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Letter from the Editors

Dearest Readers,

One of the most exciting things about attending a university is having the opportunity to dig into topics that interest us and to read so much about them that we become budding experts in our chosen niche. Through our research and writing, we grow as scholars and get closer to the dream of being able to express ourselves and our ideas at a high academic level. Becoming a writer only happens with sustained effort, as we at *Clio* understand far too well. It is a process that can be painful, but with hard work and the help of teachers, friends, and editors who believe in you, the finished product is something of which to be proud.

We hope that future historians will look back at this volume of *Clio* as a snapshot of a historical moment, the moment that Artificial Intelligence arrived at universities. Its repercussions are already being felt here at Sacramento State. As one of the most significant technological advancements of our lifetime, fresh from the netherworld of the World Wide Web, AI threatens the individualism of the student of every discipline, including our own. Though it may turn out to be a benign tool that can help students and teachers automate specific tasks, it is our hope that AI is not used to avoid participating in the most valuable parts of getting an education. Learning to research, reading everything you possibly can about your areas of interest, and learning how to become a good writer is what a university education is all about. These skills are priceless.

In this volume of *Clio*, you will find student essays that transport you from thirteenth-century France to the 1970s in America. You will read about the environmental legacy of gold mining in California's central valley and foothills, widespread prostitution among American troops in Southeast Asia, and how ballet was used as a form of resistance in the twentieth-century Soviet Union. As editors, what stands out the most in the following pages is the passion for research and the pursuit of scholarly knowledge.

The editors and staff of *Clio* owe a debt of gratitude to the only professor crazy enough to guide, advise, and put up with our shenanigans, Dr. Aaron Cohen. His leadership and expertise are unmatched. To the editorial staff, your hard work and dedication to putting this journal together are admirable. We appreciate the support of the History Department and its faculty, which makes it possible for us to publish *Clio* every year. And lastly, *Clio* is only possible because of the contributions of students who submit papers for publication. Without their passion for research and writing, *Clio*

would not exist. Thank you all for your hard work and for trusting us to be your editors.

Coming through the COVID-19 pandemic, many of us faced lingering challenges and hardships. But, with our stingers held high, together, we proved that we can do what we do best – figure it out.

With gratitude and hope for the future,
Ella Cross and Mindy Fowler
Co-editors in-chief

The Disco Era: Why Disco Went from Being the Hot Stuff of the 1970s to Barely Stayin' Alive

Citlali Benerisa Pérez

Abstract: Through the use of various articles, newspapers, archival photos and videos, oral history, and secondary sources, this paper aims to reveal how the discriminatory and exclusionary practices of discotheques and Disco culture contributed greatly to the downfall of the Disco era in the U.S. during the late 1970s. Between the early to mid-1970s, Disco was considered to be an underground genre of music pioneered by Black artists. Because racial and sexual minorities were at the forefront of the Disco movement, American society had a hard time accepting disco music and discotheques. The immense success of the 1977 blockbuster film *Saturday Night Fever*, changed the face of Disco, increasing its popularity, and shifting its culture. But an anti-Disco sentiment simmered, adding to the already troubled era of Disco fever.

On July 7, 1979, as part of their *Spirits Having Flown Tour*, the Bee Gees, a band made up of three out of four Gibb brothers known for their renowned hits “Stayin’ Alive,” “How Deep Is Your Love,” and “Night Fever,” sang their hearts out to a sold-out crowd of 56,000 at Dodgers Stadium in Los Angeles, California.¹ At this time, the Bee Gees were at the height of their career. They had just won four Grammys for their album *Saturday Night Fever* in February. They also had two consecutive number-one albums and six consecutive number-one singles, something only the Beatles had done prior.² Disco dominated the radio airwaves of the late 70s and reached the apex of its popularity in 1979.

Five days later, in Chicago’s Comiskey Park, around 50,000 people gathered to watch a doubleheader baseball game between the Chicago White Sox and the Detroit Tigers.³ Most in attendance, however, were not there to see the games. Those who brought disco records got to pay the discounted admittance price of 0.98 cents before entering Comiskey Park. Between the games, the disco records would get blown up in the middle of the field by Chicago radio personality and rock-music lover Steve Dahl. Dahl was one of two organizers of this promotional event called Disco

1. Terry Atkinson, “The Bee Gees in Heaven,” *Rolling Stone*, September 6, 1979, 68.

2. *The Bee Gees: How Can You Mend a Broken Heart*, directed by Frank Marshall (HBO Documentary Films, 2020), DVD.

