ Dean Phillip Bell, *Sacred Communities: Jewish and Christian Identities in Fifteenth-century Germany* (Boston, Ma.: Brill, 2001), 32.

⁷ Bell, 33.

⁸ Bell, 119.

⁹ Josef Fraenkel, *The Jews of Austria: Essays on Their Life, History and Destruction* (London: Vallentine, 1967), 37.

¹⁰ Nicholas T. Parsons, *Vienna: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 96.

same obsession to monitor the Protestant population. The Habsburgs treatment towards the Jewish people was clearly more a sign of anti-Jewish sentiment and not solely because they were pro-Catholic. For centuries, Jews were seen as inferior people with diminished rights and blamed for the woes of the empire by the heads of state. They served as a scapegoat for the Habsburgs, who constantly pitted Catholics and Protestants against Jews as a means for them to prolong their power and maintain control over the Holy Roman Empire.

Habsburg rulers after Maria Theresia were more lenient towards the Jewish population but continued to not treat them equitably. Maria Theresia's son, Joseph II, decreed the Edict of Tolerance that reformed the Austria state and made it more tolerant of Jewish people.¹¹ While this was a significant development, Jewish people still had certain restrictions held against them including not being allowed to hold public offices.¹² Foreign Jews also could not emigrate from their homelands into to the Austria with Joseph II stating: "Within these existing limitations of tolerance, no Jew shall be allowed to come to Vienna from hereditary lands and settle here."¹³ While the Austrian emperor may have been more tolerant, Jews still had strict limitations placed on them that other groups did not face.

Both the Revolution of 1848 and the Austrian defeat in WWI helped the Austrian Jews expand their legal rights. These events were crucial because, after 1848, Austrians Jews could establish religious communities for the first time in centuries. The end of World War I also led to the removal of the Habsburgs from power and, for a brief time, Austria practiced a democracy that allowed religious expression. Despite the success for Austrian Jews, many Austrian gentiles were disgusted after being reduced to such a small state after the Great War and Jews were again used as a scapegoat. Many Eastern European Jews that attempted to immigrate into Austria and particularly its capital, Vienna, were unable to find work and faced the same poverty that they tried to escape from. One remark that perfectly describes the situation is, "While the Germans were condemning the Jews in the east to forced labor, the Austrians were condemning them to forced unemployment."¹⁴ Particularly in the late 1920s and 1930s, anti-Semitic groups blamed the new Jewish refugee population for causing the current problems within the country. Initially, they only targeted lower-class Jews. By the 1930s, they accused all Jews of causing the state's problems. Now, both poor Jews and wealthier Jews became targets of anti-Semitism violence.¹⁵ To make matters even worse, the Austrians voted in the Austrofascists and they continued to rise in popularity.

¹¹ Josef Fraenkel, *The Jews of Austria: Essays on Their Life, History and Destruction* (London: Vallentine, 1967), 44.

¹² Fraenkel, 45.

¹³ "Edict of Toleration for the Jews of Lower Austria." Issued January 2, 1782. Accessed September 5, 2017. http://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document_s.cfm?document_id=3648.

¹⁴ "Jewish Population of the World" Jewish Virtual Library. 2012. Retrieved August 29, 2017.

¹⁵ "Jewish Population of the World" 2012.

The rise of the Austrofascists signaled that the Austrian government had become recommitted in its crusade against the Jewish population. Now in power of Austria, many of them supported the Anschluss with Hitler's Germany. While official statistics state that over ninety-nine percent of the population supported the Anschluss, this number is obviously exaggerated and modified by the Nazis. However, scholars believe this number to be approximately two-thirds, showing that the majority of Austrians supported unification with the Germans.¹⁶

After the Anschluss, the Jewish population faced severe discrimination under the Nazi regime. Originally, the Nazis enforced mandatory humiliating policies against Jewish people, including requiring every Jewish citizen to wear the Star of David and turning the Jews into second-class citizens that would be forced to perform menial tasks such as cleaning the streets by hand.¹⁷ They spat, beat, harassed, and allowed others to commit crimes against Jews without enforcement.¹⁸ Newspapers also started to publish more anti-Semitic propaganda such as the picture below:



There are several things to discuss in these two photos. First, the photo on the left portrays Jewish men with abnormally large noses and an ape-like, brutish appearance contrasted by the fit and muscular physique of the Nazis on the right. The ape-like appearance was commonly used against Jewish people by the fascists to showcase that they were sub-human and inferior to Nazis. The second is that the photo portrays that Jewish men do not know how to properly behave themselves around women while Nazi men

¹⁶ "So War's Einmal! So ist es heut!" *Österreichische Beobachter*. July 2, 1938, 4
http://www.usmbbooks.com/nazi_propaganda_austria.html.

¹⁷ Josef Fraenkel, *The Jews of Austria: Essays on Their Life, History and Destruction* (London: Vallentine, 1967), 47.

¹⁸ Josef Fraenkel, 45.

understand how to be civil. Lastly, the photos depict the Jewish as living in backwards, outdated societies unable to adapt to the modern times. The man in the top right in the left photo appears to also be dressed in clothing reminiscent of medieval times along with a scaffold that had not been in use in Europe for several decades. The photo on the right portrays Nazi society and contrasts the Jewish male depiction with a gentleman that knows how to properly court a woman, work for the betterment of their society as shown by the men with shovels, and creating the most up to date technology as shown by the vessel in the bottom left corner. These political cartoons were commonly published in Austrian newspapers after the Austrofascists gained control of the government, but mainly were present after the Anschluss.

While the unification with Nazi Germany intensified the anti-Semitic attacks, anti-Semitism had already existed for numerous generations. It started with the Catholic Habsburgs coming into power, but it continued even after the Habsburgs vacated the throne. Far-right groups blamed the new Jewish immigrants for the state's struggles, but later also established Austrian Jews for the problems of the state. Following the murder of German diplomat, Ernst von Rath, these so-called "lenient" policies led to much worse. Concentration camps were constructed where millions of Jews met their end and countless others were displaced.

Death as an Inconvenience & the Emergence of the Victim-Theory

Many historians acknowledge the suffering and the death toll in concentration camps but the process of how these concentration camps were operated in the first place is more significant. One concentration camp in particular, Mauthausen, demonstrates how the Nazis conducted these activities in Austria. Before prisoners were officially transported to Austrian concentration camps, the Nazis befriended the locals and gained their trust.¹⁹ The Nazis found multiple ways to integrate themselves into the local communities including joining neighborhood associations, befriending the locals by dining and drinking with them, and being a part of local recreational sports leagues. In Mauthausen, Nazi camp guards were a part of the best soccer team that the town ever had.²⁰ They won numerous championships and set league records while they played their games in a field adjacent to the concentration camp.²¹ In fact, many troops that were stationed in Austria had grown up in the same communities that they now oversaw, which made connecting and integrating with the local community easy.²² The local Austrians remembered these troops and mass murderers as friends, neighbors, and people that they idolized. Generally, Austrians had a much more positive relationship with the Nazis. There were occasional

¹⁹ Hans-Joerg Stuart (Austrian public historian) interview by author, Vienna, August 29, 2017.

²⁰ Hans-Joerg Stuart, August 2017.

²¹ Hans-Joerg Stuart, August 2017.

²² Hans-Joerg Stuart, August 2017.

complaints filed by those that lived near the concentration camps, but they were filed only for reasons that were more concerned with their personal interests.

There were Two complaints that expressed concern over the massive amounts of dead bodies, but only because of how they interrupted their routines. One farmer complained about the smell of the bodies being burned and requested that they not be burned on Sundays because those were the days he spent outside the most.²³ Instead, he requested that they burn the bodies on different days so that he would be indoors when the bodies were being burned.²⁴ Another woman complained that the sight of the murders bothered her because she could not stomach the sight.²⁵ This may seem like she expressed concern about the execution of the Jewish people, but all she requested was that the Nazis stop leaving the bodies outside and murder their victims behind closed doors so that she would not have to watch it happen.²⁶ While many of these complaints could have been modified, as the process to file complaints took several steps to be completed, many complained about the dead bodies, but also had similar requests that the killings cause less of a disruption on someone's daily ritual.

Because these two complaints were properly documented, these complaints were likely close to the original. For instance, the complaint the farmer issued is close to his original complaint because of the minimal action that he requested. The most they would have to do to resolve this complaint would be to burn the bodies a different day or to utilize other methods of killing that would not leave as strong of a stench in surrounding areas. Since the farmer only asked for Sundays to be the day that they stopped burning bodies, it is more likely that he was requesting that his routine not be interfered with as opposed to demanding a major overhaul to the death machine. The second complaint is more complex to know for sure whether it was modified. While the Nazis wanted to appease and address some of the complaints, many Nazis viewed complaints filed by women as an over exaggeration and many women were dismissed as hysterical and overly emotional. Consequently, if women filed complaints, they typically filed them anonymously to prevent the complaint from being dismissed.²⁷ However, because it was not dismissed and the fact that it is on record as an official complaint means that at least the Nazi officials must have found it reasonable enough to not have it be dismissed.²⁸ Anti-Semitic beliefs existed before the war and many voted for a far-right government to take power, so it is doubtful that Austrian citizens felt sympathy for the Jews in the concentration camps. Even after the war, many of these people expected those who survived the concentration camps to rebuild immediately and focus on the future of Austria rather than their individual needs. These complaints were issued not because of their disgust with death, but because of the disgust

²³ Mauthausen Camp Private Tour, Mauthausen, August 20, 2017.

²⁴ Mauthausen Camp Private Tour, August 2017.

²⁵ Mauthausen Camp Private Tour, August 2017.

²⁶ Mauthausen Camp Private Tour, August 2017.

²⁷ Hans-Joerg Stuart (Austrian public historian) interview by author, Vienna, August 29, 2017.

²⁸ Hans-Joerg Stuart, August 2017.

that death had interfered with their lives. Most of them also could not understand the horrors that had taken place within the concentration camps.

Most of the people that identified as moderate contributed to the Holocaust because of their indifference. Their failure to act allowed these crimes to continue and insisted to the world after the war that they were only the victims. They willingly allowed the Nazis into their homes and watched them play soccer, choosing to remember their names instead of considering if anyone would remember the names of those who died horribly and tragically in ways the townspeople could not understand. For instance, in the documentary, *I Have Never Forgotten You*, Wiesenthal described that Mauthausen Nazis would sometimes push Jews off of cliffs and dub them as “parachuters.”²⁹ If they were exceptionally cruel, they forced prisoners to push the other one off or they would be pushed off.³⁰ In many instances, most of the Jews that died as laborers died from carrying eighty-pound blocks up the Stairs of Death.³¹ These were only some of the inhumane acts that ensured a significant death toll. During the grueling last days of the war, the Americans arrived at Mauthausen and saw the countless dead bodies and the malnourished survivors.³² Despite unambiguous evidence of inhumane and despicable acts that Wiesenthal described that happened within the camps, many Austrians did not grasp how dire the situation was even after they were shown evidence of the atrocities.

These atrocities were inhumane, and Austrians did not aid in recovery efforts. While the Allies expected to find only a few hundred of living and dead, they found more tens of thousands of bodies showing the effectiveness of the brutal Nazi death machine.³³ The Allies ordered the town people to aid in helping clear the bodies from the camp. Yet, many Austrians felt displeased and confused because they felt they were not responsible for their deaths.³⁴ Austrians argued that because they had not been the ones to carry out the horrendous acts themselves, they cannot be held responsible for these atrocities. Therefore, they felt that responsibility of clearing the dead bodies from the camps fell solely on the Nazis and not on them. It is easy to make the Germans recognize their history considering that the Third Reich was the official German government, but Austrian people felt they had no direct responsibility to the Holocaust and similarly, placed fault solely on Germany and the Nazis. Most Austrians were more concerned with their country’s reputation from being tarnished rather than the restoration of the Jewish community.

After the war, Austria escaped accepting official blame as a perpetuator through political manipulation. In 1943, the foreign secretaries of the United States, United Kingdom, the USSR, and China met in Moscow and signed four Moscow Declarations. With regards to Austria, they agreed to restore Austria as a sovereign nation after the war,

²⁹ *I Have Never Forgotten You: The Life & Legacy of Simon Wiesenthal*. Directed by Richard Trank. 2006. Accessed August 24, 2017

³⁰ *I Have Never Forgotten You*, 2006.

³¹ *I Have Never Forgotten You*, 2006.

³² *I Have Never Forgotten You*, 2006.

³³ Mauthausen Camp Private Tour, August 2017.

³⁴ Mauthausen Camp Private Tour, August 2017.

but they also spoke to Austria's role in the war not as a victim, but as an aggressor: "Austria is reminded, however that she has a responsibility, which she cannot evade, for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation."³⁵ The Allied Powers placed fault on Austria; however, this did not matter after the war's conclusion because of swift political maneuvering by Austrian leaders.

In 1955, ten years after the conclusion of World War II, Austrian leaders signed the Austrian State Treaty that restored the Austrian government after little interference from the Allied Forces. In the treaty, the Allied governments initially required that the Austrians include the "responsibility and complicity clause" that the Allied leaders demanded in the Moscow Declarations that the Austrians were initially required to sign after the end of the war. The night before Austrian leaders signed the treaty, they eliminated the clause from the treaty. It is unclear if they removed it behind the backs of the Allied leaders, or if they requested this last minute as a negotiating tactic so that they could be utilized to aid the West in the Cold War. Regardless, they signed the treaty the next day with no objections from the Allied Power governments. Without this clause, Austrians embraced the victim-theory and skewed both the memory of the Holocaust and their role in World War II.

While the Allies did not actively interfere with the Austrians creating a new constitution, they did contribute to the anti-communist culture in Austria. It is estimated that approximately 482,000 Nazis were refranchised throughout Europe and those that spoke out against the government in Austria were dubbed "enemies from the left."³⁶ Not only did the victim-theory disregard significant pre-World War II context, but it also allowed former Nazis to have a second chance after World War II, a chance that millions of Jews never could realize. As for the Austrian Jews, the government refused to create a victims' fund and hindered the Jews' ability to rebuild their communities and forced many to leave. After this was signed, one Austrian Jew remarked "All of us living here looked with dread on the present and future which is practically without hope."³⁷ Austria continued to find new ways to push the victim-theory and deny aid to the Jewish population.

From the lens of the victim theory, one would have to acknowledge that Austria had both had been forced into joining Hitler and forced into fighting the war with Hitler. In fact, right after the conclusion of the war, they declared the specifics of the victim-theory: "Adolf Hitler's national socialist government of the Third Reich led the people of Austria, made will-less and enfeebled by means of a complete political, economic and cultural annexation of the country, in a futile and senseless war of conquest, which no Austrian has

³⁵ "Moscow Declarations," signed October 30, 1943, Moscow Russia, Declaration no. 3, retrieved from <http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1943/431000a.html>

³⁶ Robert Keyserlingk, *Austria in World War II: An Anglo-American Dilemma* (Kingston, 1988)

³⁷ This was taken from a photograph that I took at the Vienna Jewish Museum in August 2017. While I am unable to precisely locate the exhibit that displayed the quotation, I photographed this part of the exhibit.

ever desired...”³⁸ Many memorials at this time were erected for Austrian troops that fought alongside the Germans because they still exhibited honor as Austrians and were committed to the “manly” obligation of duty.³⁹ It is not uncommon to see gravestones in cemeteries that honor Austrians that served in World War II on behalf of the Nazi government. In other words, the government memorialized and continues to allow for the memorialization of Nazis when many joined the cause willingly. While the government emphasized memorializing Austrian Nazis, they largely refused to do the same for the tens of thousands of Jews that perished.

After the war, the Austrian government failed to properly aid Jewish people and also failed to come to terms with their proper role in the war and the Holocaust. Government officials continually denied involvement in aiding the Germans. To truly show their commitment to the role of the victim, they honored the only nation at the League of Nations that protested the Anschluss, Mexico, and renamed a town square in the second district of Vienna as Mexikoplatz. While they portrayed themselves as victims, they did not tend to the Jewish victims who had lost virtually everything during the war. As Simon Wiesenthal explained, the Austrian government recommended that he, along with hundreds of Jewish survivors that he interviewed, should move on and attempt to rebuild what they had before the war.⁴⁰ This did not prevent many Eastern European Jews who attempted to immigrate to Austria, but were still faced with anti-Semitic views. Like after World War I, many were again not willing to accommodate the new Jewish immigrants. The first president after World War II, Karl Renner, stated “We certainly wouldn’t allow a new Jewish community to establish itself while our own people need work.”⁴¹

Other individuals also defended Austria’s policy towards its Jewish population. One person argued that the Viennese could not be anti-Semitic because a Viennese is “a citizen of the world.”⁴² This is just about as compelling of an argument as saying that an individual cannot be racist because they do not see color. The Austrian government denied being anti-Semitic while their elected leaders made anti-Semitic statements. As the years progressed, anti-Semitism never went away, but instead it evolved. Even Simon Wiesenthal, the Nazi hunter, could not escape this even after dedicating the rest of his life to hunting down Nazis and holding them accountable for their crimes.

The Rise and Fall of Simon Wiesenthal

³⁸ Heidemarie Uhl, “Of Heroes and Victims: World War II in Austrian Memory,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011): pp. 185-200, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0067237811000117>

³⁹ Uhl, 2011.

⁴⁰ *I Have Never Forgotten You: The Life & Legacy of Simon Wiesenthal*. Directed by Richard Trank. 2006. Accessed 2017

⁴¹ *I Have Never Forgotten You: The Life & Legacy of Simon Wiesenthal*. 2016.

⁴² Heidemarie Uhl, “Of Heroes and Victims: World War II in Austrian Memory,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011): pp. 185-200, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0067237811000117>

While Wiesenthal dedicated the rest of his life to hunting down Nazis, he faced intense scrutiny because he forced Austrians to reconsider the roles that their famous figureheads played in the Holocaust. Consequently, he never received high praise for his successes catching war criminals but faced significant scrutiny for his failures because Austrians never fully accepted that someone should put the needs of their own community over the needs of their nation. In other words, they disliked Wiesenthal because his cause was perceived as a Jewish cause and not an Austrian cause. There were two mistakes that fed into the anti-Wiesenthal sentiment that gave his opponents the opportunity to undercut and destroy Wiesenthal's credibility.

The first major mistake occurred in 1970. Shortly after Bruno Kreisky became Austrian chancellor, Wiesenthal swiftly pointed out to the press that four of his cabinet appointees during World War II had been a part of the Nazi party. In a desperate attempt at deflection, Kreisky called Wiesenthal as a "Jewish fascist."⁴³ Public opinion turned against Wiesenthal because Kreisky was more popular with Austrians. Like Wiesenthal, Kreisky was also a survivor of the Holocaust and embodied what the Austrians wanted Jewish people to become after the war. He married, started a family, and launched a successful political career culminating in the Austrian chancellorship. As Wiesenthal was told to do after the war, Kreisky had successfully moved on and focused his political career on bettering Austria instead of worrying about the Jewish community. Critics saw Wiesenthal as someone who had "gone too far" as he later recalled and someone who was out of touch.⁴⁴ Kreisky expressed shock and horror at Wiesenthal's comments accusing his cabinet members of formerly being a part of the Nazi party. Kreisky convinced the Austrian public that for the country to take on larger responsibilities in the international community, they could not look back to its past. Wiesenthal and Kreisky fought with each other during the rest of the latter's life, but the damage had already been done. Wiesenthal had been accused of some of the most outrageous things such as being an agent of the Gestapo, a collaborator with the Nazis, and his opponents dubbed him "Sleazenthal."⁴⁵ Wiesenthal's reputation was irreparably damaged, but he was still the most knowledgeable and active Nazi-hunter. However, his next crusade against Kurt Waldheim did not just damage his reputation, it questioned how accurate his reports were and further convinced the public that Wiesenthal's work did more harm than good.

When Kurt Waldheim became Austrian president, he faced serious accusations that he served the Nazis during World War II. As the nation's only Nazi-hunter, Simon Wiesenthal launched a full-scale investigation into Waldheim's activities. After his investigation, Wiesenthal concluded that no concluding evidence had been brought forward to suggest that Waldheim was Nazi. Nonetheless, many were still suspicious of the gap in Waldheim's military service and some scholars launched their own investigation.

⁴³ *I Have Never Forgotten You*. 2006.

⁴⁴ *I Have Never Forgotten You*. 2006.

⁴⁵ Jan, Friedmann. "A Critical Look at Simon Wiesenthal: Examining the Legacy of the Nazi Hunter." *Spiegel International*, September 16, 2010

After an investigation that took place over a year from historians, they concluded that at the very best, Waldheim had known about the atrocities and at the very worst, he had participated in them and had lied about it.⁴⁶ Even though Waldheim declared that only his horse was a Nazi, it is more than likely that he had some sort of role in the Holocaust. In fact, when Waldheim released his autobiography in 1985, he did not include all his military service after an injury he suffered in 1942 in spite of the fact that he continued serving until the end of the war in 1945. Austrians that already turned against Wiesenthal continued to press him that he did not investigate hard enough and that his sources were not accurate. The US Department's chief Nazi hunter, Eli Rosenbaum, wrote to the Wiesenthal Center that Wiesenthal is a "spreader of false information...a tragic figure."⁴⁷ Not only was his reputation damaged, but now other professionals had begun to question Wiesenthal as well. Many wondered: if this case had been inaccurate, who else did Wiesenthal let slip through the cracks?

Simon Wiesenthal had a difficult task of hunting down Nazis that no one else had the courage to take on. But Austrians focused on how their leaders could benefit their country moving forward even it meant overlooking their connections to the Nazis. As a result, many non-Jewish Austrians largely did not support Wiesenthal's quest not because Wiesenthal had malicious intent, but because Austrians wanted to bury the legacy of the Holocaust. While the Waldheim scandal hurt Wiesenthal's credibility, many nations banned Waldheim from conducting government business with them and regarded him as a *persona non grata* in large part thanks to Wiesenthal's efforts. The United States and Israel both pressured the Austrian Chancellor, Franz Vranitzky, to perform diplomatic duties, but to also admit that Austria had not properly addressed its fault in World War II. Eventually, faced by partially internal and external pressure after the Waldheim investigation, the chancellor gave a speech that finally conceded that the victim-theory was wrong. For the first time, the Austrian government properly admitted its guilt.

Confronting and Covering from the Victim-Theory

By 1991, Chancellor Vranitzky, became the first Austrian Chancellor to give a speech to Parliament where he acknowledged that the Austrians were not Hitler's first victim, but also caused pain to a vast number of people namely its Jewish citizens.⁴⁸ He also visited Israel to formally apologize on behalf of Austria.⁴⁹ Since then, the government has made efforts to add museums and monuments that recognized the Jewish community. While this effort continues today, the next Austrian heads of state would backtrack what Vranitzky

⁴⁶ Jan, 2010.