3. Steve Dahl, Dave Hoekstra, and Paul Natkin, *Disco Demolition Night: The Night Disco Died* (Chicago: Curbside Splendor Publishing, 2016), 19.

Demolition Night. As the crowd of disgruntled rock fans chanted louder and louder, “Disco Sucks! Disco Sucks! Disco Sucks!” Dahl blew up the records, and cheers erupted. Suddenly, a stampede of people ran out into the field, and a riot ensued. It only dispersed when riot police stepped in. The second game was canceled, and everyone went home.⁴ Most who attended probably did not think much of it; however, that promotional event-turned-riot was indicative of the negative attitude toward disco held by rock fans of the era. Although disco did not die as a result of violent outbursts such as Disco Demolition Night, it did begin to lose popularity as the 1980s wore on, largely coming to an end by 1984.

From Rent Parties to Discotheques

Disco’s foundation as an underground club culture, open to people of all colors and sexual orientations, its sexual freedom, and embrace of drug use was at odds with the dominant white heterosexual culture of the era. Gay men especially found refuge at the discotheque since they were barred by law from dancing together in public.⁵ It is important to note that same-sex sexual activity between consenting adults was illegal and punishable by heavy fines or prison sentences in California until 1976, in New York until 1980, and until 2003 in 14 states, including Texas.

Invite-only “rent parties” hosted by gay men in lofts and buildings within Manhattan in the late 1960s eventually gave rise to the discotheques of the early 1970s.⁶ The discotheque soon became a safe haven for the LGBTQ+ community and a place where racial minorities, specifically Black and Latino, converged and danced to the beat of the hottest underground dance records under a reflective crystal disco ball and colorful lights.

Most of the music being played at “rent parties” in the early 1970s was created by Black and Latino artists. This dance music soon morphed into what we now know as disco. By the mid-1970s, disco was a coherent style. Disco music combines elements of funk, R&B, soul, extended instrumentals, and, at times, risqué lyrics, thereby creating a new, unique, and danceable sound. Former *Rolling Stone* contributor Vince Aletti described disco music as “heavy on the drums, with minimal lyrics, sometimes in a foreign language, and a repetitive, chantlike chorus. The most popular cuts are usually the longest and the most instrumental, performed by black groups who are, frequently, not American.”⁷ Disco’s early adopters were a “multiracial and largely gay clientele.” Because of its

4. The Original Shock Jock, “ESPN Story About Disco Demolition- July 12, 1979,” Published March 2010, YouTube video, 9:51.

5. Johnny Morgan, *Disco: The Music, the Times, the Era* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2011), 8.

6. Morgan, *Disco: The Music*, 8.

7. Vince Aletti, *The Disco Files 1973-1978: New York’s Underground, Week by Week*, 2nd ed. (New York: Distributed Arts Publishers, 2018), 19.

association with minorities and the LGBTQ+ community, disco was not embraced by the music industry or radio stations in the early 1970s.⁸

While little-to-no disco records were played on the radio, a shift within the popular music scene emerged in the mid-1970s. By 1975, 2,000 discotheques were open in the United States, and around 200,000 customers a week attended discotheques in New York alone.⁹ “Disco music has turned out to be, if not the Next Big Thing everyone in the music business was waiting for, then the closest thing to it in years,” Aletti wrote in 1975.¹⁰ In 1974, Barry White released “Love’s Theme,” which became the first disco record to make the Top 20 without radio-play,¹¹ a feat made possible by underground DJs playing it consistently at discotheques. Soon, artists such as Earth, Wind, and Fire, Donna Summer, KC and the Sunshine Band, Boney M, and Gloria Gaynor started climbing the charts, along with other singers such as Frankie Valli and Diana Ross, who had crossed over into the genre.¹² Yet, some were afraid of being labeled a disco group since the music industry and corporate radio did not fully accept the genre.

The Discotheques and Gender Presentation: Living the Fantasy

Part of a discotheque’s success depended on the number of “attractive” people who attended it. According to a 1978 *Esquire* article,¹³ some discotheques did not admit customers who did not fit the “look” of their ideal clientele. In urban areas such as New York City, clubs selected the most attractive and creatively dressed people from the long waiting lines. At other discotheques that sought to cater to a straight, white audience, those turned away were typically non-white and/or gay or those who were not considered “attractive.” Since there were thousands of discotheques across the country by the late 1970s, a wide variety of dress codes and preferred clientele existed.

Having the “right” look did not just mean being pretty. It also meant that one must have the “right” hairstyle and fashion. “Discos overflowed with John Travolta/Tony Manero look-alikes. Print Qiana shirts and tight-fitting polyester became all the rage, and sparkling white Monte Carlos and Cutlass Supremes flocked like so many chromium sheep around newly opened neighborhood discos,” a 1979 *Commonweal* article stated.¹⁴ For seasoned disco-goers, extravagant and risqué outfits were necessary, but for those new to the disco-circuit, the outfits from *Saturday Night Fever* (1977)

8. Alice Echols, *Hot Stuff: Disco and the Remaking of American Culture* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 2.

9. Echols, *Hot Stuff*, 25.

10. Aletti, *The Disco Files 1973-1978*, 25.

11. David Hamsley, *To Disco with Love: The Records that Defined an Era* (New York: Flatiron Books, 2015), 2.

12. Hamsley, *To Disco with Love*, 42.

13. Albert Goldman, “The Disco Style: Love Thyself,” *Esquire*, June 20, 1978, 76.

14. Gerry O’Sullivan, “Disco Decadents, Punk Poseurs,” *Commonweal*, June 8, 1979, 341.

were standard. “Ladies wore high-heeled shoes and designer dresses, and the men had their polyester shirts and suits with platform shoes,” according to regular Studio 54 photographer Veretta Cobler.¹⁵ Likewise, people at discotheques were not confined to traditional gender roles, “discos provide a place where new attitudes about sex roles can be freely played out.”¹⁶ Genders blurred on the dance floor. For example, one Studio 54 regular named Rollerina was unapologetically herself. Rumored to be a stockbroker by day, at the discotheque Rollerina sported “roller skates ... a wedding dress, a tiara, and ... a fairy wand.”¹⁷ Many people, like Rollerina, embraced their Trans identity in discotheques. Androgyny was also a recognizable trend on the dance floor. Both men and women wore animal prints, colorful skin-tight clothing, platform shoes, sequined outfits, stockings, makeup, glitter, and faux feathers. Risqué outfits featuring leather, high heels, fringe, speedos, thongs, and lingerie were also very popular. Some wore transparent or sheer outfits or no shirt at all to appear nude. Stephen Mass, the owner of New York City’s Mudd Club, stated, “you have to be living out your fantasies in the way you’re dressed.”¹⁸ The outfit was, in a way, the final deciding factor that dictated whether someone got in.

The Village People was one disco group that was not afraid to push the barriers of male sexuality. In 1977, a French composer and producer named Jacque Morali came up with the idea to create a disco group whose members represented popular gay fashion tropes. According to Alice Echols in *Hot Stuff*, Morali “as a homosexual ... was committed to ending the cultural invisibility of gay men.”¹⁹ His disco group consisted of six stereotypical gay fantasies he repeatedly encountered at various gay discotheques: a construction worker, a cowboy, a soldier, a mustached leather man, a Native American, and a police officer.²⁰ With larger-than-life costumes, these macho-male personas “gave the act an appeal to people blissfully ignorant of the homosexual stereotypes, but who liked the theatricality of it all.”²¹ The Village People quickly became a big hit in gay discotheques. In 1978, they surprisingly also became a big crossover hit in mainstream radio and straight discotheques with their release of “Macho Man.” In late 1978, they released “Y.M.C.A.,” which became an even bigger hit, selling 4.5 million singles in the United States and 12 million singles globally.²² The group’s success shocked Morali and the members of the Village People. Either straight audiences did not catch on to the group’s lack

15. Hardy, ed. *Photographs of Veretta Cobler*, 6.

16. Jamake Highwater, “Dancing in the Seventies,” *Horizon*, May 1977, 32.

17. Morgan, *Disco: The Music*, 159-160.

18. Hamilton, “New York Night Looks,” 81.

19. Echols, *Hot Stuff*, 136.

20. Ken Emerson, “The Village People: America’s Male Ideal?,” *Rolling Stone*, October 5, 1978, 26.

21. Morgan, *Disco: The Music*, 221.

22. Echols, *Hot Stuff*, 137.

of lyrics referring to “girls” or did not care because the music was so catchy. With their popularity growing, Casablanca Records (the group’s record company) decided to slightly change the Village People’s image by making their sexuality ambiguous. Echols wrote, “When *Rolling Stone* approached the Village People about a cover story, the paper was told it would have to sign a written agreement banning any discussion of the group’s sexuality.”²³ Instead, Casablanca Records marketed the Village People’s “gay” look as a marketing ploy. Morali, however, never shied away from the fact that they were a gay group. Morali told *Rolling Stone*,

Victor Willis [one of the group members who played the police officer] is not gay, but all of them [the group members] can work together, which is what America is trying to do.... I have remarked that the girls always like the singers who look gay And the straight guys in America want to get the macho look.²⁴

The Village People had continued success through the end of the 1970s, but by 1980, their success began to fade. Their biopic *Can’t Stop the Music* (1980) did not do well at the box office, and the movie’s soundtrack was a bust. While they did continue releasing new material, by 1985, mention of the Village People was scarce.²⁵

Saturday Night Fever: Regular Joes Can Get Down Too!