⁴⁷ Jan, 2010.

⁴⁸ Peter Pirker, Johannes Kramer, and Mathias Lichtenwagner, "Transnational Memory Spaces in the Making: World War II and Holocaust Remembrance in Vienna," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 32, no. 4 (June 19, 2019): pp. 439-458, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-019-09331-w>

⁴⁹ Peter Pirker, Johannes Kramer, and Mathias Lichtenwagner, pp. 439-458.

said. In 2000, Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel told reporters on the anniversary of Kristallnacht that the Germans "took Austria by force" and disregarded the previous claims made by Vranitzsky.⁵⁰ With these words, Schüssel reignited the debate of Austria's role in the war and its responsibility towards its Jewish citizens.

With foreign pressure from the United States and Israel, complemented by Simon Wiesenthal's efforts, Austria had finally admitted their wrongdoing in the war. However, numerous political leaders in the following years championed the victim-theory and undid this progress. Currently, much of the nation's scholars are at odds with the majority of the people and government officials. This is the debate that continues to engulf Austria today. Fortunately for Otto von Habsburg, two-thirds of the population wish to stop discussing Austria's role in World War II and the Holocaust.⁵¹ The unfortunate reality is that even with museums and other efforts to memorialize victims of the Holocaust, many people will not understand what truly happened because they never experienced it themselves. Ruth Kluger, a Holocaust survivor and professor, argues that the collective memory of the Holocaust is incorrect and will never be understood outside of those who have lived through it. With new memorials and museums built, Kluger criticizes the decisions to build monuments that do not properly educate the masses: "The museum culture of the campsites has been formed by the vagaries and neuroses of our unsorted, collective memory. It is based on a profound superstition... A visitor who feels moved, even if it is only the kind of feeling that a haunted house conveys, will be proud of these stirrings of humanity...admire his own sensibility, or in other words, turns sentimental."⁵² If museums are about individual perception, then historical events would only be remembered by how certain exhibits made individuals feel when they visited them and make the individual experiences of those that lived through the Holocaust irrelevant. Austria may have lost the war, but government officials have controlled shaping the narrative around it. Museums might be a good step at showing the public some important primary sources and the public might even feel sorry for Austrian Jews. As Kluger observed, museums might invoke certain feelings, but does not ensure that museumgoers will understand the context of the sources. Even if they grasp the horrible implications of the Holocaust, many do not understand the role that their country and even their own ancestors played.

Conclusion

Seventy-five years after the Holocaust, it has become one of the most popular historical topics of study. Universities have specialized courses regarding the Holocaust with many of them filling to capacity. How people remember the Holocaust dictates societal significance and relates to individual significance as well. When the Austrian

⁵⁰ Peter Pirker, Johannes Kramer, and Mathias Lichtenwagner, pp. 439-458.

⁵¹ Ruth Kluger, *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2012), 66.

⁵² Ruth Kluger, 74.

government surrendered after World War II, they attempted to shield their involvement in the Holocaust. Not only did the Austrians give the Germans aid, but their inaction and their reluctance to address the negative parts in their traditions allowed this to happen. Additionally, projects and funds have been set up that are addressing proper remembrance of the Holocaust such as the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance that promotes Holocaust education, research, and remembrance on a national and international level.⁵³

Today, Austria remains in a confusing time. The country has numerous scholars attempting to memorialize those that perished while the majority of the people and the far-right government either do not understand the importance of these efforts or outright oppose them. The right-wing populism that is gaining steam worldwide has its roots in centuries old prejudices. Austria citizens are not just indifferent; they have been directly responsible for silencing Jewish advocates by electing anti-Semitic candidates and not supporting Jewish advocates and refusing to understand and accept Austria's role in the Holocaust. No one should be considered victims if they willingly allowed the Nazis into their homes and continue to participate in anti-Semitic discrimination by electing far-right leaders. In addition to the complete extermination of the Jewish population, another goal of Hitler's Final Solution was to erase the memory of Jews off of the Earth, a goal in which Austria remains complicit. The continuation of Austria's rich cultural traditions comes at the expense of old and new anti-Semitism that cowardly remains unresolved.

⁵³ National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism (2018). International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. Retrieved from <https://www.nationalfonds.org/ihra-81.html>.

More Than a Club: F.C. Barcelona and Franco's Regime

Belen Cisneros

Abstract: The sociopolitical climate after the Spanish Civil War and Francisco Franco's dictatorship greatly politicized soccer in Spain beginning in the 1930s. Franco enforced oppressive policies on autonomous minority communities like Catalonia. The purpose of his Generalismo policies were to unite the country under one single, conservative, Spanish identity. Catalan institutions, language and cultural practices were forbidden, and many were killed for resisting. At this time, Catalonia began to find power in sport. Futbol Club Barcelona has been more than just a team to the region. They have unapologetically embraced the culture, flag, and language of Catalonia since the era of Generalismo. Catalans were able to express their national identity through soccer and it is how F.C. Barcelona became a symbolic force and defeated Madrid, the cultural, political, and geographical center of Spain. Twice a year, Real Madrid and F.C. Barcelona have competed in a match called El Clasico, which is a significant rivalry even to this day where protests in support of Catalan independence still manifest.

Between 1930 and 1970, the national soccer league in Spain began to identify with the ideologies of different localities and engage with the racial politics of the tumultuous Spanish Civil War. The totalitarian leader, General Francisco Franco, was determined to unite the country under a single cultural identity. Franco greatly targeted the northeastern region of Catalonia, Spain's richest and second-most-populous region. They managed to resist his state-sponsored terrorism and expressed their national identity through Futbol Club Barcelona. The team's rival, Real Madrid, represented Franco's conservative Spain while F.C. Barcelona served as the underdog for liberal rebels. Though Spain had been a multicultural society for hundreds of years, Franco was determined to use violence and propaganda to oppress minority groups into surrendering their ethnic spirit.

The sociopolitical climate of Franco's dictatorship greatly politicized soccer in Spain. El Clasico, a match that occurred twice a year between Real Madrid and F.C. Barcelona, had great significance that reached beyond sport. It was a form of nationalist expression under an oppressive regime. Franco's goal to unite Spain under his conservative ideology of Generalismo meant he first had to culturally conquer the Catalans, an autonomous ethnic community with Barcelona as their capital. By banning their language and executing thousands of Catalans, Franco was determined to watch Barcelona fall and embrace his authority. Catalans were able to express their national identity through soccer, and it is how F.C. Barcelona became a symbolic force in order to defeat Madrid, the cultural, political, and geographical center of Spain. It is a significant rivalry even to this day, where protests in support of Catalan independence still manifest and have its roots in ancient history.

Centuries of Catalonian subjugation under Spanish conquest intensified under Franco's rise to power. Ever since King Philip V conquered Barcelona on September 11, 1714, Catalonia's independence as a sovereign nation was reduced and forced to adhere to

Spain's government. Catalan was banned from being taught in public schools, their political institutions were disassembled, and these reforms reshaped their ethnic identity. Catalans did not see themselves as a conquered people, but as someone who fought against all the odds. Nearly 300 years later, after a cultural renaissance, Catalonia was able to establish an official parliament in 1914. This renewed sense of power did not last long because the dictatorship of General Miguel Primo de Rivera crushed political dominion in 1925. However, Catalonia remained hopeful. After the fall of the dictatorship, Spain's Second Republic welcomed ethnic autonomy and recognized the region as a sovereign nation. Again, this freedom did not last long. On the eve of the Spanish Civil War and the rise of Francisco Franco's dictatorship, Catalonia's sovereignty was abolished.¹

The rise of a fascist government increased support for a growing communist party that supported independence and equal rights for ethnic communities. Many communist leaders, such as Dolores Ibarruri, defended Catalonia's will for independence. In a speech, she declared that Franco's dictatorship was trying to divide Spain in order to sell off its precious resources to foreign powers. Catalonia, one of the wealthiest regions of Spain, has historically paid many taxes that are intended to help Spain's more impoverished regions. However, Catalonia does not benefit from their tax contributions. Ibarruri expressed how greedy imperialists of the world undermine the strength of the Spanish people to unite under a single cause. She said, "an ardent feeling of independence and an indomitable love for liberty dwell in the hearts of all Spanish men and women."² This shows how El Caudillo's (The Leader's) strategy to divide and conquer historically oppressed regions of Spain would not be an easy task. The Spanish people's love for freedom and independence is greater than the love of power. Catalonia's spirit for independence survived for centuries. It was maintained through the Siege of Barcelona, oppressive monarchies and dictatorships. Catalonia's history has developed because of a struggle for independence that has lasted many years. This confirms how their independence would not surrender easily to another tyrannical government.

The second dictatorship of the twentieth century established a set of "Thirteen Points," in which they would center their domestic and international policies around. The third point, "Democratic Republic," states the government will be based on the principles of a pure democracy but with a strong executive branch granted full authority to serve the Spanish people.³ Point three is important because historically, the Catalan people have been seen as foreigners within their own land. This new "democratic" government would not serve all Spaniards equally unless they conformed to Franco's standards of Spanish identity. The passage does not define who is considered a Spaniard. This allowed for an authoritative executive branch of government to carry out any policies aimed to improve their idea of Spanish people.

¹ Lowe, Sid, *Fear and Loathing in La Liga* (New York: Nation Books, 2014).

² Ibarruri, Dolores, "Reply to the Enemies, Slanderers and Wavering Elements," Marxists Internet Archive, November 11, 1937: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/ibarruri/1937/08/10.htm>.

³ Alvah Bessie, ed., "The Thirteen Points." *In The Heart of Spain*

To further evaluate the government's idea of serving the Spanish people, point ten, "Improvement of the Race," states, "one of the primary and basic concerns of the state will be the cultural, physical, and moral improvement of the race."⁴ Again, there is no specification as to what Franco's regime considers the improvement of the race, or which race for that matter. These are vague philosophies that are subjective to the standards of Generalissimo. Franco believed Catalonians, and many other ethnic minorities, were not true Spaniards because they spoke different languages and had different cultural customs. Spain's central government struggled for many years to conquer the Barcelona region where there is still political dissent. This lack of unity among governments failed to create a strong sense of Spanish nationalism throughout Catalonia. For this reason, they were seen as rebellious outsiders. These points are vulnerable to manipulation in order to carry out one's agenda, and it is why Catalonia suffered so much at the hands of their own government. It allowed Franco and his regime to establish their own definition of a Spanish race and whom they were going to serve.

Franco and his regime also sought to erase the cultural identity of Catalonians. Point number one, "Independence," states Spain will recognize a single common origin and "sense of universality- a traditional characteristic of her people," which would unite them with the rest of the Spanish speaking world, ergo its former colonies.⁵ This point suggests a single origin for all Spanish people, which is far from accurate. Spain is a diverse country that was formed by many different Indo-European groups, which have varying histories between each other. To claim all Spaniards are alike disregards the history of those minorities and forces them to assimilate to Franco's Madrid-based ideologies. It also intended to unite Spain with its former colonies and revive the nation as an imperial power. At the core of Generalissimo, it is a fascist government executing a nationalization project to unite Spain under a single conservative identity, one that does not allow multicultural societies to have power. It is a cultural, social, and political movement determined to oppress autonomous ethnic communities by prohibiting the teaching of their language, sovereign institutions, and independent identity.

Catalonians received support from the Communists who opposed Franco's fascist regime. A newspaper by the Communist Party of Spain wrote that Catalonia and the Party would continue "promoting and financing various cultural activities in Catalan and supporting the request for freedom for the language, its founders set out to lead the Catalan national movement and turn it into a foothold to exert influence among the masses in order to establish a convenient regime to end class interests, the day that the dictatorship of General Franco disappears."⁶ The nationalist movement had to be able to convey their message to the masses through the common language of the region. If a culture were forced to surrender its means of communication and assimilate to the oppressing force, then the

⁴ Bessie, "The Thirteen Points," 273.

⁵ Bessie, "The Thirteen Points," 270.

⁶ B.J, "El Desarrollo del Movimiento Nacional en Cataluña [The Undoing of the National Movement in Catalonia]," *Nuestra Bandera* [Our Flag], Last modified April, 1964.

movement would be silenced. It was vital for Catalonia to protect their language by continuing to teach it to the youth and use it in church. The national movement of Catalonia was political, social, cultural, antifascist, but above all, it was democratic.

To unite Spain under a single identity, Franco banned the Catalan language from being used in public and government institutions. Catalonia did not readily submit to the censorship of their language. In retaliation, franquistas terrorized Catalan communities into assimilating to Spain's fascist and conservative culture. On December 22, 1963, supporters of Franco burned down a Catalan community center for youth and religious programs, vandalizing the phrase "Spain, one flag, one homeland, one language." The community quickly responded to the hate crime by organizing a march throughout the city where they chanted, "Long live Catalonia! Long live liberty! Long live peace!" This act of civil disobedience ended peacefully while the local people continued to fund Catalan organizations and institutions in order to resist Franco's oppression.⁷

The prohibition of the Catalan language set in motion the cultural influence over F.C. Barcelona. Though Franco had banned Catalan from being used in public institutions, he failed to shut down Camp Nou, the stadium of F.C. Barcelona. At soccer games, Catalans freely spoke their native language and expressed their political ideologies. For decades, F.C. Barcelona has had a traditional chant that is sung during the seventeenth minute of each game in honor of the 1714 Siege of Barcelona, while Catalan flags are allowed to wave in the stadium freely. For example, when F.C. Barcelona competed against Real Madrid in 2014, the game was loudly consumed by thousands of people in the stadium chanting "Independencia! Independencia!" As tradition states, it was chanted in unison by the thousands of spectators during the seventeenth minute. This is significant because it marks the beginning of Catalan's long struggle for independence against the Spanish Republic, and bonds the club to this history. Furthermore, writer and historian of Spanish soccer, Sid Lowe, maintains that political pamphlets were often handed out at Camp Nou, in the people's native language of Catalan. This is notable because the Catalan language was freely expressed at soccer games. People were allowed to spread literature and speak in their own language without fear of persecution from franquistas. These pamphlets, or "subversivos," aided in spreading the antifranquista agenda, but anthems also helped spread an implicit and poetic message.

In 1957, Josep Badia authored a new anthem for F.C. Barcelona in celebration of the opening of Camp Nou. "Himne an l'Estadi" or "Anthem of the Stadium," was boldly composed in Catalan. This was meaningful for the team considering the political and cultural atmosphere of the time, yet the lyrics spoke volumes to the people of Barcelona. The anthem goes, "in combat, we offer the honor of the arena to the noble effort of the victor and the defeated. In the triumph, we are weaving our history sowing everywhere a cool air of youth."⁸ The language used in this verse resembles that of battle and victory

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Badia, Josep, *Himne a l'Estadi*, Composed by Adolf Cabané, 1957.

against a people's enemy. When the team triumphs, the history of Barcelona is honored and embedded in the newest generation of the city. The efforts of the defeated are recognized and honored, rather than mistreated and disregarded. The mindset of a people who have fought an endless war for independence and recognition must be that of an underdog. F.C. Barcelona embodies the spirit of the underdog and acknowledges the efforts of its worthy opponents, who have just as much history and Spanish prestige as the Catalans.

Today's anthem, "Cant del Barca," written in 1974 as a celebration of the club's 75th anniversary, is still in Catalan and preaches unity among all Barca supporters. The first stanza goes: "We're the blue and maroon supporters, no matter where we come from, from the south or the north, now we all agree, we all agree, one flag unites us as brothers." Towards the end of the anthem, the choir sings, "And we have shown, we have shown, that no one can ever break us." No matter what region of Spain one comes from, they are united as brothers, and as Spaniards. As long as they are passionate about the team, the bond formed between players and fans is strong enough to unite people of separate regions. The message of bravery and determination to never be broken evokes strong feelings of passion for the players, the team, and the city of Barcelona. Though Barca has seen many defeats throughout its history, it still managed to gather the strength and support always to fight back.

F.C. Barca's anthem carries mainly implicit messages, while the team's motto, "Mes Que un Club" or "More Than a Club," is straightforward. The club is able to transcend beyond the boundaries of sport. They are more than a club because they represent brotherhood among Spaniards. They have a rich history and tradition among Catalan families. Throughout history, sports and politics have gone hand-in-hand, and this is shown in the first line of Article I of the 1932 F.C. Barcelona Statutes. It declares, "the Futbol Club Barcelona is an association of cultural character and spirit."⁹ Barca is meant to do more than entertain fans and fulfill their passions, but to embody the spirit of its people and cultural character of its city. Because Catalonia's political power was limited, soccer matches are how they fought against Franco's center of politics, the city of Madrid.

Matches between Real Madrid and F.C. Barcelona gained just as much attention as political events. Public opinion was often more centered on an athletic event between Catalonia's capital and Franco's capital instead of conventional politics. El Caudillo's cousin, Francisco Franco Salgado-Araújo, would record daily events. As someone who was close to the dictator, he was able to provide further insight on the impact these matches had. On November 22, 1954, the day municipal elections were being held, Salgado-Araújo writes, "there was little liveliness. Rather en Chamartin, where I went to see the Real Madrid-Barcelona, there were 120,000 people, and this sports event occupied more public

⁹ "Futbol Club Barcelona 1932 Estatut," FC Barcelona, January 15, 1932:

<https://www.fcbarcelona.com/en/club/organisation-and-strategic-plan/commissions-and-bodies/statutes>.

attention than the municipal elections.”¹⁰ El Clasico served as an outlet for people’s frustrations with the oppressive regime. It was also able to capture the attention of those who had detached themselves from politics. When the political climate was so divided and imperious, soccer became a tool to depoliticize a tense situation between two large rivals.¹¹ This example shows why F.C. Barcelona’s motto carries so much weight. It is more than just a club, more than just a sport. It is a cultural outlet where people could freely speak their native tongue and exchange Catalan literature. It provided a safe space for political rivals to battle on the soccer field. It allowed fans to support their cities and culture freely, even under an oppressive regime.

Soccer matches between Real Madrid and Barcelona were so politically charged that the lives of General Franco’s, and his comrades were at high risk when they would attend. Soccer matches were important for El Caudillo because the sport was part of his nationalization project to unite Spain under one identity and make Madrid the cultural center of the country. Franco needed to be at those matches even if threats on his life were arranged. It was important for him to support Real Madrid in the face of adversity. He understood that sport was a form of power that could be used to manipulate the public. His cousin, Salgado-Araújo, documents his fears as they enter the stadium to attend the semi-final match of the Generalissimo Cup on June 6, 1955, between the rivaling cities. He writes, “those of us who have the responsibility of watching over the life of El Caudillo cannot throw the many anonymous [letters] we continuously receive into the basket of papers.” Often the administration would receive information vital to protecting the life of the leader, and they had to take the necessary precautions to do so. Up until the day they arrived at the stadium of Bernabeu, they received anonymous tips. Some of which claimed, “the communist party had agreed to suppress Franco in said act of the stadium for not wanting the Caudillo to comply with the law of incompatibilities, threaten bombs, etc. Others talk about [His Excellency] will be killed by one disguised as a guard of his escort.”¹²

One would have to question El Caudillo’s decision to attend such a high-risk event. The Generalissimo Cup was renamed after Franco’s political agenda in order to unite Spain under his conservative ideologies. Franco had to be there to support Madrid and El Generalissimo. His military regime had mastered the use of sport to carry out his nationalism propaganda. By creating a narrative to associate Real Madrid with his dictatorship, Franco manipulated the masses without them even knowing. This is how one maintains and grows power. Power is the ability to access resources, money, and prestige despite resistance. Power means control over a population, even in ways they do not realize. Franco understood the power of sport and used Real Madrid to defeat his rival, Catalonia.

¹⁰ Franco Salgado-Araujo, Francisco, and Francisco Franco, *Mis Conversaciones Privadas Con Franco* [My Private Conversations with Franco] (Barcelona: Planeta. 1976). 39.

¹¹ Quiroga, Alejandro, “Spanish Fury: Football and National Identities under Franco,” *European History Quarterly* 45, no. 3, (July 2015): 506–29. doi:10.1177/0265691415587686.

¹² Franco, *My Private Conversations with Franco*. 116.

A soccer victory over a significant enemy is a victory for the entire region. Representation is important in all aspects of political and cultural life. If one is represented as a victor in front of many, it legitimizes their people and strength. For Example, on June 21, 1964, the cousins attended the European Nations' Cup final, where Madrid defeated the Soviet Union. Salgado-Araújo noticed his cousin's enthusiasm after being declared champions in front of the world stage. He quotes Franco when he says, "Our unity and patriotism has been shown to the millions who watched the game all over the world."¹³ Clearly, the dictator understood the power of a unified soccer team. It exemplifies the strength of a nation when a team can be so coordinated and determined to claim victory for their people. This is also the reason why F.C. Barcelona is synonymous with Catalonia. Just like how Madrid's strength is Spain's strength, Barca fights to represent Catalonia. For this reason, Franco created the conditions to weaken F.C. Barca's credibility and vigor, often by striking fear and terrorizing the club.

The political attack on F.C. Barcelona gained support from the city because the Catalan people saw themselves represented as the underdog. Franco was determined to conquer Barcelona by forcing the Catalan population to assimilate into a single Spanish identity created by Generalismo. In order to do so, he had to sabotage their institutions and organizations, which included F.C. Barcelona. This is why he launched an oppressive nationalization project centered in Madrid. Franco and his supporters understood the power that soccer carried, and in August of 1936, F.C. Barcelona's president, Jose Sunyol, was arrested and executed without trial by franquistas while traveling through mountains to a political event. Soccer historian, Sid Lowe, cites *La Rambla* newspaper and asserts Sunyol was "responsible for 'the markedly anti-Spanish direction taken by FC Barcelona.'"¹⁴ It is clear the dictatorship saw Sunyol as a political enemy with enough influence to impact Franco's agenda.

As a result of this assassination, a memorial was orchestrated in Madrid in honor of Sunyol. On September 7, 1936, the Official Monday Paper published a report called "The Sports Battalion," in which the journalist describes an event where the Sunol Company of the Sports Battalion, a popular militia group, marched in front of Spain's National Palace as a tribute to "his excellency, the president of the Republic." They later marched in front of the House of Catalonia, waving the Catalan flag combined with the colors of the Republic, as a homage to the Spanish Federation of Futbol and to pay their respects to the martyred F.C. Barcelona president. This display of commemoration to Jose Sunyol in front of the national palace in Madrid was a power move by the franquistas. A militia group first marched in front of the National Palace, where El Caudillo resided and conspired against minority ethnic groups, as to how he would destroy their way of life. By marching in front of the House of Catalonia after saluting the man responsible for the death of Sunyol, waving a Catalan flag combined with the colors of Franco's Spain showed the threatening

¹³ Quiroga, "Football and National Identities under Franco."