In the late 1970, Disco became more widely accepted within American society. As it reached a broader audience through Top-40 radio, some of the social stigma associated with the genre’s multicultural and LGTBQ+ roots lessened. One example of a group that recognized this social stigma was Dr. Buzzard’s Original Savannah Band. After their first album became a disco hit, the band stated that they “would like to be accepted on a purely dance/entertainment level.... We just want people to listen to the music and enjoy themselves.”²⁶ The aversion to disco expressed by white mainstream society would soon end with the release of *Saturday Night Fever* in November 1977.

Saturday Night Fever (1977) starred John Travolta as Tony Manero, a working-class white, heterosexual Catholic male from Brooklyn, New York, who worked at a hardware store during the day and loved to dance at the local discotheque on the weekends with his other white friends. Tony Manero was the typical macho male. He did not stop his friends from raping a girl who frequented the discotheque they attended. He made sexist remarks, used ethnic slurs directed towards Black and Puerto Rican

23. Echols, *Hot Stuff*, 138.

24. Emerson, “The Village People,” 27.

25. Morgan, *Disco: The Music*, 221.

26. Richard Cromelin, “Down at the Clubhouse with Dr. Buzzard’s Original Savannah Band,” *High Fidelity & Musical America*, July 1977, 132.

characters and homophobic slurs towards gay clubgoers. Tony obsessively combed his pomaded hair, wore colorful clothes, tight pants, and platform shoes, and loved to dance. He did not do drugs like his friends at the discotheque, and towards the end of the film, when he and his partner are crowned the winners of the dance competition held at the discotheque, he refuses to accept the trophy. Instead, Tony hands it to the Puerto Rican couple, who came in second, realizing that they were only crowned first because he and his partner were white.²⁷

Saturday Night Fever made a white, blue-collar man the face of disco and discotheques. Suddenly, it was cool to like disco music, dress up, and go dancing. Pauline Kael from the *New Yorker* stated in her film review, “*Saturday Night Fever* gets at something deeply romantic: the need to move, to dance, the need to be who’d you like to be.”²⁸ In retrospect, *Saturday Night Fever* is an incredibly sexist, racist, and homophobic film. The original release was rated R. Shortly after its release, as a result of the blockbuster success of its soundtrack with an under-18 audience, the film was cut and re-released at a PG rating. Attempting to capitalize on the film’s immense success, the film industry started to produce dance films such as *Thank God It’s Friday* (1978).

The unprecedentedly successful soundtrack to *Saturday Night Fever* featured a variety of artists but was primarily comprised of songs by the Bee Gees. The Bee Gees started working in the disco genre in 1975 with the release of “Jive Talkin’,” followed by their 1976 release of “You Should Be Dancing.” Both songs became huge successes for the group, especially in the United States. In 1977, their manager, Robert Stigwood, approached the group, handed them the *Saturday Night Fever* script, and asked if they could write a few songs for the film’s soundtrack. At the time, the Bee Gees were in France working on a follow-up to their 1976 album *Children of the World*. They agreed to feature some of their new songs on the movie soundtrack. Despite having the script, they did not read it. Robin Gibb said, “we were writing our new album and just having fun doing it.”²⁹ In a matter of weeks, the group turned in the demos to what would eventually be “Stayin’ Alive,” “More Than A Woman,” “Night Fever,” “How Deep Is Your Love,” and “If I Can’t Have You.” The soundtrack won the Grammy Award for Album of the Year in 1979.³⁰ The disco sound was reaching new heights and as more people listened to it, more people sought out their nearest discotheque to dance the night away.

27. *Saturday Night Fever*, directed by John Badham (Robert Stigwood Organization, 1977), DVD.

28. Pauline Kael, “The Current Cinema,” *New Yorker*, December 26, 1977, 60.

29. *The Bee Gees: How Can You Mend a Broken Heart*.

30. *The Bee Gees: How Can You Mend a Broken Heart*.