¹⁴ Lowe, Sid, *Fear and Loathing in La Liga*. 27.

power of his regime. It sent a message to the rest of the nation that he and his conservative followers were above everyone else.

After marching to the House of Catalonia, they proceeded to the Department of War to shake hands with the minister. A presentation like this sends an implicit message to supporters and sympathizers of Sunyol. Franco and his military government would recognize Catalonia only when it was dead and under his looming presence and authority, just like this cautionary tribute to Jose Sunyol. The assassination of the club president who cared so much about protecting the rights of Catalonia only martyred him and encouraged F.C. Barca to continue carrying out his motives, thus gaining more support from the region. The club was now given more motive to bond themselves to Catalonia because their president was assassinated for his independent beliefs. Terrorism against F.C. Barcelona was a result of the state-sponsored oppression of Catalonia.

Franco did whatever it took for Catalonia to submit to his authority. He manipulated the masses of people and used media as his tool. For his plan to work, Madrid needed to be recognized as the superior region of Spain, which included making Real Madrid look excellent. Madrid was declared the capital of Spain during the medieval period because it is the geographical center; therefore, it would be better connected to the rest of the nation. Its strong history and economics also made it the center of culture, society, and media. The capital had tremendous support from institutions and organizations that always portrayed it in a good light. Newspapers were often biased, such as *The Palentino Defender of the Interest of the Capital and Province: The Most Antique and Superior Circulation*. After a match between Real Madrid and F.C. Barcelona, the sports section of the paper stated, "The Barcelona match that the selector went to witness, is one that has precisely provided more reasons for confusion. It is too conclusive to be easy to invent palliatives."¹⁵ They claimed Madrid's victory of 5 to 0 was so irrefutable and secure that there was no need to calm the hearts of players or fans. There was confusion because Barcelona seemed to grant Madrid its triumph, even though Barca had easily defeated their local rival, Sevilla. This implies that F.C. Barca was no match for Madrid's skill. This was meant to undermine the equal competitor of Madrid in order to shame the city of Barcelona. Attempts to sabotage the reputation of F.C. Barcelona were frequent in newspapers, but Franco's administration may have also created the right conditions to ruin their credibility at matches.

The most controversial game of the rival's history was the 1943 Generalismo Cup. On the day of the semi-finals, Madrid enormously defeated F.C. Barcelona 11 to 1. This event came to be known as The Chamartin Scandal, named after Real Madrid's stadium. A news reporter from the *Official paper of the Barcelona Province* describes how intense and passionate the event was as if it was the final match of the championship. Since the initiation of the game, it was clear that Barcelona players were restraining themselves; The professionals

¹⁵ "El Campeonato Nacional de Liga [The National league championship]," *El Diario Palentino: Defensor de los intereses de la capital y la provincia. El más antiguo y de mayor circulación* [The Palentino Defender of the Interest of the Capital and Province. The Most Antique and Superior Circulation], April 22, 1935, Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica (15442).

were nervous, and purposefully committing foul plays. The reporter writes, “Barcelona plays too slow. This increases the ease in the dominion of the Madrileños. . . Madrid had already shown up with great greed. Pushed even by the public, their players act with enormous courage. The Madrid domain becomes intense.”¹⁶ The sports correspondent is clearly confused as to why Barcelona players were demoralized and lousy for such an important game. The audience was highly spirited, Real Madrid was a fierce competitor, and Barca was barely reacting to the ball. This was extremely out of the ordinary for such intense competition between the top two teams of Spain. From the very beginning of the match, Barcelona played poorly with a strong sense of discouragement. Many rumors were sprung as to why F.C. Barca seemed demoralized.

The reason behind the controversy of this event is a popular theory that claimed Spain’s director of state security somehow threatened F.C. Barcelona players in the locker room in order to manipulate the outcome of the game. There is no official government documentation proving this theory, and the only people who truly knew what happened at that moment were the players and government agents. Futbol journalist, Richard Fitzpatrick claims the director reminded the players of why they were allowed to play “because of the generosity of the regime has forgiven [them] for [their] lack of patriotism.”¹⁷ This intimidation tactic must have terrified the players who remembered the merciless assassination of their president, Josep Sunyol. In the eyes of Franco and his supporters, Catalan communists like Sunyol were traitors to all of Spain. His concern over the treatment of his fellow citizens and willingness to join a political organization for the good of the people was considered unpatriotic. Patriotism, in the fascist regime, was being unified under Franco’s policies of Generalissimo.

If the franquistas were willing to murder someone of such high stature, one could only imagine what the head of security was capable of doing to the players. This theory can logically explain why one of Spain’s greatest teams hardly participated in a game that was of great importance. The stakes were high because it had been almost ten years since either team won a league title. Real Madrid and the spectating fans clearly understood the significance of claiming victory in this match, but F.C. Barcelona did not reflect the same attitude. This alleged political attack on the athletic organization further generated support from a people who saw themselves reflected in F.C. Barcelona’s battle against Real Madrid. It is a perception of continually having to prove one’s self, being knocked down by forces with more influential political institutions and agencies, oftentimes having to make sacrifices in order to secure their survival and live to fight another day.

At the final game of the 1943 Generalismo Cup, Real Madrid competed and lost against Atletico Bilbao. Sports correspondents predicted Madrid would be the champion because they greatly defeated F.C. Barcelona in the semi-final. *The Advanced: Political Diary*

¹⁶ "Los Semifinales del Torneo Copa de S.E. El Generalismo [the Semifinals of the Tournament Cup of S.E. Generalismo]." Oja Oficial Del Lunes [Official Monday paper], June 14, 1943. Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica (Virtual historical press library).

¹⁷ Fitzpatrick, Richard, *El Clasico*.

of *Salamanca* stated, “the team of Madrid that will be the same as last Sunday is full of optimism and enthusiasm. . . [The Bilbainos] will have an enemy, the strongest of today, but noble. . . Madrid is the best Spanish team that can face them successfully.”¹⁸ The amount of confidence that supporters of Madrid had in their team was evident. The capital and center of Spain were expected not to be trounced. Though Madrid ended up losing the match, the prevailing sentiment was that at least it was not a loss to Barcelona. Had Madrid lost such a decisive battle to their greatest enemy, it would have been a significant defeat for Franco and his administration. The region of Bilbao did not compete so much with Barcelona and Madrid, therefore losing to them was not a symbolic defeat. F.C. Barcelona carried so much symbolism because the stakes were so high. It could have been a victory for Catalonia or Franco. Madrid’s victory was a humiliating defeat to Barcelona.

The legacy of El Clasico and its political and cultural symbolism has never ceased. To this day, Catalonia still fights for independence and uses F.C. Barcelona as a tool to assert their national identity. Today’s generation of Catalans has inherited a centuries-long fight to achieve national independence. It is a war for social liberation; to be able to express their national identity without persecution from the government. In 2015, there was strong support for a separatist movement to finally claim independence from Spain and officially form the autonomous nation of Catalonia. In 2017, the Spanish central government declared the separatist referendum to be unconstitutional and imprisoned leaders of the movement. Spanish police shut down polling locations, but Catalan separatists still encouraged citizens to print their voting ballots at home and drop them off at polling locations.

One could argue that voter turnout was low because of the state’s successful suppression of the movement, or because many Catalans feel dependent on Spain and their position in the European Union. Over ninety percent of Catalans who voted supported independence from Spain, but there was only about forty percent of eligible voter turnout. Support for an independence movement is stronger among Catalans of higher income who live in cities, while the rural, low-income families are caught in the middle of the political spectrum. If Catalonia were to gain freedom, they would have to apply to become part of the E.U., which is a process that would take many years. Because of this, some people fear the possibility of an economic decline in the region. Many banks and multinational corporations have already relocated their economic investments outside of Catalonia, as a result of the sociopolitical climate.¹⁹

In October of 2019, protests in Barcelona demanded the release of nine political prisoners who led the separatist movement in 2017. The political leaders were jailed after the Spanish Supreme Court declared the 2017 referendum to be illegal. Former president

¹⁸ Logos, “Madrid-A de Bilbao En La Gran Final de la Copa del Generalísimo [Madrid-A of Bilbao in the Grand Finale of the Generalísimo Cup]” *El Adelanto: Diario Político de Salamanca* [The Advanced: Political Diary of Salamanca], June 20, 1943, Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica.

¹⁹ “Catalonia’s independence movement, explained” (YouTube video), posted by Vox, November 3, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=__mZkioPp3E

of the Catalonia region, Carles Puigdemont, claimed political asylum in Belgium in order to avoid arrest for his role in the movement. The BBC reported that at least ninety-six people had been hurt as a result of the civil unrest.²⁰ Many peaceful protests turned violent. Some radical separatists clashed with state police in the streets of Barcelona. Law enforcement had also responded with force, which further enraged Catalans, who felt a striking resemblance to the violence of Francisco Franco's dictatorship.

The region had not seen so much political tension since the death of the dictator in 1975, when Spain shifted to a democratic system that vowed to protect the rights and freedoms of everyone residing within its borders. This vow of democracy is not being upheld today. The Spanish government has threatened to take over and dissolve the local Catalan government, effectively removing their leaders from power. This action is synonymous with the fascist regime of the twentieth century and is why protests have become so radicalized once again. It is a pattern the Catalan are all too familiar with. One supporter at the protest in Barcelona stated, "it's time for the state to find a solution because it seems that this has no end. We are always at the same point. We have come here because we are fed up with so much repression that we have suffered from the state."²¹ What these protests are asking from Madrid is an opportunity to sit down together and come to an agreement. Many also believe the punishment for the nine imprisoned leaders is too severe. The solution to this civil unrest is communication between Madrid and Barcelona.

Catalans have always felt they have been economically taken advantage of by the Spanish government. The region is wealthy because of tourism from people around the world who come to see their architecture, fútbol games, and flourishing culture. Though Catalonia only accounts for six percent of Spain's geography, they are responsible for twenty percent of its tax revenue. Since the era of Generalissimo, citizens of Catalonia feel like their wealth is unequally distributed. Much of the taxes collected from the region do not return to its institutions like education and infrastructure. One Catalonian activist claims, "we pay a lot of taxes, they take them away, and they don't return it in better infrastructure or better living conditions."²² The revenue is often directed to poorer regions of Spain, therefore Catalonia does not reap the full amount of benefits it deserves. Though Spain is dependent on the wealth of Catalonia and its contribution to the economy, the country has not been kind to the region. Rather than cooperate peacefully and negotiate as political powers, the central government executed oppressive policies to control the region. This occurred during the dictatorship of Franco and continues to transpire in 2019. For this reason, Catalonians remain outraged with Spain's central government because of the maltreatment they have experienced as contributing members of Spanish society. They lack

²⁰ "El Clásico: Barcelona v Real Madrid postponed because of fears over civil unrest," *BBC*, (Last modified October 18, 2019): <https://www.bbc.com/sport/football/50096390>.

²¹ "Catalan protest: Peaceful protest in Barcelona ends in violence | DW News" (YouTube video), posted by DW News, October 27, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NuW4wxQ4OAAQ>

²² "Catalonia's independence movement, explained," YouTube video.

the representation and respect they deserve. Riots occur when people have been silenced, taken advantage of, and oppressed for far too long.

The severity of the riots in Barcelona were so dangerous that La Liga (Spanish League) made the decision to cancel El Clasico scheduled for October 26th, 2019. Barcelona expressed to La Liga that it was not necessary to change the location of the match to Madrid. Instead, it has been rescheduled for December 18, 2019, at Camp Nou. This decision showed that F.C. Barcelona would join the protest by refusing to host a game with so much Catalan history while the people are risking their lives in the streets for liberty. They refused to relocate El Clasico to the city from which the oppression originates. In addition, the game between the two rival cities could further escalate the situation and endanger more people. Until the riots subside, El Clasico will remain on hold.

F.C. Barcelona officially took a political stance on the situation by publishing a statement on October 13th titled "Prison is Not the Solution." The club claims that as a historically important organization to the history of Catalonia, it must state that imprisoning leaders of a peaceful and democratic liberation movement is not the answer. The only "resolution of the conflict in Catalonia must come exclusively from political dialogue," and the club stands in "solidarity to the families of those who are deprived of their freedom."²³ This bonds the club to the ongoing political struggle in Catalonia and makes a large impact on the region. F.C. Barcelona, being one of the most powerful organizations in Spain, grows more valiant in supporting their political beliefs as democracy in Spain develops. Fans of the team continue to use Camp Nou as a place to express their political ideologies. In January of 2019, a large banner was unveiled during the Copa del Rey (King's Cup), that read "only dictatorships jail peaceful political leaders."²⁴ This clearly references the era of the Franco dictatorship, who falsely imprisoned political leaders of ethnic communities because they wanted independence. Soccer games in Barcelona are still politicized, and the team continues to defend the people of their region.

The club claims its online archive of F.C. Barca Statutes define their ideologies and provide historical context to the political climate of Catalonia. The 2018 Statutes clearly state their unity and support for the region. Article 4 Section 3 states the club will promote the cultural, social, artistic, scientific, and recreational characteristics of the region, which the club also benefits from. They vow their "Permanent loyalty and service to the partners, to the citizens, and to Catalonia." Article 5 claims Catalan will be the official language of the club, which is historically significant when considering the hundreds of years of active suppression of the language by the Republic of Spain since King Philip V.²⁵ For them to be officiating Catalan as their language, shows their unity with the people of the region.

²³ "Prison is Not the Solution," FC Barcelona, October 14, 2019:

<https://www.fcbarcelona.com/en/news/1451999/prison-is-not-the-solution>.

²⁴ "Futbol Club Barcelona 1932 Estatut," FC Barcelona, October 20, 2018:

<https://www.fcbarcelona.com/en/club/organisation-and-strategic-plan/commissions-and-bodies/statutes>.

²⁵ "Barcelona Protest banner at the Camp Nou: 'Only dictators jail peaceful political leaders!," *Marca*, (last modified January 31, 2019):

<https://www.marca.com/en/football/barcelona/2019/01/30/5c52258522601d62728b45f7.html>.

Barcelona's motto "Mes Que un Club (more than a club)" reigns true to this day. They are more than just a soccer team. They represent the region of Catalonia and have stood by in solidarity of this oppressed nation for almost a century. The team refused to back down from civil engagement during Franco's tyrannical reign, and today are unafraid to express their allegiance and bond with a minority desperate for independence. Franco's nationalization project could only be achieved with the cultural conquest of Barcelona. Catalonia found cultural power through F.C. Barcelona, and the club understands its success is only as strong as its people. When they are united under one flag, one people, one language, nothing can break their spirits.

As Catalonia's independence movement grows more ambitious under a more democratic federal government, F.C. Barcelona stands in solidarity and becomes more forthright in its political stance against institutionalized oppression. Spain's history of the twentieth century has shown the development of a growing separatist movement and struggle against a conservative government as a legacy of Francisco Franco's dictatorship. Franco understood the power of symbolism and unity, which is why he and his supporters aggressively intimidated F.C. Barcelona. To this day, El Clasico remains a politically charged event, from fans in the stadium chanting "Independence" to refusing to relocate the match to Madrid amidst riots in Barcelona.

El Caudillo's agenda to unite Spain under a single cultural identity that refused to acknowledge the diversity of its people identified the Catalan capital of Barcelona as his greatest symbolic enemy. In order for Generalissimo to have succeeded, he needed to conquer and politically oppress Barcelona culturally. As a result of this, Catalonia found symbolism in sport, politicizing soccer between Barcelona and Franco's capital of Madrid. The dictatorship of Francisco Franco caused F.C. Barcelona to unite with the Catalan's who used the team as a tool to express their political ideologies. Often, Catalonia was not able to use military or authoritative might to defeat Franco, but they found a voice within soccer, and to this day, the art of sport is used to express their national identity and resist oppressive governments.

A Club of Her Own: Mitzi Shore and the Comedy Store

Steven Lynn

Abstract: With the popularity of Amazon Prime's, *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel*, set in 1950s New York, and Showtime's *I'm Dying Up Here*, set in 1970s Los Angeles, viewers receive a glimpse into the history of stand-up comedy from two very different female perspectives. While these two fictionalized shows attempt to chronicle the beginnings of a female comedian and a female club owner, respectively. Collectively, the two shows construct a myth that stand-up magically opened its doors to previously marginalized groups sometime between the 1950s and the 1970s without explaining the actual phenomenon that occurred. Using interviews, social media and podcasts, this phenomenon exposes the story of a Southern California comedy club, where diverse comedians gained access to stage time that allowed them to infiltrate a craft overwhelmingly dominated by straight white males. Since its opening, a plethora of comedians from previously marginalized communities experienced stardom and shared similar origins; their success began with stage time at the Comedy Store. Looking at The Comedy Store and its owner, a history of its business practices and routines explained stand-up's acceptance of marginalized communities and rationalized the transformation, allowing many diverse comedians to gain acceptance into the straight white all-boys club of stand-up comedy. This change continued into the seventies while confronting the myth conjured in today's popular culture that this transformation magically occurred during the sixties to expose the woman responsible for comedy's suddenly inclusive practices, Mitzi Shore.

Stand-up comedy changed in the 1970's when Sammy Shore and Rudy DeLuca opened the doors to a haunted mob nightclub in Los Angeles, establishing the city's first comedy only club, The Comedy Store. Due to a scheduling conflict months after the club's opening, The Store on Sunset Boulevard found itself with a new manager, Mitzi Shore, which Paul Mooney described as, "The best thing that ever happened to comedy in Los Angeles."¹ Despite the club and Mitzi's rise to prominence, both subjects lack detailed historiographies. Older studies of comedy, like Robert Stebbins' *Laugh-Makers* and Rosalind Warren's *Revolutionary Laughter*, mention Mitzi Shore's accomplishments in a few pages. Recent works, like Kliph Nesteroff's *The Comedians*, Richard Zoglin's *Comedy at the Edge*, and William Knoedelseder's *I'm Dying up Here*, treat both Mitzi Shore and The Comedy Store as subplots in larger narratives about stand-up comedy, while slightly expanding the pair's contributions to the art form in comparison to previous works. Although these monographs offer sweeping narratives, they fail to adequately situate Mitzi and her club to explain the transformation that comedy underwent throughout the 1970s. With her business, Mitzi Shore altered the demographic makeup of stand-up comedy by solidifying a safe space, like those described in Anne Enke's *Finding the Movement*, providing comedians

¹ Kliph Nesteroff, *The Comedians: Drunks, Thieves, Scoundrels, and the History of American Comedy* (New York: Grove Press, 2015), 284.

of all identities a safe place to develop their material through open and honest discourse. Through the Comedy Store, Mitzi pioneered a system that developed talent, while simultaneously allowing for previously unheard, marginalized, and overlooked voices to ascend from the shadows and step into stardom.

Although these works illuminate a basic version of the Comedy Store and Mitzi's story, countless comedians hold her and her club in much higher regard than the few historians that sought to include her in their narrative. Despite her becoming comedy's first female club-owner, a club that offered nightly lineups of continuous comedy before any of her male counterparts. Through these secondary sources and various primary sources, like lineups, advertisements, oral histories, and interviews, this paper seeks to illuminate Mitzi's many contributions to stand-up comedy and popular culture while outlining a system that she created to refine the art form consequently diversifying the "white all-boys club" that stand-up had unquestionably formed and remained largely unchallenged since its inception.

Born Lilian Siedel in 1930, Mitzi took a job at the age of twenty outside of Green Bay, Wisconsin. While touring, Sammy met Mitzi at her place of employment during the summer of 1950. Mitzi, a secretary at a local resort, and Sammy, a travelling comic, formed a close relationship and quickly began dating. After a few months of dating, Mitzi called Sammy to inform him of her pregnancy. After a show in Toledo, Ohio, Mitzi met Sammy backstage; he proposed; she graciously accepted, and the two wed on the road. As an expecting newlywed, Mitzi quit her job in Wisconsin and joined her husband's comedy tour. While on tour, Mitzi came into close contact with other notable comedians, using the experience to learn from the various acts that she encountered. Mitzi took detailed notes, offered advice, and rewrote her husband's and other comedians' jokes. Sammy and his colleagues appreciated the help, and Mitzi gained an insider's access to the secretive comedic process, allowing both parties to benefit from the arrangement. Although Mitzi loved life on the road, raising children in and out of hotels began to take its toll and herself and her marriage. After Sammy's tour, the couple settled in Miami Beach, Florida. There, the couple expanded their family with the arrival of a daughter, Sandy. On a date one night, Sammy took Mitzi to see an up-and-coming comedian by the name of Lenny Bruce, where Mitzi believed God spoke to her. When reflecting on this divine intervention, Mitzi described it as, "God spoke to me that night. He told me, 'this is what comedy should be; a true artistic expression between a comedian and an audience.' I knew then that I was preparing for this [the Comedy Store]."² With unprecedented access to various acts and living within close proximity to comedians, especially her husband, Mitzi Shore's life experience uniquely qualified her to begin packaging her vision of stand-up comedy and presenting it as she saw fit; she just needed a venue.³

² Mitzi Only" *The Comedy Store Podcast*, April 19, 2018, 1:33:17.

³ Pauly Shore, host, "Sammy Shore/Rudy DeLuca," *Interested: Season One*, October 8, 2014, 25:50; Pauly Shore., 34:20; *Pauly Shore Stands Alone*, directed by Pauly Shore (Showtime Networks, 2014), Amazon Prime, 5:15; "Mitzi Only" *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 1:44:38.

Mitzi's early preparation in comedy production would come into practice once the Shore's relocated to Southern California in the early 1970s. Prior to Mitzi's arrival in Los Angeles, only a handful of venues offered stage-time to stand-up comedians. The few comedians performing at these clubs had to share the stage with a variety of performing artists. One of the venues, *Ciro's*, which hosted acts ranging from Merv Griffin to Josephine Baker, closed its doors in 1957 due to bankruptcy. Nonetheless, it quickly reopened as a rock-and-roll club that hosted performances by The Doors, Jimi Hendrix, and Bob Dylan. In less than ten years, and after more than a few name changes, the club closed its doors for good. With the help of his writer and friend, Rudy Deluca, Sammy Shore secured a lease on the location that *Ciro's* once occupied shortly after moving to Los Angeles, but Rudy and Sammy lacked a name for the club that the two could agree on. After overhearing her husband's predicament, Mitzi suggested the name "the Comedy Store," and it stuck. On April 7, 1972, the club opened its doors to the public.⁴

The club opened with an "open-mic" policy, whereby comedians who wanted to perform did so at their leisure. A first of its kind, the open-mic policy relied on the quality and caliber of comedians in attendance, which made duplicating successful shows impossible. As the host, Sammy introduced comics as they lined up in the back of the room, or as he spotted them in the crowd. With no quality assurance, the owners decided not to charge an entry fee and kept drink prices under a dollar to inflate attendance for the comics and better test their material. As luck would have it, less than a month after the Comedy Store's opening, Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show* moved its tapings from New York to Burbank on May 1, 1972. With the arrival of Johnny Carson, came the comedic acts that performed on his show and the comedians who sought instant fame. This significantly increased the number of talented comedians residing in or traveling through or to the greater Los Angeles area and greatly improved the quality of comedians found at The Comedy Store.⁵ Sadly, the abundance of talent and the relaxed atmosphere did not translate into an instant success because Sammy and Rudy had created more of a social club for comedians than an actual comedy club for patrons; however, the more that Johnny Carson repeated the phrase "From the Comedy Store on Sunset," when introducing young comedians, the more comedians would flock to the Store for exposure.⁶

⁴ "History," The Comedy Store, last modified April 11, 2018; *E! True Hollywood Story*, season 5, episode 18, "The Comedy Store" produced by Andreas Kanonenberg, aired April 8, 2001, on E!; Richard Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge: How Stand-up in the 1970s Changed America* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2008), 145; William Knoedelseder, *I'm Dying Up Here: Heartbreak & High Times in Stand-Up Comedy's Golden Era* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009), 32.

⁵ Knoedelseder, Zoglin, and Nesteroff each attributed Freddi Prinze's debut appearance and introduction on Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show* as the driving force that brought countless comedians to the Comedy Store on Sunset Boulevard; however, Johnny Carson mentions the Improv on this introduction, while mentioning the Comedy Store in each of Prinze's subsequent visits.

⁶ "History," The Comedy Store; Knoedelseder, *I'm Dying Up Here*, 33-34; Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge*, 106; Press Release, *New York Times*, February 24, 1972; *E! True Hollywood Story*, season 5, episode 18, "The Comedy Store."

After marrying Sammy Shore in 1950 and raising children through the 1960s while her husband toured the country performing stand-up, Mitzi Shore soon took responsibility for Sammy's other creation, the Comedy Store. Because of a contractual obligation to perform in Las Vegas, Sammy asked Mitzi to run the club in October 1972, and she gladly accepted. Still in its infancy, the Comedy Store faced a few glaring problems. First, Mitzi needed to deal with the abundance of talent coming to the club, so she began by scheduling acts and writing out nightly line-ups; the better acts got the better time slots. Furthermore, when an abundance of comedians came to town, Mitzi adjusted the length of set times. Through her line-ups, Mitzi's established a hierarchy among comics, which allowed each comedian to track the progression of his/her act through the timeslots assigned.

Of the many changes that Mitzi made to the club's format, the Monday "Potluck Night" had the most significant impact on The Comedy Store. "Potluck Night" was a free show where forty relatively unknown comedians could audition for spots in the Store's regular rotation as "Paid Regulars." The promotion to "Paid Regular" only applied in name since comedians received no compensation for stage time. Next, Mitzi began to address the economics of the business. Since profits remained stagnant, she decided to run two shows a night and charge an entry fee as the club's popularity and comedic talents improved. Also, she implemented a "drink minimum" for attendees. Rudy DeLuca states, "Let's face it; the moment that your mother [Mitzi] came into The Comedy Store, we [Sammy and I] were finished. It was too much: your father was a comic, I was a writer, and together we couldn't deal with running The Store. Your mother was perfect, perfect for it!" With Mitzi at the helm of the Comedy Store, the seventies proved to be prosperous for her as she laid the foundation to guide and develop stand-up and its comedians in the direction, she had previously envisioned.⁷

Mitzi, a shrewd businesswoman, soon found herself having to choose between the club and her husband; Sammy certainly made a choice easy. In the summer of 1974, Mitzi Shore rightfully ended her twenty-four year-union to Sammy after a violent and public altercation inside the Comedy Store. After a dispute over stage time, Sammy slapped Mitzi in the back of a sold-out show, forcing the room to silence as Mitzi dropped a bag of change to defend herself.⁸ This combined with the various acts of infidelity exposed in John Gregory Dunne's novel, *Vegas*, pushed Mitzi to file for divorce shortly after the incident. In the divorce settlement, Mitzi's child support and alimony totaled between \$1100 and 1200 per month, forcing Sammy to offer a compromise: if she cut his payments down to \$600 a month, he would sign over his share of the Comedy Store; Mitzi agreed.⁹ By the end of 1974, Mitzi bought out Rudy DeLuca's share in the Comedy Store and became

⁷ Knoedelseder, *I'm Dying Up Here*, 36, 38; *E! True Hollywood Story*, season 5, episode 18, "The Comedy Store;" "Sammy Shore/Rudy DeLuca," *Interested: Season One*, 1:14:10.

⁸ Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge*, 146-147.

⁹ During Pauly Shore's podcast, *Interested*, Pauly presents his father with his mother's take on the divorce; that Mitzi won the Comedy Store in the divorce settlement. Sammy angrily contests this and argues that he gave it to her. Bottom-line, Mitzi became the first female to own a club offering continuous comedy in the United States. "Sammy Shore/Rudy DeLuca," *Interested: Season One*, 1:14:10.

its sole proprietor, becoming the first woman to own a comedy club. By July 1978, she bought the entire building and expanded her operation with two additional stages inside the Comedy Store.

Mitzi became to Los Angeles's comedy scene what John Sutter was to California's Gold Rush. With her club, she struck gold, and soon others flocked to Los Angeles trying to cash in on her recipe for success. She carved out space for stand-up comedy in between the glitz and glamour of movie premieres and rock and roll's most infamous nightclubs. Before 1976, Mitzi started to see competitors imitating her business model. Her famous "drink minimum" became an industry-standard in comedy venues across the nation that remains to this day. In 1976, Budd Friedman, the owner of the Improv in New York, expanded his comedic empire when he added a location a few blocks down the Sunset Strip from the Store. Mitzi welcomed healthy competition because it brought validity to what she had accomplished. Soon, however, unwanted competition would reach her doorstep.

In 1976 Mitzi bought the building that housed The Comedy Store; however, the building came with a tenant that quickly became a problem for Mitzi.¹⁰ Art Laboe, a famous Los Angeles disc-jockey, hosted various entertainment acts nightly from his club next-door to Mitzi with an iron-clad lease that she could not break. However, when he attempted to open his space as a comedy club while Mitzi closed her club for remodeling, she became furious. Before Laboe could take advantage of the location and talent that Mitzi created, she went to the comedians and asked or demanded that they refuse to perform at Laboe's club. With the space she created for comedians to develop their craft, they respected her wishes, which economically devastated Laboe. After Mitzi blockaded talent, two options presented themselves: She could wait out or buyout Laboe. She chose the latter, and it did not take long for Laboe to accept the generous offer comedian and friend Shecky Greene brought to him on behalf of Mitzi. With the deal, Mitzi rid herself of her pesky tenant for the price of fifty thousand dollars, and in exchange, she gained another stage, which she then turned into "the Main Room," as well as an additional liquor license.

With Mitzi's three stages, she routinely produced diverse shows that entertained audiences, and simultaneously became an invaluable institution for once marginalized comedians to master their art form. Mitzi differentiated herself from other club owners by developing new talent. "Mitzi was the only one who really developed talent. Budd would give them a place to perform. But Mitzi really nurtured us. She was very much into the artistic-ness of stand-up comedy. That means she liked creative, charismatic kids growing as artist onstage." The Belly Room became a stage to showcase female comics and theme nights. In the Belly Room, the same hierarchy that governed the Original Room applied; however, Mitzi promoted exceptional artists, regardless of ethnicity, gender, or sexuality, from the Belly Room to the Original Room and demoted acts accordingly. Although some critiqued the room as a means of segregating female comics to a lesser stage, the Belly Room offered a platform for women to develop their talents and advance into the Original

¹⁰ Knoedelseder, *I'm Dying Up Here*, 23-25; *E! True Hollywood Story*, season 5, episode 18, "The Comedy Store."

or Main Rooms.¹¹ Rosanne Barr, Sandra Bernhard, and Whoopi Goldberg all took advantage of the space to advance their careers. Though rarely used, the Main Room offered a stage to aging and veteran acts, but the room turned into a point of ascendancy for Comedy Store comedians in the club's early years. Even before the Comedy Store expanded to three stages, the building reached its capacity, and the empire that Mitzi worked tirelessly to build required additional locations.¹²

From 1974 to 1984, Mitzi continued to grow her Comedy Store empire with the addition of three locations, two in Southern California and one in Las Vegas.¹³ The addition of the three venues allowed Mitzi to further the hierarchy and chart progression amongst her diverse pool of talent. The Comedy Store in West Hollywood (Westwood), established in 1974, gave comedians with talent, but Mitzi considered too “raw, rough, or green” for stage time, an opportunity to develop. To answer a dare and a dream, a Canadian carpet salesman and a sharp-dressed man performed on “Potluck Night” in 1978. When Mitzi heard the performances, she responded in her coded fashion with a short and simple “keep working.” To Howie Mandel and Arsenio Hall, this meant little, but Mitzi planned on booking the two at her Westwood location. In 1977, the Comedy Store opened a third location in La Jolla, an affluent suburb of San Diego. When purchasing this location, Mitzi also acquired a limousine and a condo to drive and host the headlining acts booked at the La Jolla location. This location enabled the Store's top comedic talents to test their acts with a more sophisticated and affluent audience, a taste of success on the road and an hour timeslot with the addition of a fourth location in Las Vegas allowed comedians the same benefits as La Jolla with far more glitz, glamour, decadence, or debauchery depending on the comic. These nightly lineups, timeslots, rankings, and the hierarchy between the rooms and venues, combined with potluck night created what Mitzi considered a “comedic college” for up-and-coming acts to hone their skills. This comedic college remained the only means of compensation for comedians performing at Mitzi's clubs for years.¹⁴

For the comedians that performed on “Potluck Night” that did not receive a comedic assignment, if Mitzi saw potential, they received a working job at the Comedy Store, which included jobs like doorman or bouncer. Unlike every establishment in Los Angeles, strangely, Mitzi did not employ any comedians or potential comedians as service workers.

¹¹ During the recording of Argus Hamilton's episode of *The Comedy Store Podcast*, Hamilton recalls the night where Mitzi made accommodation so that Sandra Bernhard, a comedian that openly criticized The Belly Room acted as a means of segregating women, could audition for Robert De Niro to be in a film, *The King of Comedy*. Eleanor Kerrigan, host, “Argus Hamilton, Southern Man of Taste” *The Comedy Store Podcast*, March 29, 2018, 1:00:00.

¹² Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge*, 149; *E! True Hollywood Story*, season 5, episode 18, “The Comedy Store;” Sheila Weller, “Funny Women,” *New York Times*, December 2, 2012; “Argus Hamilton, Southern Man of Taste” *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 1:04:50.

¹³ Knoedelseder, *I'm Dying Up Here*, 38 &;” *E! True Hollywood Story*, season 5, episode 18, “The Comedy Store;” Nesteroff, *The Comedians*, 284; Knoedelseder, *I'm Dying Up Here*, 115; *Pauly Shore Stands Alone*, 5:15.

¹⁴ Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge*, 148; History,” The Comedy Store, last modified April 11, 2018; *E! True Hollywood Story*, season 5, episode 18, “The Comedy Store”; *The Comedy Store's 15 Year Class Reunion*, produced by Mitzi Shore; Mitzi Shore, *The Comedy Store 15 Year Class Yearbook*, 86.

Each job at the Store served a unique purpose, and unlike the performing comedians, these jobs received weekly paychecks. “Mitzi was like a real-life Willy Wonka; in a sense, she would always test you and make you better without you ever really knowing it. Sometimes it was for your growth and sometimes it was for her entertainment.”¹⁵ Through various job assignments, Mitzi kept comedians with talent within proximity to each of her venues as a cancellation resulted in stage time, the young comedians gladly accepted most of what Mitzi asked. After Harris Peet’s first night working as a Doorman for the Original Room, Mitzi asked the young comic for a foot rub, and Harris replied, “Listen lady, I know that I’m new here but there’s some places where you gotta draw the line.” Mitzi broke into laughter and yelled, “We gotta pistol, here.” Despite his lackluster career as a comedian, Harris parlayed Mitzi’s endearment into becoming the longest-running doorman at the Sunset Comedy Store with a reoccurring role on *Ren N’ Stimpy* as “Muddy Mudkipper.”¹⁶

As a doorman, potential comedians had to check and sell tickets, and seat the customers, which would humanize the audience and encourage interactions, specifically with regular attendees of importance. Mitzi reserved this job for comedians that performed poignantly. When a failed preacher and a nervous eighteen-year-old performed on “Potluck Night,” nobody denied the potential talent, but accepting the shrieking voice and awkward stage presence took time. Mitzi hired Sam Kinison, a comedian from Houston, and Jim Carrey, a completely unknown local comedian, as doormen. This allowed each comedian to refine their people-skills. When Andrew Dice Clay and Ollie Joe Prater caught Mitzi’s eye on separate “Potluck Nights,” she noticed that their acts needed work, while she needed security guards. Mitzi instantly offered each a job as bouncers at the Comedy Store, which they graciously accepted. Despite horrible timeslots and minimal experience between Westwood and Sunset, each comedian adopted personas, equipped with outfits and accessories to match their acts and comedic styles which drove them to successful careers under the watchful eye of Mitzi.¹⁷

With her multi-stage stand-up empire, Mitzi had a venue for comedians of any caliber and a consistent system for developing their talents. Her system developed comedic talent so successfully that the Store continues constructing its lineups the same way today. Timeslots determine where comedians ranked amongst their peers and fit into three categories inside the Original Room for “paid regulars.” The 10 to 11 pm period provides a mixture of rookie and veteran comics dealing with topical material and crowd work, with timeslots varying from five and fifteen minutes depending on the comedian and their talent level. The 11 to 12 am spot allows top comedians to workout new material for the road

¹⁵ *The Comedy Store Podcast* hosted a group of more than fifty comedians from various years to drop-in for random interviews and tales about Mitzi Shore a week after her passing. This quote comes from an unidentifiable comedian during the taping of the “Mitzi & Me” episode. Eleanor Kerrigan, host, “Mitzi & Me” *The Comedy Store Podcast*, April 19, 2018, 41-42:30.

¹⁶ “Mitzi & Me” *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 1:00:30.

¹⁷ *The Comedy Store, Fifteenth Year Class Yearbook*, (Los Angeles: Mitzi Shore, 1988), 69; *The Comedy Store*, 27; “Argus Hamilton, Southern Man of Taste,” *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 44:43; “Harris Peet, Longest Running Doorman Curbing Burns Since ‘78” *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 3:00.

and televised specials in fifteen-minute increments. 12 to 12:45 am acts as the “proving ground,” testing up and coming comedians to continue the pace from the Store’s previously scheduled upper echelon of talent. The final timeslot at 1:00 am remains reserved for a single set; generally, Mitzi used this slot for acts and comedians with cult followings that attempted to develop a set beyond fifteen minutes. As a sort of sweetener for nightly shows, Mitzi advertised a “surprise guest” or “drop-in” comic, which she reserved for the Store’s most famous acts. Generally, Mitzi reserved this spot for comedic greats with large followings from movies, television, or podcasts. Currently, the Store reserves this spot for Dave Chappelle, Joe Rogan, and Chris D’Elia, but Mitzi once assigned it to the likes of Richard Pryor, Robin Williams, and Jimmie “JJ” Walker. The system that Mitzi worked tirelessly to create also enabled comedians to advance their craft and career.¹⁸

Outside of “Potluck Night,” Mitzi seeing an act remained the only other way for comedians to get stage time at The Comedy Store. If a comedian wanted to perform on Mitzi’s stages, they did so only after she approved. While on vacation in New York during the early-eighties, Mitzi heard Whoopi Goldberg perform at a comedy club and recognized her comedic potential. After the show, Mitzi approached Whoopi and introduced herself backstage. During the introduction, Mitzi offered Whoopi stage time if she traveled to Los Angeles. Within months, Whoopi arrived in Los Angeles to negotiate the terms for her role in *The Color of Purple*, and Mitzi honored her word. Through the Belly Room, Whoopi worked out the material used in her Grammy for Best Comedy Recording in 1985 for *Whoopi Goldberg: Direct from Broadway*, becoming the first African American woman to receive the honor. Whoopi notes, “It [the Belly Room] was perfect for me, because it was like a little theater. Mitzi made folks grow. She watered us.” Another ground-breaking comedian, Robin Williams, used a recommendation from a Comedy Store regular, Jay Leno, to get Mitzi’s attention. When Jay Leno first heard Robin Williams perform, he instantly offered to introduce Robin Williams to Mitzi. Recognizing the value in performing for Mitzi, Robin jumped into Leno’s car, and the two drove straight to the Comedy Store. With Leno hounding Mitzi to hear Williams perform, she agreed to give the comic her standard three-minute chance, where she commonly warned, “You’ve got three minutes. You don’t have to be funny, but you had better be yourself.” Williams became a regular at the Store and turned the exposure that Mitzi gave him into various roles, but most notably, his television break came as Mork from ABC’s *Mork & Mindy*.¹⁹

Mitzi took control of her husband’s comedy club and transformed stand-up in the process. The structure Mitzi implemented in her club afforded her, as well as the comedians that performed on her stages, with success. The comedians that worked closely under her tutelage all hold her in high regard. “This lady? First-off, let’s start by giving her a name, Mitzi Shore. A lot of people call her the queen of comedy, and I think that is a fair title. If

¹⁸ The World Famous Comedy Store: Archives, Facebook Post, November 8, 2013 (3:36pm); The World Famous Comedy Store, December 5, 2013 (2:20pm); The World Famous Comedy Store, May 6, 2017 (9:49am); The World Famous Comedy Store, May 6, 2017 (2:52pm).

¹⁹ Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge*, 191; “Mitzi Only” *The Comedy Store Podcast*, April 19, 2018, 1:06:30.

you can't give it to her, who can you give it to" Arsenio Hall asks after Pauly Shore, Mitzi's youngest son, asked, "Why is this lady so important to you?"²⁰ Paul Rodriguez responds to Arsenio's quote, "She is a legend in her own right. I mean, she basically brought up stand-up comics; some of the biggest comedians of all time." With an eye for talent and a knack for business, Mitzi profited as she created an institution that developed the comedians that went on to revolutionize stand-up comedy, seize late night, and captivate audiences across the nation for decades. David Letterman exclaimed, "Everything that I have been lucky enough to secure can directly be traced to my appearances at The Comedy Store and Mitzi Shore," backstage during the taping of the Store's 15th Anniversary. Mitzi opened her auditions to anybody willing to try out, and her system proved successful for people of all identities to gain successful and long-lasting careers.²¹

For Comedy Store comedians, Mitzi's platform and success helped ease the transition from stage to screen by providing exposure. With Richard Pryor taking the nation by storm throughout the 1970s and routinely performing at the Comedy Store, representatives, executives, and producers soon filled the crowd at Mitzi's Sunset location. After Pryor received an offer in the Store's parking lot for a 1977 self-titled variety show, other networks felt like they needed representation inside of the Comedy Store. After a few years, Mitzi received an offer to join the American Broadcasting Company as a scout and comedic consultant. She gladly accepted, and her position afforded the network with the first pick from Mitzi's illustrious pool of talent, allowing Mitzi a chance to further infiltrate and influence popular culture with her collection of diverse comedians. Television's demand for Mitzi's comedians signified to her the direction of stand-up. She started by assigning comedian Lue Deck to organize what Mitzi called the "video workshop," editing stitched taped performances throughout the week together so that comedians could review their acts on video. By 1986, Mitzi and the "video workshop" advanced their work into routinely packaged pilots for network sitcoms. Through her position, Mitzi pushed television specials for the Comedy Store, while simultaneously acquainting the Store's best acts with the powerful producers and directors that created network sitcoms.²²

Despite Mitzi's numerous contributions to stand-up, she routinely faced dismissals and discrimination solely because of her gender. "She [Mitzi] spent her whole life, a woman in Hollywood, with people trying to railroad her," The unidentified female comedian continues, "If she was a man, they [Hollywood] would say she was a 'shrewd businessman,'"

²⁰ Upon Arsenio Hall arriving to pay Mitzi Shore a visit, Pauly Shore decided to interview his mother's guest and tape the interview for an episode of his podcast, *Interested*, with Mitzi in poor health on September 17, 2014 at Mitzi's Los Angeles home.

²¹ *The Comedy Store's 15 Year Class Reunion*, produced by Mitzi Shore; Pauly Shore, host, "Paul Rodriguez & Arsenio Hall," *Interested: Season One*, September 10, 2014, 3:00-4:08; *Interested*, 7:52.

²² *I Am Richard Pryor*, directed by Jesse James Miller (Paramount Network, 2019), Dish Network; The World Famous Comedy Store: Archives, Facebook Post, May 9, 2017 (12:30pm); The Comedy Store, *Fifteenth Year Class Yearbook*, 51; The Comedy Store, *Fifteenth Year Class Yearbook*, 25; The Comedy Store, *Fifteenth Year Class Yearbook*, 71.

but because she's a woman, they dismissed her as a c*nt. She was doing the same thing a dude would do but better, and it bothered them." With Mitzi's video workshop opened in the mid-1980s, she quickly patented Comedy Channel Incorporated in 1982. With cable television rapidly expanding in the eighties, HBO launched the Comedy Channel, and Mitzi acted like any other businessman: she sued. Eleanor Kerrigan states, "Comedy Central started when I was working here, and she did not give them an inch. She had Comedy Channel Inc. before that, and they stole the concept, so it was a whole thing." Regardless of sexist dismissals, Mitzi continued to advance and diversify stand-up comedy despite her sexist critics. Ultimately, she settled her lawsuit for an undisclosed portion of HBO's Comedy Channel, which later merged with Ha! to form Comedy Central.²³

With continual spots, successful comedians developed material through The Store that could then be used for their own accord. "This [the Comedy Store] is Harvard, Yale, and Princeton rolled into one. This is where I got my master's degree. You're working with and watching the best comedians in the world; it's indescribable."²⁴ Mike Binder, a director, tasked with filming a docuseries for Showtime, describes the Comedy Store as, "A magical place. It's Julliard for stand-up comics, the Bolshoi Ballet of Comedy." The first comedian to write stand-up for a tour from the Comedy Store turned the material into his most profitable comedy tours on two occasions. Richard Pryor, equipped with his writer Paul Mooney and his mentee Sandra Bernhard, turned reoccurring sets at the Store into nationwide tours, *Richard Pryor: Live in Concert* in 1979. He then repeated the process in 1982 with *Richard Pryor: Live on the Sunset Strip*. For fellow alumni, the process became evident. "He'd [Richard Pryor] come in one night and do three minutes; drop in the next night and do five minutes; the following night he'd do 8 minutes; and by the end of the month he'd have a new hour and a half special to market" according to Harris Peet, "He was showing us comedians how to do it [stand-up]." Mentoring under the great Richard Pryor proved compensation enough for some comedians. However, the Store soon became threatened by a labor dispute that challenged the very foundation of Mitzi's comedic college.²⁵

In 1979, the comedians at the Comedy Store demanded change. With the Comedy Store expanding and Mitzi profiting, the talent wanted compensation for their performances outside of the fame offered in the parking lot. Mitzi offered to pay veteran comedians that booked the Main Room, but comedians booked in other rooms received no compensation. Instead of paying her inexperienced acts, Mitzi believed that she should help in other ways; co-signing for cars, buying groceries, loaning or gifting money, or offering the "Cresthill" house, and even her place for comedians to stay. Comedians first

²³ "Mitzi & Me" *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 1:12:50- 1:13:14.