The “Right Mix”: Fashion and Fame as Cultural Capital

The most famous discotheque of the era was Studio 54. It stood above the rest because it had the best DJs, the wildest events, and a well-known door policy based on a combination of fashion, beauty, and fame. Located in Manhattan on 254 West 54th Street, Studio 54 opened in April 1977, seven months before the release of *Saturday Night Fever*.³¹ Quickly, Studio 54 became a type of Mecca for disco lovers. David Geffen, a business magnet, producer, and film studio executive, said of Studio 54: “It came after birth control and before AIDS. It really was the pinnacle of a sexual revolution in which people were open and free. It was glorious ... and it rose to the top of the pleasure dome at a time when sex, drugs, and rock and roll seemed safe.”³² Within a few months, two of its owners, Steve Rubell and Ian Schrager, made it the hottest club in New York, becoming an “international symbol of chic.”³³

Studio 54 also had a reputation as one of the most difficult clubs to get into. A revolving door of celebrities, professional athletes, fashion designers, and business magnates visited Studio 54 every night. Within the disco circuit, there were levels for those who attended discotheques regularly. Known as “the Core,” they were “the starriest of disco regulars. ‘About 500 or so. And a hundred of us are the Inner Core,’” as explained by one member of the “Inner Core.”³⁴ The entry fee for Studio 54 was \$10, but some paid \$150 for a membership, though it was “no guarantee of getting in the door.”³⁵ Rubell’s answer to unfairness claims was that “the membership entitled one to a discount, but only if they were first let in.”³⁶ Ian Schrager later stated that he and Rubell mimicked the exclusionary practices of gay clubs they visited. According to Schrager, gay clubs would attempt to exclude straight people from entering their clubs.³⁷ Those who were let into Studio 54 would be considered a lucky group as hundreds of people, far exceeding the club’s capacity, would wait hours, hoping to make it inside. *Rolling Stone* writer Dave Marsh described in 1978 those who waited for entry: “They were packed in front of the Studio like lemmings, jumbled elbow to elbow in a mute plea for recognition of the right to patronize the disco.”³⁸ He also notes that a considerable portion of Studio 54’s fame was thanks to the people waiting outside. They “certified the

31. Aurélie Hardy, ed. *Photographs of Veretta Cobler: New York Underground, 1970-1980* (New York: Parkstone International, 2004), 5.

32. Ian Schrager, *Studio 54* (New York: Rizzoli, 2017), 23.

33. Henry Post, “Sour Notes At the Hottest Disco,” *Esquire*, June 20, 1978, 79.

34. Anthony Haden-Guest, “Xenon: Slipped Disco,” *New York*, June 19, 1978, 39.

35. Post, “Sour Notes,” 79.

36. J. S. Coyle, “Discomania’s Little Big Man,” *Money*, September 1978, 72.

37. Schrager, *Studio 54*, 31.

38. Dave Marsh, “Saturday Night Fever,” *Rolling Stone*, June 1, 1978, 40.

superiority” of those who got in. In a 1979 article for *Newsweek*, Jack Kroll wrote, “so many Me’s were eager to be defined by others.”³⁹

The competition was fierce, with so many fashionable people trying to get into Studio 54. Rubell stood outside the discotheque and hand-picked those who could enter from those who waited outside. He claimed it was “like casting for a play every night, I would pick and choose the right mix.”⁴⁰ The “right mix” of people, according to Rubell, looked dance-ready and looked “loose” and “crazy.” He even reportedly turned down having Studio 54 host a party for *Billboard* magazine because Rubell felt the “crowd wasn’t very desirable.”⁴¹ Chic based their 1978 song “Le Freak” on an incident of exclusion by Studio 54. Grace Jones, a singer, model, and frequent patron of the discotheque, invited the group to a New Year’s Eve party in 1977. According to Chic frontman Nile Rodgers, the bouncer did not let them in because they were relatively unknown and did not fit the “rockstar” look. Inspired by the bouncer telling the group to “f**k off,” Chic included the curse word in their 1978 number-one song but later changed the lyric to “Freak Out!”⁴² The members of Chic were regulars at Studio 54 after their rise to fame.

Other discotheques excluded and discriminated against patrons in more sinister ways. In October 1978, a *Black Enterprise* article described how one discotheque, called Buster T. Browne Restaurant and Discotheque in Cincinnati, discriminated explicitly against and excluded Black customers. The discotheque “had the disturbing tendency to turn away black patrons if they didn’t have ‘preferred customer’ status or ‘membership’ cards. If the disco was crowded, Black people were the ones turned away while white customers were let in through another entrance...Black people were also required to pay a cover or minimum charge at the door, which was waived for white customers.”⁴³

Dress codes were long a tool for controlling who could and could not be a customer and were common at restaurants, bars, and nightclubs during this era. The discotheque Tramp’s in Washington D.C. strived to be a “clubby, intimate place” where one needed “class” to get in. They did not welcome those dressed as “hippies, motorcycle toughs, or street people.”⁴⁴ Xenon in New York City aspired for “the craziness of 54” and the comfort and “prestige of Regine’s.”⁴⁵ Both the Mudd Club and Hurrah in Manhattan, although they were nightclubs for postpunk and no-wave

39. Jack Kroll, “Culture Goes Pop,” *Newsweek*, November 19, 1979, 112.

40. Coyle, “Discomania’s Little Big Man,” 74.

41. Haden-Guest, “Xenon,” 40.

42. “Classic Tracks: Chic ‘Le Freak,’” *Recording & Classic Tracks*, Sound on Sound, Published April 2005.

43. Fred Shuttlesworth Jr., “Disco Blues in Cincinnati,” *Black Enterprise*, October 1978, 24.

44. Priscilla Schwab, “Making the Disco Scene is a Money-Maker,” *Nation’s Business*, September 1978, 98.

45. Haden-Guest, “Xenon,” 40.

music, adopted the practices of discotheques, preferring “funky” clothing and reportedly made “celebrities and people who show up in limos wait ten minutes” before entering.⁴⁶ Metropolis Roller Skate Club, a roller rink disco in Manhattan, required that guests bring their own roller skates to the discotheque.⁴⁷ Osko’s, a discotheque in Los Angeles for the under-twenty-one crowd, had a strict dress code. Tia Gindick wrote of Osko’s dress code for the *Los Angeles Times*, stating, “You don’t have to be a rich kid to dance here, you just have to look like it.”⁴⁸ In the same article, a thirteen-year-old patron of Osko’s remarked, “I was wearing Sassoon jeans and a nice top, but still, I had to call my parents to take me home to change.”⁴⁹ Studio One, a discotheque in West Hollywood that catered to gay men, prohibited open-toed shoes as a way of discouraging women from entering.⁵⁰ In Sacramento, Eppiminonda’s had a strict dress policy that did not allow entrance to those wearing denim or jeans.⁵¹ Patrons of the legendary Flipper’s Roller Disco Boogie Palace in West Hollywood needed a membership before being allowed in. Before the grand opening of Flipper’s, Denny Cordell, one of the owners, explained the membership process, “The membership ceiling will be 1000 A five-man membership committee chooses the members, who pay \$200 annually plus a \$7 entrance fee per visit.”⁵²

Disco’s fascination with fame, beauty, and fashion contributed to the 1970s being known as the “Me” decade.⁵³ *Harper’s* writer Sally Helgesen described how the wall-to-wall mirrors at Infinity, a discotheque in Lower Manhattan, contributed to the egotistical atmosphere. Helgesen wrote, “The mirrors are a part of the show at Infinity, for not only can you watch your own image change beneath the flashing strobes, you can also dance with yourself.”⁵⁴ Everyone had a chance to be a star at the discotheque.

Disco: The New Status Quo

By 1979, disco was unquestionably mainstream. *Seventeen*, as part of their February 1979 issue, had a poll titled “Who do Teens Admire Most?” John Travolta was second on the list, and Andy Gibb, the youngest of the Gibb brothers with a string of number-one solo hits, was eleventh.⁵⁵ Teenagers were also joining the “I Love Disco” movement, and companies were cashing in. As a result, some stations decided to change their format to

46. Jim Farber, “The Mudd Club: disco for punks,” *Rolling Stone*, July 12, 1979, 18.

47. Rita Hamilton, “New York Night Looks,” *Esquire*, November 1979, 73.

48. *Los Angeles Times*, September 5, 1979.

49. *Los Angeles Times*, September 5, 1979.

50. *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1979.

51. *Express* (CA), November 30, 1978.

52. *Los Angeles Times*, July 5, 1979.

53. Kroll, “Culture Goes Pop,” 112.

54. Sally Helgesen, “Disco,” *Harper’s*, October 1977, 20.

55. “Who Do Teens Admire Most?” full-page poll, *Seventeen*, February 1979.

meet the demand of disco lovers. In July 1978, “Mellow 92,” a New York radio station that played a mix of mellow rock and Top-40 music, changed its name to “Disco 92” and switched to playing only disco music. In less than a year, it became the number-one radio station in New York City.⁵⁶ As disco took over the Top-40 and R&B music charts, more and more radio stations became disco-only stations, playing the same disco songs in heavy rotation, frustrating many, including Sacramento State archivist Julie Thomas.