²⁴ *The Comedy Store Podcast* hosted a group of more than fifty comedians from various years to drop-in for random interviews and tales about Mitzi Shore a week after her passing. This quote comes from an unidentifiable comedian during the taping of the "Mitzi and Me" episode, which taped eight days after Mitzi's passing.

²⁵ "Mitzi Only" *The Comedy Store Podcast*, April 19, 2018, 1:50:44; Eleanor Kerrigan, host, "Harris Peet, Longest Running Doorman Curbing Bums Since '78" *The Comedy Store Podcast*, December 21, 2018, 38:18; Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge*, 147; *The Hollywood Reporter*, "Showtime Orders Comedy Store Docuseries," April 22, 2019.

brought their grievances to Mitzi in January 1979, shortly after New Year's Day, when a group of comedians overheard a Comedy Store waitress struggling to break a hundred-dollar bill at Canter's Deli after a show. The anger grew from Jay Leno, who accurately joked that the comedians did not have a hundred dollars collectively. Negotiations began but failed to produce any concessions for comedians. Mitzi held to her belief that her "comedy college," platform to fame, and kind gestures were sufficient. She also believed that cash corrupted true art. In March 1979, the frustrated comedians at the Comedy Store walked out on strike and formed a picket line in front of Mitzi's establishment. Tom Dressen acted as the leader of the strike, and Jay Leno became the strike's most obnoxious promoter. Due to the strike, Mitzi closed her club for a short while but quickly reopened with scab labor, whom she offered twenty-five dollars for weekend performances in exchange for crossing the picket-line^{26,27[28]}.

Comedians that crossed the picket line viewed stand-up and the Comedy Store similarly to Mitzi. Mitzi viewed stand-up as an art form and her clubs as a community/commune for artists to come together and perfect their craft in front of a live audience. The "scab" comedians that crossed the picket line held a collective belief that, if Mitzi had required a fee for her comedic college, then they would have paid it willingly. To unknown comedians, the level of exposure and prestige offered at the Comedy Store went unrivaled. Kliph Nesteroff quotes Tom Dressen, the strike leader, as saying, "The Comedy Store was a nightly casting session... Every night- *every night*- the talent coordinators for those shows [late night and variety television shows] were in the Comedy Store." The atmosphere that Mitzi created gave exposure and experience to young comedians, which did not go unnoticed within the stand-up community. After a few weeks of the strike, comedians like Gary Shandling, Michael Keaton, and Howie Mandel crossed the picket line. During the strike, comedians that had previously fought with more experienced acts for stage-time saw less competition, and therefore, better timeslots. With scab labor, the Store remained afloat, but the quality of comedy offered on a nightly basis did not compare to its previous years, while the strike brought both sides to childish lows.²⁸

As the strike lasted through April, it exacerbated the relationships between Mitzi and the young comedians that she once nurtured off-stage. The striking comedians used Budd Friedman's Improv in Hollywood as a meeting place to discuss their labor issues. For Mitzi, this came as a personal slight to her. Although guilty of the same business tactics that pushed comedians to strike at the Comedy Store, Friedman inexplicably evaded the critiques that plagued Mitzi. Furthermore, while the two establishments maintained a

²⁶ Knoedelseder, *I'm Dying Up Here*, 147-151; Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge*, 195-201; "The First Comedy Strike," *Time*, February 4, 2008; *E! True Hollywood Story*, season 5, episode 18, "The Comedy Store."

²⁷ As an important note, the strike only affected the Comedy Store on Sunset; the other Comedy Store locations remained open and operational through the strike despite the reduced talent pool. The Comedy Store, *Fifteenth Year Class Yearbook*, 48.

²⁸ Nesteroff, *The Comedians*, 298; "Harris Peet, Longest Running Doorman Curbing Bums Since '78" *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 35:00; Eleanor Kerrigan, host, "Mike Becker, The Closest We'll Get to Interviewing Mitzi" *The Comedy Store Podcast*, December 7, 2018.

friendly rivalry since Friedman's arrival, this oversight by the striking comedians did not sit well with Mitzi. She viewed the act like a sexist reprisal by the comedians. Coincidentally around the same time, the strike began to sink towards unforeseeable, childish, and laughless lows. Unexplainably, Friedman's Improv mysteriously burned to the ground at the height of the conflict due to arson. The fire forced the Improv to close for construction, so strikers increased their presence outside of the Comedy Store. The growing strike outside of the Comedy Store and its opposition became increasingly more hostile. As the signs, chants, and attacks on Mitzi and her club increased, supporters of the Comedy Store pushed back. On one occasion, an adolescent Pauly Shore peed from the Store's balcony onto the heads of striking comedians below. At the same time, Mitzi laughed and watched from her office window with her boyfriend and Store comedian, Argus Hamilton. Once, upon arriving at the Store to a picket-line of protesting comedians, Mitzi's assistant drove her car through the picket line, hitting a few protestors. After the incident, Jay Leno received an ambulance where, while paramedics loaded Leno into the ambulance, he winked at his fellow comedians, letting them know that he sustained no serious injuries. As the strike progressed, the division between ownership and talent began to cause irreparable damage to both the Comedy Store and the stand-up community.²⁹

The strike, led by mainstays from the Comedy Store, allowed lesser-known comedians a chance to rise to the occasion. As more talent joined the striking comics, lesser names, like Mitzi's ex-boyfriend Steve Lubetkin, received an increase in stage time, and improvements in the timeslots assigned to them. Although the Comedy Store continued to operate, the strike devastated Mitzi. When David Letterman joined the protest, Mitzi had reached her breaking point. Although Mitzi strongly opposed paying comedians, the strike had run its course. On May 4, 1979, the strike at the Comedy Store ended. After the incident, Mitzi reached out to the striking comedians to settle the matter immediately. She offered the comedians twenty-five dollars per weekday show and fifty dollars for weekend sets in the Original and Belly Room, while comedians performing in the Main Room received half of the entry fees. Despite the settlement, strike leaders, Tom Dressen and Jay Leno, both New Yorkers and highly respected amongst East Coast comedians, vowed never to perform at the Comedy Store again. Dressen changed his stance for memorial shows only, while Jay Leno still has not returned. Sadly, the strike forced some to unlikely conclusions.³⁰

For Steve Lubetkin, the strike's end meant that he now had more competition for stage time and timeslots, which resulted in him receiving the least and worst, respectively. Unfortunately for Lubetkin, his troubles worsened after missing a performance at Westwood because of car trouble. The combination of declining times and frustration from a lack of improvement sent Steve Lubetkin into a downward spiral. In a state of severe

²⁹ "Mike Becker, The Closest We'll Get to Interviewing Mitzi" *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 32:30; "Harris Peet, Longest Running Doorman Curbing Bums Since '78" *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 52:15.

³⁰ Nesteriff, *The Comedians*, 306-308; Knoedelseder, *I'm Dying Up Here*, 165-173 *The Comedy Store, Fifteenth Year Class Reunion*, 48-49.

depression, Lubetkin leapt from the Continental Hyatt House's neighboring rooftop to his death in the Store's parking lot on June 1, 1979. The following morning the Comedy Store received a poster of Lubetkin on Mitzi's office wall, from Steve's girlfriend, with an inscription asking Mitzi if she had "Got the Message?" Steve Lubetkin's suicide further exacerbated the distance between Mitzi and her once close stand-up community. Especially when his suicide note began with "I am Steve Lubetkin. I used to work at the Comedy Store."³¹

The Belly and Main Rooms became unforeseen and temporary casualties of the 1979 comedy strike. When the strike began, Mitzi lacked enough talent to rotate between her multiple locations, let alone the three stages at the Sunset location. She temporarily closed the Sunset location. After reopening with scab labor, enough comedians crossed the picket-line for Mitzi to open the Original Room; however, the Main Room and the Belly Room remained closed until after the strike. As these rooms remained idle, the progress established in the Belly Room experienced a temporary setback to female comics regarding stage time. However, it did not halt the progress women comics made as a collective whole. Throughout the 1970s, the ratio of men to women comics performing at the Comedy Store remained a dismal thirty to one. The lack of female comedians stemmed from the limited stage time available to develop their talents. Sadly, this remained constant for most of the decade. Stage time allowed female comics to workout material, improve their acts, and find their voice. The closure of the Belly Room forced unknown female comedians to compete with men for valuable stage time. In an integrated space, women comedians became critiqued, dismissed, and insulted by the male acts that they performed both on and off stage as they had in the past. In Mitzi's Belly Room, she structured and created the room to address this exact problem. Mitzi reopened both rooms in late 1979, and although the Belly Room had only existed since 1976 and despite its brief closure, by 1981, comedy's glass ceiling began to crack as the ratio of male to female comics at the Comedy Store increased, five to one. However, more importantly, women comics developed skills undeniable to their counterparts.³²

Along with grievances over pay, Mitzi faced gendered critiques from various sources within the stand-up community that she worked to build and nourished. Upon announcing the Belly Room's creation to The Store's female comedians, Mitzi received mixed feedback. Joane Astrow states, "Mitzi called us [the Store's female acts] into a room and said, 'I have a wonderful thing that I am doing! You gals are gonna perform in your very own room!' Elaine immediately said, 'Not me!'" Joanne Astrow continues, "She was the most vocal." At the time, Mitzi's top female comics remained openly opposed to the Belly Room. Despite Mitzi's excitement for the Belly Room's opening, Sandra Bernhard observed, "It [the Belly Room] was a smaller room, and it was upstairs, which of course was kind of sexist and weird." Argus Hamilton adds, "The women resented it; they felt marginalized."

³¹ Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge*, 201; Yael Kohan, *We Killed: The Rise of Women in American Comedy* (New York: Picador, 2012), 123.

³² Zoglin, *Comedy at the Edge*, 191; The Comedy Store, *Fifteenth Year Class Reunion*, 80.

Although the room felt inferior, other female comedians recognized that the Belly Room provided access to Mitzi's system. "Mitzi was pretty much a formidable dictator, impresario. She ran her club and her life like a small queendom," comedian Emily Levine observes, "She had courtiers, jesters, lovers, and an entourage that surrounded her... But on the other hand, she nurtured, and she praised, and she built that club, and it became a place where careers were launched."³³

Like the safe spaces discussed in Anne Enke's *Finding the Movement*,³⁴ the Comedy Store provided a stage, audience, and peers free from judgment, ridicule, and dismissal inside the Belly Room. Merrill Markoe remembers, "In those days, I remember wrestling with ideas like 'How can I be a girl and not have men hate me onstage?' because there was a lot discussion of how women stand-ups could be 'threatening.' That's actually the word they used to use. Threatening! What were they so threatened by? Girls in their twenties making wisecracks?" Other critiques include, "'You only want one woman or one black comedian per show- at the time' [circa 1980-1990s], club owners would actually have the nerve to say that out loud," according to comedian Janeane Garofalo, "Or they would say something like, 'We had a black comic who we didn't like, so we're not going to have any more black comics.' The first few times it happened, I was shocked."³⁵ With dismissals like these and worse occurring routinely, women soon came to appreciate Mitzi's Belly Room. Through the safe space of the Belly Room, Sandra Bernhard transitioned into popular culture with her role in the *King of Comedy*. In order to secure the role, Robert De Niro and John Belushi wanted to see Sandra Bernhard perform at a prime spot in the Original Room before offering her a part. Mitzi, despite Sandra's initial critiques that the Belly Room segregated women, adjusted the lineup so that Sandra Bernhard could perform for Belushi and De Niro. Ultimately, Mitzi proved that the room did not segregate women when Sandra received the necessary timeslot, and subsequently, a role in the film. Eventually, Sandra Bernhard described the room as, "It was definitely a different vibe. Women could be more themselves, and they weren't under the pressure of following a man who was doing really tacky, sexist, racist humor. Or a lot of drug reference humor. There was always a lot of that going on in the male world." The Belly Room enabled various women to begin refining acts, while simultaneously unpacking gender, the discrimination, and oppression attached to it, in the context of relationships, families, and society.³⁶

Unplanned theme nights remained another surviving vestige of the Comedy Store's origins, remaining along with the "Potluck Night." Themes were used to reflect the subject of comedy and jokes that the audience could expect to hear. Mitzi focused themes on representing the comedians performing on her stages once she opened the Belly Room.

³³ Kohen, *We Killed*, 132-133; Kohen, 135; Kohen, 126.

³⁴ Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

³⁵ Kohen, *We Killed*, 212.

³⁶ Kohen, *We Killed*, 129; "Argus Hamilton, Southern Man of Taste," *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 1:04:50; Kohen, *We Killed*, 136.

This created a separate and safe space for comedians to work through material and their experiences within whatever theme the show addressed. In the beginning, Mitzi used theme nights strictly for women performing in the Belly Room, where she routinely assigned sexist names to shows such as “Playhouse, It’s not the Gong Show It’s the Ding Dong Show, A Delicious Menu of Comics, and Comedy Store Wannabes.” After the Belly Room received public and critical approval, Mitzi stopped using degrading show titles for themed nights, which took place in the mid-1980s. By the early 1990s, themes varied from “Hip-Hop Comedy, Gay & Lesbian, Latino, Best of the Comedy Store, and Girls of the Comedy Store,” which Mitzi offered within one week’s timeframe during 1993 in the Main Room, while the Belly Room continued to function as a woman’s only room. “The people that say ‘Mitzi was anti-woman,’ simply didn’t know her, or never went to her theme nights.” The diversity of the theme nights that she offered also reflected the success and popularity of Mitzi’s system and while justifying the transformation she started in stand-up comedy.³⁷

With each theme night, Mitzi Shore and the Comedy Store welcomed various marginalized communities onstage. Each instance offered the opportunity for comedians to gain acceptance while raising awareness of the issues that their community faced. Joanne R. Gilbert’s *Performing Marginality: Humor, Gender, and Cultural Critique* explained the significance of female comics and their illumination of social, political, and cultural struggles based on various aspects of identity onstage.³⁸ Comedian Sam Tripoli received “Paid Regular” status because of an “Arabian Night” show that took place six months before 9/11.³⁹ When asked why Mitzi put on the show, she responded, “God told me to present Arab comedians so that they can start a healing process [through laughter] ... We’re going to go to war, and comics can ease that pain.” The “Arabian Nights” show produced four comedians from various backgrounds that remain “Paid Regulars” to this day. To combat the critique of exploitation, Mitzi routinely donated the proceeds from theme nights to various charities. Mitzi scheduled LBGTQ shows throughout the mid-1990s and donated the proceeds to LA’s Gay & Lesbian Center. As the comedian community unpacked its pain on Mitzi’s stages, an alarming number of comedians turned to substance abuse offstage. Mitzi then founded The Comedians’ Drug and Alcohol Abuse Foundation in the mid-1980s and donated the proceeds from two HBO specials to the foundation. Mitzi’s themed nights of comedy allowed marginalized comedians from various populations to unpack controversial topics with humor.⁴⁰

According to Mitzi’s son, Pauly Shore, “My mom lived two lives: in her first life, she married my father and raised my siblings, Sandy and Scott, and in her second life she married the Comedy Store while raising my brother [Peter], myself, and numerous

³⁷ The World Famous Comedy Store: Archives, Facebook Post, November 24, 2014 (11:33am); The World Famous Comedy Store, November 24, 2014 (12:07pm) “Mitzi & Me” *The Comedy Store Podcast*, 1:19:40.

³⁸ Joanne R. Gilbert, *Performing Marginality: Humor, Gender, and Cultural Critique*, (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2004).

³⁹ Sam Tripoli, YouTube Video, “Mother of All Truth Bombs: Mitzi Shore,” April 11, 2018, 4:38 & 10:13.

⁴⁰ Joanne R. Gilbert, *Performing Marginality*; Sam Tripoli, “Mother of All Truth Bombs: Mitzi Shore,” YouTube Video, April 11, 2018, 4:38; The Comedy Store, *Fifteenth Year Class Yearbook*, 90.

comedians.” Walking up the stairs that lead into the Comedy Store’s infamous ninety-nine seat Original Room, headshots of its alumni cover the hallway walls. Inside, neon signature signs continue to remind attendees of the legends who once graced the Store’s world-famous stage. The room still painted black, the same as when Sammy Shore opened the club in 1972, remains mostly unchanged from when Mitzi took over. The stars of the venue take center stage, yet the brains behind the club’s success went mostly unacknowledged until 2018. The world-famous club that owes its success, survival, and relevance to a short, shrill-voiced, businesswoman, closed the day of her passing. The Comedy Store also dedicated a private memorial show to Mitzi for her friends and family the following Mother’s Day in 2018.⁴¹

Sadly, Mitzi never lived to see the neon sign that bears her signature lit in the Original Room above what once she called her private booth. However, just days before her death, Mitzi’s youngest son, Pauly, and longtime Comedy Store Handyman, Juan Carlos, successfully arranged a final midday visit for her at the Comedy Store on Sunset Boulevard, while the jukebox played her favorite song. With Mitzi’s departure, the club remained to provide comics the structure needed to perfect their craft, while functioning as an inclusive space for a variety of comedians to enter the profession and more accurately reflect the society that it critiques with humor. With her passing on April 11, 2018, Twitter exploded with eulogies and stories from countless comedians of significance, spanning decades. As Jim Carrey put it, “If she [Mitzi] loved you, you did well. If she didn’t, you did something else.” For decades, Mitzi influenced comedians that captivated the nation with their performances, regardless of their medium: simply put, she influenced the influencers.⁴²

With Mitzi’s “second life” after marriage, she materialized a vision and transformed popular culture. Concurrently, she implemented a system to develop talent successfully. In a similar fashion that “farm leagues” develop Major League Baseball players, Mitzi developed comedians. Understanding that the comedian community needed to represent the society that it critiqued adequately, she enabled comedians to emerge from various identities and take the stage with little to no interference. The safe environments that she fostered allowed diverse comedians the space to unpack their marginalization from society through laughter, especially during times of social unrest. During the second-wave of feminist activism, Mitzi built a room solely for women comics; in the same decade as Matthew Shepard’s death, Mitzi regularly hosted LGBTQ themed shows and to donated the proceeds; only months before 9/11, she invited Middle Eastern comedians to her stage to address the stereotypes around their ethnicity. Routinely, Mitzi used her stage and some of the profits for the betterment of the stand-up community and society. Mitzi Shore prescribed the nation with a heavy dose of laughter to combat the difficult times that

⁴¹ Pauly Shore, Twitter Post, May 14, 2018 (5:38); Steve Lynn, Facebook Post, March 31, 2016 (12:26am).

⁴² Pauly Shore, Twitter Post, April 9, 2018 (6:38p.m.); Jim Carrey, Twitter Post, April 11, 2018 (12:51p.m.); Eli Meixler, “Mitzi Shore, the ‘Legendary Godmother’ of Stand-Up Comedy, Has Died Aged 87,” *Time*, April 12, 2018; The Associated Press, “Comedians Remember Mitzi Shore,” *USA Today*, April 11, 2018.

America faced throughout the years, which differentiated her even further from her male counterparts.

Geography of Discontent: How American Conservatism Was Shaped by the Politics of Place, Race, and Class

Geoffrey McCoy

Abstract: The 1960s are often remembered for progressive movements and radical change. However, the reaction to John F. Kennedy's election and the Civil Rights Act sparked a reaction from the right that is often overlooked. As the Democratic party increasingly embraced African American equality and progressive politics, the Republican Party's Southern Strategy exploited Southern racial animosity while simultaneously appealing to suburban anti-government sentiment. In doing so, Republicans like Barry Goldwater, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan convinced many Democrats to switch party allegiance while shaping the modern political landscape.

The 1960 presidential election resulted in John F. Kennedy winning the presidency over Richard M. Nixon. This is seen as the start of a progressive decade, but the results also foretold the future of the Grand Old Party (GOP) and how conservatism evolved over the next two decades. Looking at the election results, Kennedy's Democrats won mainly in the Eastern part of the country with strong support in the South. Nixon, on the other hand, had strong support west of the Mississippi River. The geographic, political divide between East and West resurfaced in the 1964 presidential election between Vice President Lyndon Johnson and Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater. While Goldwater's run for president failed spectacularly, his campaign marked a shifting point in politics. During the latter part of the twentieth century, America's regional divide, cultural changes, and the growing middle class led to a shift within the Republican Party. A shift that forever changed American politics.

To fully understand how the Goldwater campaign changed American conservatism, the historical development of American West's needs to be analyzed. Long romanticized by Americans, the West represents a mythological place where honor and individualism is king, and self-reliance is required. In reality, the West and its postindustrial inhabitants, relied heavily on eastern industry and the federal government. Before the 1950s, the American West, compared to the Eastern United States, lagged in development until New Deal spending led to an increase in economic activity through development projects. Arizona received 342 million dollars from Washington and the most vital Western project: The Hoover Dam.¹ After federal spending dramatically increased, Depression afflicted states like Arizona and California experience dramatic increases in migration. But rather than tapering off, federal spending continued throughout WWII and the Cold War. As

¹ Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Nation Books, 2001), 20.