Growing up in the suburbs of Chicago, Thomas was no stranger to the disco phenomenon of the late 1970s. Every Saturday night, her parents dressed up in their best outfits, hired a babysitter for her and her four sisters, and went out to the discotheque. “They would go to the club, even though they were probably older than most people there; they just loved dancing. Then they would come home and teach us all the disco moves that they learned at the disco club,” Thomas remembered.⁵⁷ For teenagers like Thomas, who were not old enough to go clubbing at a disco, the roller rink became her disco.

When she started attending high school in 1976, Thomas recalled the formation of cliques—including the stoners, the jocks, the nerds, and the discos. She states that she never stayed with one group, having been friends with everyone. It was when she was around fifteen and sixteen years old that she started to feel a disconnect between her and disco. It was not the music, however, that put her off. According to Thomas, those who made up the “disco” clique at school were the popular kids who followed the latest trends, wore designer clothes, and carried themselves like they were better than everyone else. She would try to replicate the trends in her own way, “People [from the disco clique] would make fun of people for not having the designer logo on the jeans...so I appropriated the style instead.”⁵⁸ For example, Thomas said that disco made the “tube top” very popular; therefore, to fit her rocker style, she would tie a bandana around her chest and use it as a shirt along with a pair of Levi’s jeans. Overall, the superiority complexes of her “disco” classmates put Thomas and her close friends off from the high school clique version of the “disco lifestyle.” When talking to her friends about disco, she would make a face and say that she did not listen to it. However, Thomas admitted that she would still occasionally listen to Disco, albeit behind closed doors.

56. Jay Merritt, “Disco Station Number One in New York,” *Rolling Stone*, March 22, 1979, 11.

57. Julie Thomas, interview by author, Sacramento, March 14, 2022.

58. Julie Thomas, interview by author, 2022.

“Disco Sucks!”

As disco became popular with mainstream American youth, its roots as club music for a multiracial and LGBTQ+ audience who enjoyed sex and drugs were seen as dangerous by conservatives. For most disco-goers, discotheques provided a natural high from dancing. For others, discotheques also provided a high from drugs such as cocaine and quaaludes. Alice Echols in *Hot Stuff* points out, “It wasn’t just that the music’s volume and relentlessness encourage physical intimacy and greater sexual straightforwardness... the music and the drugs pretty well obliterated any lingering sexual shyness.”⁵⁹ Quaaludes, specifically, “released sexual inhibitions, particularly in men, ... that when mixed with alcohol produced a mellow euphoria.”⁶⁰ Some also saw the dancing in discotheques as a simulation of sexual activity. Moreover, engaging in actual sexual activity without protection was common in the big urban discotheques. Fran Lebowitz, author of the 1978 book *Metropolitan Life* and 1981 book *Social Studies*, stated, “People want to dance because people want to have sex. Dancing is sex.”⁶¹ As American conservatives heard stories of what happened inside famous urban discotheques, such as Studio 54, many condemned them and saw them as places where “dangerous” activities occurred. Of course, not all discotheques were dens of iniquity.

One of the most popular rock radio personalities in Chicago was Steve Dahl. In 1978, Dahl was fired from his DJ job at the WDAI classic rock station when they switched to a disco format. He found a new DJ slot at WLUP in 1979, where he often spoke of his hatred for disco music and artists. Dahl described disco as “a disease. It’s a thing you have to be near-perfect to get into. You must have perfect hair and a three-piece suit; musically, it’s just the same song with different words.”⁶² He broke and scratched disco records live on the air and made fun of disco artists. For example, he had a comedy bit where he would inhale helium and sing the Bee Gee’s “How Deep Is Your Love” to poke fun at Barry Gibb’s famous falsetto voice.⁶³ Thomas added, “that’s when he started to get a bigger following. He would get listeners riled up by yelling, ‘Disco Sucks! Disco Sucks!’”⁶⁴ He soon partnered with Mike Veeck, the White Sox promotional director, and created a promotional event for an upcoming doubleheader game at Comiskey Park. The duo came up with Disco Demolition Night, scheduled for July 12, 1979.

59. Echols, *Hot Stuff*, 126.

60. John Rogers, “A history of Quaaludes, the ‘70s party drug,” *Pennsylvania News, The Morning Call*, Published July 21, 2015.

61. Lisa Robinson, “Boogie Nights: An Oral History of Disco,” *Vanity Fair Archive, Vanity Fair*, Published February 2010.

62. *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 14, 1979.

63. *The Bee Gees: How Can You Mend a Broken Heart*.