Totten J. Anderson stated in *The Western Political Quarterly* “federal government expenditures for major national security functions . . . have constituted a significant prop under the economy of the West. A substantial share of forty-six billion dollars appropriated for the 1959 program was allocated to the Western state block.”²

However, as the federal government grew, Western conservatives began questioning their arrangement. Political historian Lisa McGirr’s work on conservatism in Orange County, California, analyzes how Western dependence on the Eastern part of the country led the former to hate the latter. Western resentment against the East, however, shifted from attacks against private corporate capitalists to tirades against Washington bureaucratic fat cats. The region’s newly powerful “cowboy capitalists” resented perceived eastern dominance and the power easterners purportedly wielded within Washington political circles. They rallied against federal interference in the West, championed individual initiative, and sought to control western resources, even while eagerly contending for federal funds for internal development projects. They battled to assert a political influence equal to their economic weight, and they chose as their vehicle the Republican party.³

Even though McGirr’s work focuses on Southern California, antigovernment resentment extended throughout the West. As Anderson notes, “the federal government annually spends a sizable portion of its gargantuan budget in the West. It maintains a formidable army of civil servants to administer its vast empire in the region.”⁴ Anderson’s use of “army” and “empire” applies negative connotations to the federal government. From this syntax, it is evident to see why Westerners, who questioned the federal government’s influence in their backyard, were drawn to the libertarianism of the Grand Old Party.

Ironically, the government westerners resented contributed to the region’s growing political power. Government funded infrastructure attracted real estate developers to Americans sunbelt. Western and Southern states underwent a transformation that increased their populations. Not only did the Sunbelt produce the major political players, Barry Goldwater from Arizona with Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan from Southern California, Kevin Phillips, a political commentator, Republican strategist and campaign aide for Richard Nixon in 1968, noticed the emerging Republican majority and saw that party’s future in the Sunbelt. He remarked after Nixon’s victory, “The Republican Party is no longer the party of the Northeast.”⁵ As the Eastern and Northern Democratic establishment changed the Democratic Party into the party of inclusion and liberalism, the Republican Party moved further right, to match its Western and Southern bases. Phillips added that the South changed dramatically in the 1960s. He wrote that “middle class whites

² Totten J. Anderson, “The Political West in 1960,” *The Western Political Quarterly* 14, no.1 (March 1961): 298, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/443849>.

³ Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 37.

⁴ Anderson, “The Political West,” 298.

⁵ Kevin Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1969), 186.

are flooding in, drawn by the climate, expanding commercial opportunities and perhaps even by the sociopolitical climate.”⁶

The political changes noted by Phillips were sped up by a growing middle class. Following WWII, Americas population and political realignments. between 1950 and 1960, old liberal, Northeastern cities lost population whereas the emerging Sunbelt experienced an expansion. In Southern California’s case, most of the growth was middle class whites establishing their dream of homeownership.⁷ This expanding middle class was the force that drove conservative politics into the Republican Party and helped elect candidates like Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, who promised to address their concerns of “autonomy of communities” and “the erosion of individualism.”⁸ The Kennedy and Johnson administration before the Republican comeback in 1966 brought promises of change and increased government legislation that aimed to uplift minorities and oppressed groups, but for suburbanites, these were attacks on their way of life.

In the same way the West was changing politically so was the South. Beginning in the 1960s, because of the Republican Southern Strategy, Americas South became a political battleground. Contrary to critic’s skepticism that there was no such thing, there is evidence that Republicans courted Southern Whites that were frustrated and angry at African American advancement in the Civil Rights Era. Senator Goldwater did this in 1964 when he called for the Republican party to “hunt where the ducks are.” While he lost the election, the data shows Republicans began gaining in the South. Even as early as 1962, there was debate among some wings of the Republican party to use a Southern Strategy. Political commentator Joseph Alsop wrote, “the idea, long advocated by Senator Goldwater, is that most Southern Democrats are deeply disillusioned with their own party and will change parties for good if the Republicans make the correct sympathetic noises about states’ rights.”⁹ Senator Goldwater deliberately targeted ‘disillusioned whites’ below the Mason-Dixon line.

However, during the 1968 election the Deep South failed to support the two main parties. Rather than interpreting the results as a failure, Republicans saw a prime opportunity to gather support in a region that was undergoing a political realignment. Kevin Phillips said to the *New York Times*, “From now on, the Republicans are never going to get more than 10 to 20 percent of the Negro vote and they don’t need any more than thatThe more Negroes who register as Democrats in the South, the sooner the Negrophobe whites will quit the Democrats and become Republicans. That’s where the votes are.”¹⁰ This confirms that there was a Republican strategy targeting disaffected whites in the aftermath of the Civil Rights movement.

⁶ Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, 288.

⁷ Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, 450.

⁸ McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 272.

⁹ Joseph Alsop, “The Southern Strategy is Segregationist Strategy,” *Hartford Courant*, December 7, 1962, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/18000851/southern_strategy/.

¹⁰ James Boyd, “Nixon’s Southern Strategy,” *The New York Times*, May 17, 1970,

<https://www.nytimes.com/1970/05/17/archives/nixons-southern-strategy-its-all-in-the-charts.html>.

Though there still may be skeptics that are not convinced the Republican party would exploit Southern racial animosities, after his presidential victory in 1968, Richard Nixon pursued a Southern Strategy by gaming off the changing political landscape. However, it was not successful. Some Republican candidates were beaten by Democrats such as Georgian Governor James Carter in 1970. An internal memo from the Nixon White House revealed how the Southern Strategy led to the unsuccessful nomination of Clement Haynsworth, a judge from South Carolina, to the Supreme Court. Tennessee Senator Lamar Alexander, an aide at the time, explained that the nomination failed to pass the Democratic controlled Senate because “we flat out invited the kind of political battle that ultimately erupted by naming a Democrat-turned-Republican conservative from South Carolina. This confirmed the Southern strategy just at a time when it was being nationally debated.”¹¹ This direct, internal memorandum explicitly stated that there was a Southern strategy and explains why the GOP started shifting towards the South. But out West, the Democratic programs being implemented by President Kennedy made conservatives look for a savior.

1960 was influential in the formation of modern conservatism for two reasons, the presidential election pitted Richard M. Nixon against John F. Kennedy, and Arizona Senator Goldwater published *The Conscience of a Conservative*. While the election is remembered for Kennedy’s victory, the geographical divides that arose are often overlooked. As Anderson stated in his article, “Richard M. Nixon won the political West from John Kennedy in the presidential election of 1960, by the decisive margin of ten states and 75 electoral votes to three states with 10 votes. . . the West revealed once again a traditional prediction to favor the Republican nominee for the presidency.”¹² When Senator Goldwater’s *The Conscience of a Conservative* was published in 1960, it became one of the most popular books among conservatives. Goldwater advocated for a right-wing form of conservatism. He accused liberals and moderate conservatives of allowing the government to grow unchecked by passing welfare laws and social programs. He thought that the Federal Government was “a vast national authority out of touch with the people, and out of their control.”¹³ His worry stemmed from his view that the government was not obeying the original terms set out by the founders in the Constitution. He wrote, “the federal government has moved into every field in which it believes its services are needed.”¹⁴ During this period, the Federal Government still retained its expanded powers it gained during the New Deal, which conservatives and Westerners despised.

After *the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, state’s rights and civil rights dominated the political discourse. Even though Goldwater thought it was fair for black school children

¹¹ Lamar [Alexander] to Mr. [Bryce] Harlow Re: Haynsworth, n.d., folder Haynsworth; Box 10; Subject Files; WHCF: SMOF: Bryce N. Harlow, https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/virtuallibrary/releases/dec10/dec10/dec10_77.pdf.

¹² Anderson, “The Political West,” 287.

¹³ Barry Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, ed. C C Goldwater (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 12.

¹⁴ Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, 11.

to attend white schools, he disagreed with government intervening on an issue he believed states should decide. He said, “the problem of race relations, like all social and cultural problems, is best handled by the people directly concerned. Social and cultural change, however desirable, should not be effected [sic] by the engines of national power.”¹⁵ Though Goldwater may not have had the same racial prejudices as Southern segregationists, his views made him extremely popular in the Deep South.

While the politics of race dominated in America’s Deep South, the Soviet threat loomed large in many Americans minds. Right-wing politicians used communism and the danger it posed to American democracy to advance their agendas. Senator Goldwater was no different. Goldwater devoted a significant part of his book to explain his disappointment with America’s decision to coexist with the Soviet Union. In the chapter titled “The Soviet Menace,” the longest of all the chapters in his book, he wrote, “we [Americans] want a peace in which freedom and justice will prevail, and that . . . is a peace in which Soviet Power will no longer be in a position to threaten us.”¹⁶ Goldwater believed allowing communism to grow unchecked in the world was the same as letting it take over the country. His statements reflect the fear people had of being annihilated by the Soviet Union in the 1960s. Fear led to paranoia. Paranoia allowed conservatives to argue the left’s call for equality and the expansion of freedoms were contradictory to the “American” way of life. As McGirr notes, “with the ascendancy of liberals in the nation in general, and in California in particular, the future seemed bleak [to conservatives]. Some on the Right felt so threatened by these developments that they suspected that a sinister plot was underway to undermine the American nation and American freedoms.”¹⁷ Nevertheless, today’s Americans tend to view John F. Kennedy’s 1960 victory as the beginning of a progressive era, however, four years later, Goldwater’s nomination as the Republican candidate marked the beginning of the country’s political realignment.

Between the 1960 and 1964 elections, dramatic events took place that significantly impacted American conservatism. Richard Nixon lost to Edmund “Pat” Brown in the 1962 California gubernatorial election erasing his chances of running for president in 1964. Along with Kennedy’s policies, it seemed that the country was experiencing a liberal transformation. Kennedy’s New Frontier was an extension of the progressive New Deal. McGirr noted that the 1960s were, “a time of effervescent liberalism . . . a time when a deepening atmosphere for reform promised change on the horizon.”¹⁸ Though this is true, many historians have overlooked the decade’s conservative political movements that arose in response to progressive movements.

Fortunately, historians like Lisa McGirr have chronicled the conservative backlash. McGirr has added to the metanarrative of post-war America by detailing the accounts of the men and women who were part of the grassroots conservative movement. Her

¹⁵ Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, 31.

¹⁶ Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, 85.

¹⁷ McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 70.

¹⁸ McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 66.

interviews revealed these conservative activists and their efforts to make the Republican Party more conservative in addition to being less “Eastern.” Nolan Frizzelle, the former president of the California Republican Assembly (CRA), explained his reasoning for driving the local Republican organization hard right. He said to McGirr, “I thought, well, if I could take this liberal organization [The California Republican Assembly] and convert it to becoming Conservative instead, we could help in electing conservative Republicans to the state legislature.”¹⁹ Not only were prominent Western politicians like Goldwater and Reagan trying to grab control of the GOP from the Eastern Establishment, activists throughout the Southland were trying to do the same from the ground up. Frizzelle’s efforts to drive the state’s Republican assembly to the right paid off. In 1964 the “new CRA endorsed Goldwater” leading moderates and even Nelson Rockefeller, the personified symbol of the Eastern Establishment, to denounce the shift to the right.²⁰

Goldwater’s stance against the Civil Rights Act of 1964 also reveals how the GOP began to exploit the divisive issue of race. Stewart Alsop, a political analyst for *The Saturday Evening Post*, remarked on the GOP’s regional focus in 1963 writing about the Republican Party:

The industrial East is lost anyway, sure to support Kennedy. So is the Northern Negro vote, overwhelmingly democratic. Therefore, in Goldwater’s words, ‘the Republican’s should stop trying to outbid the Democrats for the Negro vote.’ Again in his words, the Republican’s should go ‘hunting where the ducks are.’ The ducks are in the electoral votes of the West, the Middle West, and the South.²¹

After Kennedy introduced a Civil Rights Bill 1963 many traditional Democratic Southerners feared their party was starting to become the party of inclusion. Goldwater knew if Democrats became the party of inclusion, Republicans could recruit disaffected voters. By exploiting racial fears, the Republican Party began attracting Democrats dissatisfied with the parties embrace of the Civil Rights movement. These votes proved instrumental to Goldwater’s success in the Deep South. Stewart Alsop captured the racial animosity at a Los Angeles “Goldwater Kick-off” when one attendee remarked that he used to be a Democrat but due to the Party becoming associated with the Civil Rights movement he switched to Goldwater as he believed that “these niggers are trying to make me a second-class citizen.”²² The same attendee also believed “a man has to be for Goldwater or be a communist.”²³ Because the Civil Rights Movement’s push for “equality” necessitated a strong federal government, conservatives accused liberals as creating a path to communism.

¹⁹ Nolan Frizzelle, interview with Lisa McGirr, November 23, 1992, found in *Suburban Warriors*, 116.

²⁰ McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 126.

²¹ Stewart Alsop, “Can Goldwater Win in 64?,” *Saturday Evening Post*, August 24, 1963, 23-24, EBSCOhost.

²² Stewart Alsop, “Campaigner Goldwater,” *Saturday Evening Post*, October 3, 1964, EBSCOhost.

²³ Alsop, “Campaigner Goldwater.”

However, white resentment and Cold War paranoia was not enough to propel Senator Goldwater to the Oval office. Goldwater's defeat in 1964 was a historic landslide win for Johnson. After the election results were tallied, Johnson received 43,126,218 votes to Goldwater's 27,174,898. Johnson also gained a majority in the House and Senate.²⁴ It was a euphoric moment for Eastern liberals who were mortified with the prospect of a Goldwater presidency. Eastern newspapers ran headlines like "White Backlash Doesn't Develop." Anthony Lewis with the *New York Times* wrote, "the white backlash, which Mr. Goldwater had counted so strongly, failed to materialize in most parts of the North" and that Johnson performed well in Republican suburbs.²⁵ Lewis is correct that the white backlash failed to materialize in the North, Middle West and Pacific Coast, but the South was a different story. Goldwater won his home state and Deep South states stretching from Louisiana to South Carolina. Goldwater's defeat was seen to be the sign of the declining influence of the Republican party. This was a mistake, as two years later in 1966 the most populous state in the union would be headed by a disciple of Goldwater.

Though Goldwater's loss appeared to be a defeat for Republicans, it was only temporary. His campaign contributed the next major player in American conservatism. Ronald Reagan, a former Democrat, campaigned for Goldwater. In the end, Goldwater lost, but Reagan's stump speech made its mark on the conservative movement. Titled "A Time for Choosing," Reagan laid out his grievances with America's direction under the Democratic Party. Agreeing with Goldwater, Reagan campaigned on reducing the size of the federal government and the need to combat communism. In his famous speech, Reagan appealed to the American love of liberty while reaching out to Western notions of self-reliance:

If we lose freedom here [The United States], there's no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth. And this idea that government is beholden to the people, that it has no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest and the most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man. This is the issue of the election. Whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American Revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a far distant capitol can plan our lives for us better than we can plan for ourselves.²⁶

It is evident that Reagan used American exceptionalism to win voters over to the Goldwater cause. Reagan's optimistic belief in what America represented stood in stark contrast with the doom and gloom of Goldwater. However, Reagan also echoed the same

²⁴ Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, 513.

²⁵ Anthony Lewis, "White Backlash Doesn't Develop: Vote in Suburbs in North is Strong," *New York Times*, November 4, 1964, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* with Index.

²⁶ Ronald Reagan, "A Time for Choosing," October 27, 1964, video of Speech, 29:33, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXBswFfh6AY>.

fear of a powerful unchecked federal government while also appealing to conservative fear by using imagery of a communist takeover. Moreover, like Goldwater, Reagan railed against the war on poverty and public housing laws, “Do they [the government] honestly expect us to believe that if we add 1 billion dollars to the 45 billion we’re spending, one more program to the 30 odd we have- and remember this new program doesn’t replace any- it just duplicates existing programs they believe that poverty is suddenly going to disappear by magic?”²⁷

Reagan announced his run for governor on January 4, 1966, during a televised address where he addressed the problems ailing the Golden state. In the wake of Goldwater’s defeat, two disruptive events shook California: The Watts uprising and the student protests at UC Berkeley. The Watts uprising caused whites to see that even after government interference and legislation, African Americans were not improving as they thought. On the other hand, the Berkeley protests convinced conservatives that the young generation was moving radically left. Throughout 1965 and 1966, racial inequality, injustice, and violent police encounters led to riots in multiple American cities. Known as the Long Hot Summer, cities including Newark, Harlem, and Atlanta experienced violent riots. In Watts, a riot occurred in August 1965 resulting in large amounts of property damage and human injury. In his announcement address for governor, Reagan said that “our city streets are jungle paths after dark, with more crimes of violence than New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts combined . . . Legislation is needed to permit local ordinance that will restore to the police the flexibility and power in making arrest.”²⁸ Reagan’s use of “jungle” and “law and order” played on people’s racialized fears to “restore” a power structure that was under attack from the progressive left. Even Governor Brown’s inability to quell the destruction in Los Angeles was used by the Gipper. During the campaign, Reagan criticized incumbent Brown for “his decision to leave the state . . . when he had personally heard reports of approaching trouble in Watts [Governor Brown] should have notified the Mayor and Chief of Police in Los Angeles of the reports of trouble.”²⁹ Reagan’s remarks on Brown’s inaction resonated with frustrated Californians tired of violence and Governor Brown.

Furthermore, in Berkeley, California, the site of one of the most liberal student bodies in the country and the birthplace of the Free Speech Movement, progressive actions led to some on the right to recoil against what they saw as an infantilization of the country. Reagan used the turmoil in Berkeley to his advantage, stating during his gubernatorial announcement video, “Will we meet their [student protestors] neurotic vulgarities with vacillation and weakness? Or will we tell those entrusted with administrating the university we expect them to enforce a code based on decency, common sense, and dedication to the

²⁷ Reagan, “A Time for Choosing.”

²⁸ Ronald Reagan, “Ronald Reagan Announces for Governor: 01/04/1966,” 29:34, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=673&v=0VNUOO7POXs.

²⁹ Peter Bart, “Watts Riots Stir Political Battle,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1966, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* with Index.

high and noble purpose.”³⁰ The middle class, especially from Southern California, were appalled by the protests, beatniks, and other counter cultures that originated in the Bay Area. The ideas promoted by these new cultures (Free love and free speech) shocked religious and socially conservative Americans. Reagan capitalized on the cultural gulf, connecting the counterculture and the Cold War. In his Morality Gap speech in San Francisco, he spoke of the Berkeley protests and how they were spreading un-American ideals among college youth. He referenced a Senate Sub-committee report that charged the campus as “a rallying point for communists and a center for sexual misconduct” where “free speech advocates. . . were allowed to assault and humiliate the symbol of law and order, a policeman on campus.”³¹ Like Goldwater, Reagan used law and order to win middle class Americans frustrated with the liberal establishment. If conservative politicians promised to reign in the crime and establish law and order, then it was worth voting democrats out of office after heavily voting for them at the beginning of the 1960s.

The 1966 California gubernatorial election coincided with a series of conservative victories across the nation. The final tally in the Golden State was 3,742,913 for Reagan and 2,749,174 for Brown.³² The day after the election, Brown’s disillusionment shown in an exchange with a reporter that asked him about Reagan’s significance to the Republican Party. Brown responded, “I think that the Republican party has moved to the Right in the United States. And I know of no other person that will carry the philosophy of the Right and I don’t say this in any bad sense at all. Better that Mr. Reagan-I think that he’ll do a far better job of attracting people than Mr. Goldwater.”³³ Brown’s statement revealed two things: Republicans were becoming more conservative, and people were tired of the way California was going. It is fitting that he referenced how Goldwater was a sign of the conservative shift in the Republican party. Though Reagan shared Goldwater’s views, Reagan had better communication skills, which significantly helped him reach a broader audience. Totten J. Anderson reaffirmed that the Golden State was not safe from backlash as data from the *California Poll* showed that:

Governor Brown suffered substantial losses in support among white working people, especially union members, and among lower income and educational groups which had been his chief source of strength in 1958, and to a lesser degree, in 1962. Whether this decline was at least partially attributable to “white backlash” could not be conclusively demonstrated, but the high relationship between

³⁰ Reagan, “Ronald Reagan Announces for Governor.”

³¹ Ronald Reagan, “Ronald Reagan’s ‘Morality Gap’ Speech (1966),” 3:30, <https://diva.sfsu.edu/collections/sfbatv/bundles/229317>.

³² Totten J. Anderson and Eugene C. Lee, “The 1966 Election in California,” *The Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 20, No. 2, Part 2 (June 1967): 536, <https://doi.org/10.2307/446081>.

³³ Edmund Brown, “Pat Brown Loses Election to Ronald Reagan,” 0:30 – 1:50, <https://diva.sfsu.edu/collections/sfbatv/bundles/230780>.

opposition to California's fair housing act and support for GOP candidate Reagan gave credence to the supposition.³⁴

Federal funding for school bussing and desegregation benefited African Americans but coincided with anger over rising crime in the wake of all the riots. Certain working-class whites during this era, after seeing the economic and political gains made by African Americans, were afraid that the government would forget them. This intersection of class and race played a crucial role in the upcoming 1968 presidential election.

During the 1960s, student protests in Berkeley, California brought attention to the civil rights movement, Vietnam War, and Free Speech. But for many middle-class Americans, who had worked hard for their share of the American dream, student protesters came off as ungrateful. Political scientist James Q. Wilson's captured the middle class anger towards the protests, "the universities are corrupt—children don't act as if they appreciate what is being given [to] them, they don't work hard, and they are lectured to by devious and wrongheaded professors."³⁵ Wilson continued, "Surveys I have taken, and others I have read, indicate that the single most widespread concern of middle-class Americans is over the 'decay of values'—evidenced by 'crime in the streets,' juvenile delinquency, public lewdness, and the like."³⁶ The men and women Wilson surveyed, part of the same class described by Alsop and McGirr, were responsible for shifting the nation's politics

Furthermore, as violence and militarism increased, the middle class lost sympathy for the Civil Rights Movement. Conservative author Allan C. Brownfield attributed this to the government passing laws aimed at assisting low income among minority families at the expense of white middle-class Americans.³⁷ He wrote, "one danger to be carefully considered is that extremism on the side of militant negro and civil rights leaders will lead to an extremism on the other die. NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, for example, stated that riots in Atlanta helped to elect segregationist Lester Maddox Governor of Georgia."³⁸ Brownfield's views seem radical, but his comments on extremism breeding extremism were true. Lester Maddox became Governor of Georgia by playing on white fear and anger over the Civil Rights movement.

Two years after Reagan's 1966 gubernatorial win, Richard Nixon arose from his previous defeats to win the presidency. Due to Democrat's failure to maintain composure amid rising crime and middle-class frustration, Nixon's was victorious. The middle class's anger was rooted in the riots and student protests. However, for Americans that felt forgotten in favor of minority groups, Vietnam was the final straw. *The Economist* detailed

³⁴ Anderson and Lee, "The 1966 Election in California," 550.

³⁵ James Q. Wilson, "A Guide to Reagan Country: The Political Culture of Southern California," Commentary, May 1967, <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/a-guide-to-reagan-country-the-political-culture-of-southern-california/>.

³⁶ Wilson, "A Guide to Reagan Country."

³⁷ Allan C. Brownfield, "The Coming Middle Class Revolution," *The North American Review* Vol.252, No.2 (March 1967): 24, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25116568>.

³⁸ Brownfield, "The Coming Middle Class Revolution," 24.

American's dissatisfaction with the Johnson administration's progressivism. Nancy Balfour wrote that because the Vietnam War was locked in a stalemate, middle-class Americans thought those funds and resources could have been put to better use by investing in the "festering problems of America's cities and America's Negroes."³⁹ As the war dragged on without a definite end, and while the threat of communism was important to Americans, most were more concerned with domestic riots and counter culture movements on college campuses. As America's cities burned, Nixon rode his message of law and order into the oval office.

Law and order was the bridge that united Western and Southern conservatives. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Nixon believed in Civil Rights but rebutted that "the first right is to be free of domestic violence" to a crowd of supporters that applauded when he stated that the "courts have gone too far in weakening the peace forces against criminals."⁴⁰ Many voters thought and believed that Nixon was the only candidate that could bring in an end to the crime and chaos. A poll of Californian voters showed that a total of 39 percent of voters believed that Nixon could effectively bring order compared to 27 percent for Democrat Hubert Humphrey and 13 percent for Alabama Governor George Wallace.⁴¹ Compared to Humphrey, who campaigned on continuing President Johnson's Great Society, and the populist segregationist platform of Wallace, Nixon offered middle class Americans an option that was not too liberal nor too right.

When accused of racism, Nixon responded to criticism that "Our goal is justice for every American. If we are to have respect for the law in America, we must have laws that deserve respect."⁴² Nixon placed great emphasis on the issue of law and order because many middle-class Americans were tired of the crime and the disorderly 60s. They wanted a politician who would put a stop to it. Nixon referred to the middle class as "forgotten." He stated that they were people who worked and paid their taxes and asked the question if "whether we will continue for four more years the policies of the last five years."⁴³ The middle class, as Nixon saw them, were fed up with the direction of the country and wanted an end to "sirens." These men and women formed the Republican base, which led Nixon to the Oval Office and ushered an end to the Democratic Party's grip on the Presidency. Though Nixon resigned in middle of the Watergate Scandal, Ronald Reagan came into power after defeating Jimmy Carter in 1980 and continued the Republican hold on power.

³⁹ Nancy Balfour, "Nixon's the One' for America?," *The World Today*, Vol 24, No. 11 (November 1968): 468, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40394063>.

⁴⁰ Richard Bergholz, "Nixon Will Not Curb Issue of Law and Order," *The Los Angeles Times*, September 17, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *Los Angeles Times*.

⁴¹ Don M. Muchmore and the State Poll Editors, "Most Voters Do Not Equate 'Law and Order' With Riots," *The Los Angeles Times*, October 9, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *Los Angeles Times*.

⁴² Richard Nixon, "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach, Florida," The American Presidency Project, UC Santa Barbara, August 8, 1968, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-accepting-the-presidential-nomination-the-republican-national-convention-miami>.

⁴³ Nixon, "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination."

The Republican Party went from defeat in 1960 to victory eight years later with the election of Richard Nixon. This comeback is attributed to the GOP's evolution during the decade along with the divisions of geography, race, and class. Republicans changed their message to court disaffected voters. The backlash to the Civil Rights Movement led many Southern whites to drift away from the Democratic party in favor of the Republican party. Class division played a significant role in this change as the middle class in the West and the South united around "law and order" amid rising crime. These factors were responsible for the Republican party becoming more conservative, and its effects are still seen today in contemporary conservative politics.

Art

Theresa Nguyen

Abstract: The art included in this journal is from her recent solo exhibition displayed in the R.W. Joyce and Witt Gallery called *Hard Edges, Soft Core*.

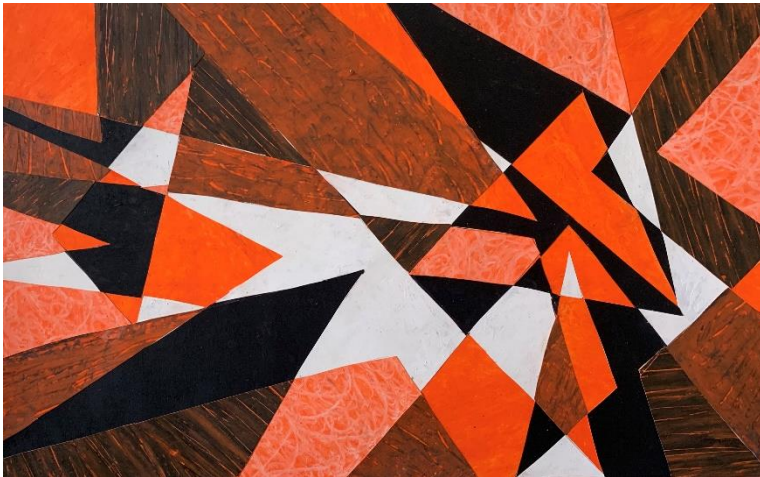
Look Back and Not See Yourself



Where Do I Go



(help me)



Book Reviews

Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan. By Tsuyoshi Hasegawa.
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005. 367 pp. \$30.50,
ISBN 978-0-674-01693-4.

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa's book *Racing the Enemy* explores the political and social circumstances at play between the United States, the Soviet Union, and Japan towards the end of the Pacific War from 1941 to 1945. Hasegawa examines official documents from all three nations, but mainly from the Soviet Union, using missives that were briefly declassified following the collapse of the USSR. Hasegawa's utilization of texts of all three nations depicts a more thorough history leading up to the end of the Pacific War than previous historiography. According to *Racing the Enemy*, it was not the American's use of the atomic bomb that brought about Japan's surrender, but rather the mobilization of the Soviet Union into the Pacific War.

The book's chronological organization takes a relatively short period in history and stretching it out to magnify each event leading up to the end of the war. While the events of the Pacific War lasted from 1941 to 1945, Hasegawa begins even further back with the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, establishing the beginnings of tension between the Russian and Japanese people. The eventual fall of the Russian empire and the establishment of the Soviet Union would create new ties between the Japanese and the Russians, but a source of tension, the Manchuria region, still lingered. The primary focus of the book, however, is the period from 1943 to 1945, when the United States and the Soviet Union began actively collaborating, a partnership that Hasegawa argues would eventually bring about the end of the war. While covering these two years, Hasegawa moves between the representatives of the three nations, documenting their efforts. The number of names, places, and dates written about may become confusing, but they are necessary for the entire history. This barrage of information also strengthens Hasegawa's argument that the real story about the end of the Pacific War was not as simple, and that the mobilization of the Soviet Union had far more effects than previously thought.

Racing the Enemy is one of the most convincing and thoroughly researched books related to the historiography of the Pacific War. Hasegawa offers a plethora of evidence from official documents as well as the diaries and personal letters of critical figures of state in all three countries. Such a substantial amount of intensive evidence could make for a dry read, but Hasegawa is careful to intersperse engaging

analysis throughout, creating a historically accurate yet still immersive picture of the situation. Truman, Stalin, and several Japanese ambassadors are introduced and carefully characterized by Hasegawa with both criticism and respect for their positions. The result is a long, yet intriguing read for both scholars of history and the average layperson, an enlightening and refreshing addition to the history of the Pacific War.

Racing the Enemy is an essential piece of scholarship, a comprehensive history of an era generally reduced to one or two events. Hasegawa does a masterful job of showing the slow buildup to the eventual end of the Pacific War during World War II, detailing the background not just of the United States, but also of Japan and the Soviet Union. His work provides a connection in the historical debate surrounding Japan's surrender at the end of the war. His careful study of the literature of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Japan grant new insight into the study of the era and the relations of these countries in the following decades.

Carrie Sheahan

Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America. By Erika Lee and Judy Yung. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. 394 pp. Illustrations, maps, endnotes, and index. \$28.95, ISBN 978-0-19-989615-8.

Erika Lee and Judy Yung's *Angel Island* explores the paradox of America's mythos of welcoming immigrants with open arms and its history of immigration restriction. Angel Island Immigration Station opened in 1910, a portion of the mission of Angel Island was to enforce complex laws and protocols stemming from the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. Lee and Yung argue that Angel Island Immigration Station reinforced race, class, and gender hierarchies in the country; the station could be a gateway to a new life in America or be turned away after long periods of detainment.

The focus of the monograph is on Angel Island Immigration Station located in California in the middle of San Francisco Bay, from the station's opening in 1910 to its closure in 1940. Lee and Yung provide the history of the facility first built, to closure, and the 1970s, with the movement to preserve the site as a historical monument. Some coverage of push-pull factors for immigrants coming from various countries is covered, as well as comparative coverage of New York's Ellis Island. Angel Island is connected to global histories of migration, war, colonialism, and revolution, as well as to American histories of race (9).

Lee and Yung use an Ethno and sociopolitical history approach to explore the immigration history of the multinational, multi-ethnic groups arriving on Angel Island and their lives during and after detainment. Each chapter of the monograph focuses on the experiences of a group, including Chinese, Japanese, South Asians from the British-controlled subcontinent India, Russians, Koreans, Filipinos, and Mexicans, which were the most significant groups that came through the station. Religious minorities, such as Jews and Mennonites from Russia, were considered. The authors compare each of the ethnic group's experiences through their medical examinations and interrogations. They accentuate how Russians and Jews were provided preferential treatment because of being White. Lee and Yung utilize public documents, immigration files, and firsthand accounts to provide personal narratives of the experiences of the immigrants' time in Angel Island.

Comparative analysis of New York's Ellis Island and San Francisco's Angel Island conveys the duality of welcoming and excluding immigrants. While both were the main ports of the entrance to immigrants in the twentieth century, their methods of processing were different from one another. Ellis Island primarily processed European immigrants, which they were processed to be naturalized citizens. Angel Island processed a broader demographic of ethnicities, primarily Chinese, who were denied citizenship. Processing immigrants on Ellis Island took hours, while processing at Angel Island could take months and resulting in deportation.

One of the themes of the monograph is the restrictive nature of immigration through the passage of laws targeting ethnic groups trying to enter the country. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 barred Chinese laborers from entering, except through forgery and marriage. U.S. laws such as the Immigration Act of 1917, the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the 1921 Quota Act, the 1924 Immigration Act, and informal agreements such as the 1907-1908 Gentlemen's Agreement resulted in restricting or barring immigration from various parts of Asia and South Asia. The movement to pass these laws comes from concerns about securing jobs for whites, xenophobia, and preserving racial purity.

Lee and Yang utilize the poetry found scrawled on the walls of the detention facilities. The poetry conveys the despair and the hopeful optimism of the detainees. The authors acknowledge that most of the poetry is Chinese because their detainment lasted longer than other ethnicities. The poetry, discovered in the 1970s, thirty years after the station's closure, encouraged Asian Americans to preserve the site as a symbol legitimizing immigrant's resolve in the face of discrimination.

Angel Island is a comprehensive history of immigration in America. Lee and Yung excel in bringing to life the struggles and optimism of immigrants, who passed through Angel Island. They contend with the mythos of America's welcoming of immigrants while defining the series of laws of exclusion. The monograph is an exceptional asset to historians of immigration and nation-building history.

Arthur Henry

Killing for Coal: Americas Deadliest Labor War. By Thomas G. Andrews. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008. 386 pp. \$23.00. ISBN 9780674046917.

Organized around the 1914 Ludlow Massacre, Thomas Andrews's *Killing for Coal: Americas Deadliest Labor War* explains how geography, industrialization, and expansion led to the complex, interwoven history of class conflict in America's developing West. According to Andrews, coal broke through the geographic cul-de-sac of America's Mountain West and allowed arid Colorado to support a growing population. However, mechanization and the transition to a mineral intensive economy prompted a population boom in Colorado, which intensified the demand for coal and placed mine owners and colliers on a collision course that culminated in ten days of open warfare in Southern Colorado.

Andrews interjects on prior teleologic narratives that treat the Ludlow Massacre as a culminating event while ignoring the collective identity process or the increasingly violent discourse that led to Colorado's coal wars. By situating Ludlow within an extended history of class development and conflict, the massacre becomes the most violent episode of a labor conflict that stretched back to the 1860s and continued until the New Deal. Furthermore, by accounting for the relationships between workers, industrialists, and the "workplaces" they inhabited, Andrews finds that rather than being victims of the inevitability of progress, miners "inhabited a world structured by all sorts of inscrutable forces beyond their control, nonetheless retained some power to choose, shape, or at least influence the course of their own lives" (92). For many, Andrew argues, the power to choose violence became a reasonable act of protest that should not be overlooked.

Andrews weaves social, labor, and environmental history together into a compelling narrative showcasing his abilities as both historian and writer. The belief that fuel drove industrialization led to a westward search for coal that could populate and civilize America's Mountain West. Between 1860 and 1910,

Colorado's commerce, demographics, class structure, and unionization were shaped by coal and its availability. Using a micro-macro analysis, Andrews reveals how good pay, availability of work, myth, and violence drew families from across the globe to Colorado's coalfields. By carefully examining the geology of the mines, Andrews develops the concept of workspace—the dialectical relationship between physical environment and collier. These physical workspaces led to a cult of brotherhood among miners that ignored distinctions of class, ethnicity, and skill and contributed to embracing the Western Federation of Miners' anarcho-syndicalism.

Following a nationwide mine strike in 1894, mine owners reluctantly turned to a paternalistic relationship with workers that revealed the ideological strength of brotherhood among miners who rightly interpreted company housing and healthcare as an infringement on agency and space. Already united underground, the capitalist welfare programs marked the inflection between collier liberalism and mutualism above ground. The newfound unity outside the mines led to a series of conflicts culminating in ten days of open warfare, including the Ludlow Massacre.

After all the vitriol and violence, capitalisms' pursuit of efficiency and profit rendered coal obsolete by the 1920s. All that was left of the Ten Days War and the collier struggle was Ludlow, which Andrews argues fell victim to political cooptation. By incorporating a geographic analysis into his material dialectic, Andrews provides a holistic account of cultural development and class conflict in Americas Mountain West. Furthermore, by exposing the centrality of coal in the history of the West, Andrews provides scholars with new questions regarding health, environmental impact, and class conflict, all of which remain long after the affinity for coal diminished.

Antonio Flores

Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England. By Jean M.

O'Brien. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. xxvi, 270 pp.

Illustrations. Maps. Bibliographical reference. Index. \$25.00, paperback.

Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England by Jean M. O'Brien describes how white colonists from Southern New England disconnected themselves from indigenous tribes and supplanted Indian history with white American history between 1820 and 1880. O'Brien analyzes how local texts, written by white men, narrated Indian history and their subsequent “extinction” to

demonstrate how local stories of the “vanishing Indian” became the larger national narrative that continues to be taught today. She focuses primarily on how the indigenous tribes were written out of history but also revealed how the native people resisted the narrative of their “extinction.” By focusing on local texts, O’Brien argues that non-Indians in Southern New England convinced themselves that the indigenous people there had become extinct even though there were still native nations there.

Firsting and Lasting is organized thematically, outlining the process white men took in writing the Indians out of their history. O’Brien uses the term “firsting” to highlight how local texts claimed Indian places as their own. Colonists also used “firsting” rhetoric to rewrite natives as savage foes whose defensive actions were interpreted as assaults against innocent settlers. The settlers then replaced Indian history, which they claimed did not exist, with their own “American” history. Settlers claimed American history started with colonization, and that the centuries of indigenous history predating white man’s arrival in the Americas were inconsequential. The “lasting” part O’Brien argues was in denying Indians a place in modernity and viewing Indians as passive victims whose destruction was inevitable. White society had an odd fascination with the idea of “the last Indian” and denied natives recognition if they did not look Indian or if they did not fit the racist mold white people believed a “true Indian” fit in. If an indigenous person did not look or act “Indian,” they were written off as not truly Indian because whites believed that even one drop of non-native blood in an indigenous person disqualified them for “Indianness.” Despite white people trying to write native people out of history, many indigenous people resisted their effacement by adopting some aspects of white culture. However, whites interpreted native attempts to be “modern” as their disappearance. The state legislatures of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island in Southern New England took measures to officially terminate the legal recognition of Indian people that still lived on their native lands, formally cementing the myth of Indian “extinction.”

Firsting and Lasting is a well-organized and well-researched monograph that any curious scholar would benefit from reading. The organization of the book in thematic chapters constructs a vivid history of how and why white society wrote Indians out of existence. *Firsting and Lasting* is intended for an educated group. However, the author attempts to make it easy to follow for any curious scholar, that would enhance any Native American history or United States history class. However, O’Brien’s research is so immersed in nineteenth-century texts that it is often difficult to process all the different information O’Brien presents, though sifting through this knowledge would immensely improve people's understanding

of how white people in Southern New England wrote the indigenous people out of the American historical narrative.

Firsting and Lasting is a significant addition to Native American and United States history that offers a unique insight into nineteenth-century society. Recent scholarship in Native American history focuses on writing indigenous peoples back into history but rarely tries to explain why they were written out of history in the first place. O'Brien's research not only highlights the issues in United States history during the nineteenth century, but her research on white people's concepts of "firsting" and "lasting" has consequences that are still relevant today. The extinction myth nineteenth-century white men created to write Native Americans out of history is prevalent in modern texts on American history, emphasizing the strength of "firsting" and "lasting" rhetoric even into the modern-day.

Corinne Lethco

Conceiving Citizens: Women and the Politics of Motherhood in Iran. By Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. 306 pp. Illustrations. Tables, photographs, notes, bibliography, and index. \$26.90, paperback. ISBN 978-0-19-530887-7.

Conceiving Citizens: Women and the Politics of Motherhood in Iran, the third monograph from Dr. Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet of the University of Pennsylvania, explores the influences of motherhood in Iranian society and politics. Kashani-Sabet argues that Iranian women transformed the social landscape of the state through maternalism. As she explains in her introduction, epidemics of disease and one of the lowest birthrates on Earth plagued the late Persian Qajar. *Conceiving Citizens* studies the role Iranian maternalism played in combatting the crisis, beginning with hygiene and prenatal care, and following the movement as it evolved through time and intersected with feminism, politics, education, and religion. As Kashani-Sabet states, "Women were not just conceiving citizens; they began to conceive of citizenship" (7). Women took ownership of the issues of hygiene and mortality rates in nineteenth-century Iran; consequently, securing their place in Iranian society, while advancing women's education, careers, and agency.

Conceiving Citizens divides the subject of maternalism into three sections. The first section introduces the topic, describes the status of women in early nineteenth-century Iran, and analyzes advances and influences on medical knowledge that provided the foundation for maternalism to develop. Kashani-

Sabet details the roles of women in providing remedies to diseases and epidemics ravaging Qajar Iran. In the process of responding to public health crises, women inserted themselves into the public sphere, laying a foundation to begin securing their agency within society. The second part of the book delves into the changes that maternalism made to the fabric of Iranian social institutions. The book explains that, as healthcare evolved, it became a necessity to train female healthcare workers to address feminine medical needs. Although only intended to train women for a few specific fields, the decision to educate women in medicine had far-reaching reverberations. It opened the door to advances for women in education, new occupations, women's organizations, and feminist movements. The final section revolves around women's involvement in Iranian political institutions. Kashani-Sabet explains that political representation and demands for suffrage naturally evolved as maternalism grew to become a vital part of the development of the Iranian Republic. She also analyzes the conflicts between maternalism and feminism. Though maternalism centered around women, many espoused the ideas of republican motherhood, arguing feminism would pull women away from the duties of raising families and producing model Iranian citizens.

Kashani-Sabet's monograph is extremely well presented, organized, and researched. Her arguments draw upon sources from hundreds of newspapers, multiple archives, hospital records, a broad array of journals, as well as works of her contemporaries. The years of work and extensive travels to access archives were well worth the effort in the exceptionally well produced monograph. Her literary style provides a cogent and straightforward narrative, avoiding complicated medical terms, despite much of the monograph delving into medical history. As a result of Kashani-Sabet's laborious work, *Conceiving Citizens* is a book that can be enjoyed by academics and casual readers alike.

Conceiving Citizens adds interesting concepts and interpretations to the field of women's studies in the Middle East. In an area underrepresented in historiography, Kashani-Sabet furthers the understanding of women's impact in Iran. She provides a picture that shatters western stereotypes of Iranian women and shows their value in shaping a country that few people understand. Women in Iran were powerful agents of change, not just for themselves, but for the entire nation. The narrative that *Conceiving Citizens* provides shows that women have been the foundation of Iranian society for more than a century.

Jonathan Brimer

Chinese American Transnational Politics. By Him Mark Lai. Urbana.

Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010. 280 pp. \$32.00, ISBN 978-0-252 07714-2.

In the early 20th century, Chinese American progressives faced multiple obstacles to their activism, particularly from Kuomintang-affiliated elites in Chinatowns and McCarthyite terror. Moreover, being excluded from the US labor movement forced Chinese leftists to form their organizations and seek allies abroad. In a series of essays entitled *Chinese American Transnational Politics*, Him Mark Lai outlines the history of Chinatown's leftist movements in tandem with developments in China and manages to show that they are both inextricably linked.

The first chapter concerns Chinese native-place associations (huiguan), clan associations, umbrella organizations, and criminal anti-Qing associations such as the Triads. Lai emphasizes the fact that Chinese Americans imported these organizational forms from their home villages in China and notes that they preceded the formation of Chinese political parties, which were banned in Imperial China (pp. 9-10). Thus, Lai locates the origin of Chinese American radicalism in the late-19th century nationalist political organizations, such as the Xingxonghui (Revive China Society) and the Baohuanghui (Chinese Constitutionalist Party).

The second chapter details the history of Chinatown's leftists and progressives from the early 1900s through the Great Depression era. While these chapters contain a scattershot of compelling anecdotes, including the attempted assassination of a Qing prince by a Chinese anarchist at an Oakland train station (p. 56), it is not until the May 4th demonstrations against Japan's annexation of Shandong province that Chinese American radicalism comes into full view (p. 61). After 1919, many Chinese American students became active within the Kuomintang's (KMT) San Francisco organizations and Communist Party USA (CPUSA). The split of the KMT in China led to the same outcome in the United States; moreover, KMT's exiles joined with communists to form the All-America Alliance of Chinese Anti-Imperialists (AAACAI), which later published *Chinese Vanguard* (p. 73).

Chapter four details how Chinatown leftists used the war with Japan to cultivate support. For example, members of the Chinese community alongside the American League against War and Fascism (AWLF) sponsored a meeting of twelve thousand people at Madison Square Garden to support China (p. 106). After Japan sent "envoys of goodwill" to their consulate in San Francisco, progressive Chinese organizations such as the Chinese Workers Mutual-Aid Association (CWMAA) got together at the Chinese consulate to discuss a potential boycott of Chinese goods,

and more than two hundred Chinese protested at the consulate (pp. 106-107). The CWMAA later organized over 3,000 Chinese Americans against the loading of scrap iron bound for Japan, and Lai argues that this boosted the campaign for the United States' eventual economic embargo against the country (p. 111).

In the fifth chapter, Lai explains how the rise of the People's Republic of China (PRC) doomed Chinatown's left. In addition to the deportation of "subversives" and the classification of progressives as communists during the McCarthy era, Lai argues that the departure of some seven hundred to a thousand aspiring revolutionaries to China ultimately isolated what remained of the progressive movement (p. 144). *China Daily News*—the most popular Chinese newspaper in New York City—saw a considerable reduction in its staff and subsequently got subpoenaed under the Trading With the Enemies Act, as its members had allegedly sent remittances to friends and family on the Chinese mainland (p. 146). The fear of persecution and deportation eviscerated the Chinese left's organizations and newspapers in the 1950s, and the KMT enjoyed monopoly control over Chinatown's institutions.

Lai concludes the book by discussing the Chinatown Left's revival in the 1960s. Chinese progressives successfully lobbied for the abolition of quotas in immigration during the Civil Rights movement, and later successfully advocated for the normalization of relations with the PRC in the 1970s. *China Daily News* was reorganized after Nixon's famous visit, and the family of Lawrence Choy Lowe—a leading Chinese Communist—established a memorial foundation to fund progressive causes for Chinese Americans throughout the country (pp. 150-151).

Chinese American Transnational Politics thus illustrates how generations of aspiring revolutionaries in Chinatown confronted the politics of war, migration, direct action, and internationalism. Rather than being "model minorities," thousands of Chinatown residents were at the forefront of the defining ideological and political struggles of the 20th century. Him Mark Lai effectively preserved the global Chinese legacy in writing, and for that achievement, he will be sorely missed.

Samuel Bein

Captive Nation: Black Prison Organizing in the Civil Rights Era. By Dan Berger.

University of North Carolina Press, 2014. Pp 420. \$18.99 (Ebook), ISBN 978 1-4696-1825-8.

In Dan Berger's *Captive Nation*, he presents a fascinating glimpse into the black prison organizing movement primarily between 1955 and 1980. Dan Berger argues that the use of prisons and jails in the United States was an aspect of white supremacy and an extension of the system of slavery. He portrays the systematic criminalization of primarily African American men and how the state utilizes jails and prisons as systems of post-slavery management by employing fear, confinement, and violence. An essential theme in this study is the personal agency that African American inmates exhibited in their efforts to organize to achieve better conditions within the prisons.

Berger presents the prison organizing movement within the context of the broader civil rights moment occurring parallel with the effort to improve systematic racism within the correctional system. In the introduction, Dan Berger explains how racial captivity became intrinsically linked with the United States of America. Within this analysis, he successfully lays out how the prison was a metaphor for the more exceptional circumstances that African-Americans encountered in a racially charged society. Prison captivity was representative of the greater racial isolation and segregation that African-Americans have faced for centuries.

A strength of *Captive Nation* is how Berger argues about the power of publications from African Americans in jail. A crucial part of the "strategy of visibility" was the exposure of the public to African American captives. Writings from individuals like Dr. Martin Luther King from the confines of jail provided people a view into the overall depth of the racial inequity that was present in the social fabric of American society. *Captive Nation*, offers a comprehensive view of how African American literary works such as *Soledad Brother*, by George Jackson, a founding member of BGF (Black Guerrilla Family), made visible the condition of African American imprisonment. Visibility was a crucial strategy in the prison movement because of the power of the representation of oppression while in prison captivity. This element of visibility of allowing people to see and understand the conditions of prisons became an essential component of prison organizing.

Captive Nation illuminates how the confines of captivity and the exchange of ideas within the jails awakened a sense of political consciousness within some African-American prisoners. The book places a spotlight on how people and organizations such as Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam presented a space for African American empowerment. The Black Power movement helped provide an ideological structure for African American inmates, many of whom had never been politically active. A key feature of how inmates responded to captivity was through the personal empowerment of education and political activity. Within this analysis,

Berger vividly depicts the sense of identity that claimed with the Black Nationalism movement.

The ideology of post-colonial revolutionary nationalism was an essential component of the overall Black Nationalist framework, which utilized Third World struggles against colonial power as an example of how resistance against white supremacist power can be achieved internationally. The book captures the personal agency exhibited by people who were under physical control and confinement from their government. In this way, *Captive Nation* speaks to the individual sovereignty of thought within ourselves and the power of the human spirit of resistance against systematic captivity and violence.

Overall the structure of the book supports the overall arguments in a detailed and meaningful way. The book comprises six chapters, an introduction, and an epilogue. The narrative flows well with interesting a well thought out theoretical analysis at a consistent rate. The book is accessible and relatively easy to digest, with clearly defined arguments. A characteristic of the book that can be useful to readers is the book's approach to power and violence regarding the state's systematic use of the carceral system with the monopolization of state power through violence and how the state can utilize incarceration as a tool of racial management. The overarching theme makes this book highly useful to those looking to learn more about the state's use of power and violence in a racial context.

Mike McKenney

Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence. By Christina B. Hanhardt. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2013. \$25.95. 358 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-7886-0.

Who is safe in a “safe space?” Christina Hanhardt, in her book *Safe Space*, demonstrates the complexities of how the members within the LGBTQ+ community also struggle with formulating a concrete definition of a safe space. She shows that the creation of safe spaces, regardless of intent, is exclusionary and reinforces racial and class stratification. Instead of debating that protections have progressively improved for all members of the LGBTQ+ community, she argues that protection has mainly improved for white middle to upper-class gays and lesbians and has continuously put poor queers of color at higher risk of harm.

Within these cities, she identifies and highlights several key organizations that created a brief but significant change.

Hanhardt positions her book in a unique place in LGBTQ+ historical scholarship. She believes that previous scholarship does not show how the grassroots organizations themselves "construct the agents and victims of violence" (8). Hanhardt's intervention into the scholarship shows the nuance between the dominating community ideologies in LGBTQ+ activism. She is more concerned with the intellectual ideas of each group and scrutinizes the rationality behind their goals and methods for executing them.

To show these changes over time, Hanhardt analyzes numerous organizations' meeting minutes, mission statements, and primary, first-hand accounts of group members. While all these sources are instrumental to her argument, she brings to the fore organizational meeting minutes and mission statements. She only uses the accounts of group members when she could locate the meeting minutes. She points out this approach is necessary because organizations are not a reflection of one specific individual, but rather are a collective where numerous thoughts and ideas, both inside and outside the organization, can influence their goals and methods. This method is her biggest strength because she not only provides an extensive list of groups active in San Francisco and New York but explains the context behind their formation and the implications of their advocacy on future groups. For instance, the groups that organized during the AIDS crisis had their organizational roots from the 1970s and already had a significant network. By this point, groups were typically divided along with race and had different means of organizing. Most white, middle-class groups chose to work within the political system.

In contrast, poor queers and queers of color often sought radical, anti-establishment solutions because they were most commonly arrested and victims of police brutality. Queerness did not erase distinctions within race and social class. If anything, they are exacerbated in the LGBTQ+ community, and Hanhardt provides evidence showing how it happened in two of the most progressive urban centers.

For a book that emphasizes two urban centers, it would have been quite helpful to have maps that detail the specific locations within both cities. Unless the reader has a strong knowledge of their geography, they might continuously be flipping back to the map in the appendix. The maps themselves also fail to show the changing demographics of New York or San Francisco and provide a needed visual representation. This was a missed opportunity to show where advocacy groups were stationed within these cities and how city demographics changed over time. However, this is only a small blemish on otherwise detailed research.

While New York is remembered as the site of Stonewall Riots and San Francisco as the sight of the highly contested 2004 same-sex weddings and the election of Harvey Milk, these cities have complicated legacies that go beyond these triumphs. Hanhardt not only highlights the complicated history of these cities, and how the years between these triumphs had some of the most significant developments. Policy shifts and advocacy groups significantly shaped the formation and reformation of these communities. Future scholars must build upon this framework to further examine these movements. Hanhardt utilizes both context and theory to reveal how strides towards equity and equality are both messy, but also empowering.

Trent Capurso

War and Peace in the Western Political Imagination: From Classical Antiquity to the Age of Reason. By Roger P. Manning. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. 364 pp. \$122.00, ISBN 978-1-4742-5870-8.

War and Peace in the Western Political Imagination presents the first academic research to engage with the theories of peace as well as those of war. The monograph is an attempt to reconcile the imbalance of perspective, where war has always taken predominance over peace. Manning's stated goal in his book is the examination of how the legacy of classical antiquity influenced philosophers, theologians, political theorists, humanist scholars. This group grows to encompass those educated governing elites as well as military aristocracies concerning the phenomenon of war, including general causes and consequences, both intellectual and cultural. The focus is on how these attitudes of classical Greek and Roman writers were transmitted through late antiquity to the Middle Ages and Renaissance and culminating at the Age of Reason (xxi).

The first section of the book covers the classical antiquity of Greece and Rome. This section favors Victor Hanson's argument regarding the militarism of Eastern countries of that time. He states that such nations lacked rationalism, cultural dynamism, and adaptability (xix). Manning makes use of a mixture of ancient, Renaissance, and modern works on ancient warfare for his sources. The second section is the "medieval world," beginning with St. Augustine and leading to the fifteenth century, yet Manning does not engage with the Crusades in this section. Instead, he quite appropriately separates them into the third section,

categorizing ‘holy wars’ like the Crusades as being distinctly apart from the more secular and overtly political or economic conflicts. His categorization of all forms of religiously influenced conflict within this third section, from Homer to the seventeenth century, allows for a unique interpretation of the impact belief has upon warfare. Manning approaches his era and areas of specialization in the fourth and fifth parts of the book, respectively. These sections are devoted to “Humanism and Neo-Stoicism” and “The Search for a Science of Peace.” The conclusion summarizes all the discussions presented throughout, as Manning inspects Greek martial ethos along with the philosophical concepts of peace and war. From the ancient world to the eighteenth century, one learns of how ‘just war’ theory developed, as well as the impact of attempting lasting peace up until the enlightenment. The book is beneficial to specialists and interested public alike, with such supplemental materials as an appendix and glossary, which is impressively sized and detailed.

The ambitious goal set out in Manning’s introduction is intended to consider the nature of war and advocacy of peace in both historical and philosophical perspectives. While the study of war has been on the receiving end of a great deal of scholarship, the study of peace has remained comparatively low. Manning connects ideas of many well-known thinkers as well as their lesser-known equivalents to his thesis, from Heraclitus to Kant. These writers each have notions that deal with issues of war and peace. Manning provides many interesting side observations while connecting these writers, their context during their historical periods to a cross-referencing overview of their dialogues on war and peace. What is gained through *War and Peace in Western Political Imagination*, is a complete perspective on the nature of both. Manning presents the thoughts and works of philosophers like Giambattista Vico and Jean Bodin, alongside more recent historians such as Ted Lendon and Simon Hornblower. His language is approachable and suited for a general audience while the concepts are fit to satisfy an academic one.

Justin Honeycutt

Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines. By Warwick Anderson. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006. 355 pp. Abbreviations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Paperback, \$26.95. ISBN-13: 978-0-8223-3843-7

Colonial Pathologies by Warwick Anderson describes American Tropical Medicine in the Philippines. Anderson describes how Americans used hygiene to control native Filipino populations, while also using it as a justification for their imperial endeavors in the tropics. After the American Philippine War, American imperial officials began implementing sanitation reforms in the island. Anderson argues that the American officials used race and medicine as a justification for imperial rule. They viewed the Filipino as childish, savage, and unable to properly self-govern. Evidence for these perceptions came from the prevalence of diseases among the native populations, particularly malaria, cholera and leprosy. American imperial authorities believed the Filipinos needed help becoming truly civilized and would be unable to do so until they became “clean” like the Americans.

One main topic that Anderson focuses on is the restructuring of the hygiene system in the Philippines. The Philippine Director of Health, Victor Heiser, wished to “[wash] up the Orient”(97). This involved changing the habits of the Filipinos to reflect what the Americans viewed as hygienic. The result was a complete overhaul of how Filipinos use the restroom and how they bathe. Filipinos were expected to use latrines made to certain specifications and wash using soap and water. Stratifications in citizenship occurred on whether a person was clean or not. For example, “clean” Americans had full rights, but isolated Filipinos with leprosy on their own island, Culion. While some of the supposed problems were habitual, American Imperial authorities felt that race played an important role in why Filipinos were so unclean.

The second main topic in Colonial Pathologies is the racism intertwined in the hygiene efforts. Filipino bodies were viewed by American physicians as disease ridden because of their habits, and their natural susceptibility to disease. American officials justified their rule with one American Physician in the Philippines claiming that the “‘weak and puny’ Filipinos would never be ‘transformed into a healthy and vigorous race’ if the ‘natives’ were allowed to take over.”(188) Americans felt that part of their civilizing mission was to bring healthy habits to the uncivilized natives, and would be unable to leave until hygienic practices were fully established. There was a contrast between “a clean, ascetic American body, with an open, polluting, Filipino body.” (181). Anderson argues that Filipinos were viewed as carriers for disease while Whites were bystanders to it. Americans felt that they had to civilize the Filipinos before they had the ability to self-govern. Because of their habits and genetics, colonial authorities applied strict measures in order to “save them.”

Anderson provides an intriguing insight to the medical aspects of imperialism, which are not usually considered. Anderson’s account is well argued and well supported by a variety of sources. Anderson’s extensive research while producing

this work has resulted in one of the most intensive studies of American medicine in the Philippines. Anderson's style is easy to read, with very few terms unfamiliar to the common reader. Anderson's augments his narrative with the inclusion of photographs that visualize relevant examples. The overall style and presentation of the book are excellent. *Colonial Pathologies* thoroughly examines American Tropical medicine regimes in the Philippines during American occupation. It explores how American imperial officials went about changing the lifestyles of native Filipinos to reflect the hygienic values held by Americans. The book also explores how racism influenced policy and how American Physicians viewed Filipinos. Anderson argues that the perceived uncleanness of the Native populations were justifications for American imperialism in the Philippines. Anderson wonderfully crafts an extensive analysis of American Imperial Medicine in the Philippines during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Andrew Foley

Never Caught: The Washingtons' Relentless Pursuit of Their Runaway Slave, Ona Judge. By Erica Armstrong Dunbar. New York: 37 Ink/Atria, 2018. 272 pp. \$26.00, ISBN 1-50112-639-3.

It is often said that winners write the history books, in reference to those who win the wars or come out on top. By contrast, the untold stories of women, slaves, people of color, and people of poor and working-class backgrounds are the stories that provide a great deal of inspiration. The story of Ona Judge boggles the mind and proves to be such an inspiration. Erica Armstrong Dunbar does a fantastic job at chronicling the life of Ona Judge in her book *Never Caught*, and her description of Ona's life keeps the reader engaged and wondering what will happen next.

In *Never Caught*, Dunbar traces Ona's life, from birth to death. Ona Judge was born to her mother, a black slave, and her father, a white indentured servant. At the time of Ona's birth, slavery by law was passed down matrimonially. This law made it so babies, like Ona, born from slave women, were automatically declared slaves from the moment they left the womb. As a child, Ona grew up in Virginia, under the ownership of Martha Washington, by whom her mother was also a slave. Dunbar not only tells the narrative of Ona's life, but she also weaves in the events of society at the time and the stories of different people's lives surrounding Ona's. Dunbar mentions the roles of free blacks in Philadelphia and the abolition

movement in the North, and she directly contrasts the life of Ona's mother and other slaves in Virginia. Dunbar also tactically uses unusual historical methods of dating information, proving that Ona's life was directly consequential to her slave owners. Both George and Martha Washington's life decisions affected Ona and what would happen to her life. This method of relaying the timelines to the audience truly reflects the importance of freedom and how restricted it was for people like Ona.

Never Caught provides an essential contribution to the historiography of women's history and the historical record of President George Washington. The text spotlights how there are likely numerous accounts throughout history of women whose stories have yet to be discovered or told. *Never Caught* also illuminates the relationship between George Washington and slavery. The account within the text shows the truth of his slave ownership and makes no excuses for it. These accounts do not diminish his wonderful achievements for our young nation but serve to temper a reverence for him as a man living in the period.

Never Caught proves to be a notable read. It is a well-structured and well-founded historical text. Dunbar tells her story in such a way that the reader does not get too confused when new characters are introduced and developed. Although the book is written about the 1700s and the creation of the United States as a nation, its story is still relevant today. Not only does the book touch on race, but it also speaks on colorism, gender roles, and the effects that laws can have on individuals.

Kira Hall

Clio Staff

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.

Carrie Sheahan

Carrie Sheahan is a junior majoring in history at Sacramento State. She has an interest in Irish history, particularly the Irish War of Independence, and hopes to one day publish historical fiction novels related to this era. After graduating, Carrie plans to work in publishing.

Antonio Flores

Antonio Flores is currently a history graduate assistant at California State University, Sacramento focusing on American radicalism in the twentieth century. He graduated magna cum laude from CSU Sacramento in 2016 with a BA in history. He hopes to continue his education and eventually teach at the university level.

Kira Hall

Kira Hall is currently a history undergraduate student at California State University, Sacramento with interest in the American Revolution and Colonial Era. She hopes to become a High School history teacher and obtain her credentials as well as master's degree in History.

Mike McKenney

Mike McKenney graduated from California State University, Sacramento, in 2016 with a BA in History. After which he started the university's history graduate program. Mike's focus is on 20th-century maritime history, and he is currently in the final semester of the graduate program.

Andrew Foley

Andrew Foley is a third-year undergraduate student at Sacramento State University, studying History. His concentration is in general history, and he plans continue his education after graduation, with plans of teaching at the university level.

Justin Honeycutt

Justin Henry Honeycutt is a Senior undergraduate at California State University, Sacramento, graduating with honors in May 2020. Justin has been accepted into the History Master's Program at Sacramento State for Fall 2020. He is a nontraditional student, having returned to academic life in his early thirties, but has used his life experience to pursue excellence academically as a member of three honors societies. (Phi Alpha Theta, Phi Kappa Phi and Phi Theta Kappa.) He is Military History major, with a focus on Hopology, which is the study of the nature and method of human aggression. Justin is set to pursue a Ph.D. and aspires to teach college level classes.

Corinne Lethco

Corinne Lethco is a graduate student at California State University, Sacramento and expects to earn her MA in Fall 2020 with a focus in US History. Her academic interests include the interpretation of historical events and the formation of memory, historical amnesia, and crazy people. She hopes to go on to become a Community College professor and instill the love of history into her students as her teachers have done for her.

Trent Capurso

Trent Capurso is a history graduate student who will graduate at the end of spring 2020. He plans to become a community college professor who will teach courses in American history focusing on social movements and world history. His previous research includes examining anti-Semitism in Austria, analyzing different styles of historical leadership, and LGBTQ+ history in California. Currently, he is researching how the Cold War shaped the formation of electronic dance music in Detroit and Berlin.

Arthur Henry

Arthur Henry is a graduate student in the MA of history program at California State University, Sacramento. His research focus is in world history, historical European martial arts, medieval, and renaissance Europe. He hopes to pursue a career in education as a community college professor, while teaching historical European martial arts fulltime.

Jonathan Brimer

Jonathan Brimer is an undergraduate student in his final semester of a BA in history at California State University, Sacramento. His research interests include postcolonial history and the impacts of foreign relations on developing nations, specifically within Africa and the Middle East. Jonathan has been accepted into the MA of history program at Sacramento and will begin during the fall semester of 2020. After finishing his education, Jonathan plans to pursue a university-level career in teaching.

Scholarships, Awards, and Prizes 2019-2020

The History Department at California State University, Sacramento is proud to recognize our students' achievements in obtaining scholarships, award, and prizes for the 2019-2020 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)

2020 Phi Alpha Theta Conference

This year, members of CSU Sacramento's Rho-Xi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta attended the Northern California Phi Alpha Theta Regional Conference held at CSU Chico. This annual conference provides an opportunity for undergraduate and graduate-level historians in the Northern California region to gain experience in presenting original research in front of their peers. In total, our Rho-Xi chapter sent thirteen student-historians to the conference, with ten presenting their own research and others representing *Clio*, our student-run history journal. Kelly Cullity and Joshua Lourence were awarded second and third prize, respectively, for their graduate-level paper submissions! *Clio* editors Samuel Bein, Janis Pope, Trent Capurso, and Joshua Lourence provided the lunchtime Keynote address, sharing how to produce an award-winning journal and fielding roundtable discussions about the publication process. Special thanks to Dr. Aaron Cohen for his leadership and support. All in all, this was a great showing for CSU Sacramento and the Rho-Xi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta.



Phi Alpha Theta Northern California Regional Conference, 2020

CSU Sacramento Graduate-Level Presenters and Paper Titles:

Samuel Bein: “A Dream Destroyed: The Chinese-American Experience in Nineteenth Century America”

Trent Capurso: “The Nazis’ ‘First Victims’: Anti-Semitism, WWII, and Memory within Austria”

Kelly Cullity: “Moral Internationalism Versus Patriotic Isolationism: An Ideological Analysis of America’s Debate on the League of Nations”

David Dawson: “Inviolable Motherhood: Patriotic Maternalists and the Battle Against the Conscription of Women During the Second World War”

Kelsey Alexandria Knox: “Heresy and Mysticism in ‘The Cloud of Unknowing’”

Joshua Lourence: “The Cartography of Power: The Politics of Cartography, Geography, and Discovery in Hapsburg Spain”

Debra McManis: “Graceada Park Rising: Modesto’s First Recreational Park”

Cuauhtemoc “Geo” Morales: “The Right Pushing the Right: The John Birch Society, the Tea Party, and the Rise of the Right in California, 1950-2008”

Emma Sullivan: “Mensch of Old: Sandy Koufax and the Creation of a National Jewish Identity”

Holley Chie Vallieres: “Cape Horn and the Chinese Contribution to the Central Pacific Railroad”

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