64. Julie Thomas, interview by author, 2022.

Mike Veeck did not intend for Disco Demolition Night to be anything more than a promotional event. Veeck had trouble filling up the seats at Comiskey Park. He tried out different events, such as “Disco Night,” which was a dance contest held a month before Disco Demolition Night.⁶⁵ Though they averaged around 20,000 people per game, organizers predicted around 35,000 people for Disco Demolition Night. Instead, around 70,000 people showed up.⁶⁶ It was the best-attended game in the park’s history. Comiskey Park got so full that people had to be turned away. Since the tickets had been oversold, there were not enough seats for everyone. Therefore, many spectators could not sit down, opting instead to walk between the seats or stand in the aisles.⁶⁷ Sacramento State Archivist, Julie Thomas, her sister and her sister’s boyfriend were among the 70,000 who attended. All three brought a disco record so that they could buy tickets for \$0.98, but Thomas brought one “just for show.”⁶⁸

Towards the end of the first game, some fans were getting restless and began throwing records toward the middle of the field, at times almost injuring the baseball players. One of the sports commentators remarked that he was worried about what the fans were going to do in between the games when there would be “nothing happening, how were they [organizers] going to keep the crowd entertained.”⁶⁹ Shortly after Dahl blew up the disco records, around 7,000 people, including Thomas’s sister’s boyfriend, ran into the field. Footage from the event shows people running around and dancing, some with signs that read “Disco Sucks!” and “Long Live Rock & Roll.” Others took things even further by trashing the field. They were “ripping the field apart,” as recalled by Comiskey Park vendor Barry Rozner.⁷⁰ Organizers called riot police to help stop the commotion. Thirty-nine who ran into the field were arrested for disorderly conduct, and the second game was forfeited.⁷¹

News outlets generally reacted negatively to the event, most often citing a lack of safety the general disorder sparked. Thomas stayed in the stands with her sister until the stadium announced there would not be a second game. Thomas recalled never feeling like she was in danger, “We were all laughing and cracking up.” Yet, she did feel there were some “bad vibes” and that the demolition was “more than a performative anti-disco” demonstration. Paul Sullivan, a *Chicago Tribune* sportswriter shared a similar sentiment to Thomas when recalling the event, “I wasn’t expecting a

65. Dahl, Hoekstra, and Natkin, *Disco Demolition Night*, 22.

66. Dahl, Hoekstra, and Natkin, *Disco Demolition Night*, 19-20.

67. Classic MLB1, “1979-07-12 Tigers at White Sox (Disco Demolition),” Published April 26, 2017, YouTube video, 03:27:17.

68. Julie Thomas, interview by author, 2022.

69. Classic MLB1, “1979-07-12 Tigers at White Sox,” YouTube video.

70. TheOriginalShockJock, “ESPN Story About Disco Demolition,” YouTube video.

71. Dahl, Hoekstra, and Natkin, *Disco Demolition Night*, 23.

riot, but I did expect chaos.” Sullivan ran out into the field and did not see the event as a riot, “it was actually just a big party.”⁷² Meanwhile, White Sox pitcher Ross Haungarten described it as “the sickest thing I’ve ever seen in my life. I didn’t know people could have such little regard for other people’s safety.”⁷³ Although both Thomas and Sullivan did not believe the event was dangerous, articles from the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Sun-Times* both wrote of the promotional event negatively. The *Sun-Times*, especially, described Disco Demolition Night using very negative language calling the event “grotesque,” “an unmitigated horror,” and “the most disgraceful night in the long history of major league baseball.”⁷⁴ The *Tribune* tried to explain why Disco Demolition Night ended the way it did. In one article, ABC radio host Howard Cosell explained, “It almost seemed as if that riot was a culmination of an atmosphere and an attitude that has for some time been in the making.”⁷⁵ Blame was pointed at both Dahl and Veeck, though Veeck took the brunt of the criticism. After Disco Demolition Night, Dahl became more popular and was a household name in Chicago radio. Meanwhile, Veeck’s career never recovered from the promotional event, “For ten years it was very painful for me.... I couldn’t get a job in baseball.... I went to hang drywall in Florida.”⁷⁶

Many felt that Disco Demolition Night was fueled by racist and homophobic sentiments. Gloria Gaynor, singer of the 1978 hit disco song “I Will Survive,” stated that the Disco Sucks movement “had to be ... started by somebody who got a mob mentality going and whose livelihood was being affected by the popularity of disco music.”⁷⁷ Fran Lebowitz also spoke negatively of Disco Demolition Night. Lebowitz remarked,

There’s music I don’t like, but I don’t make a career of not liking it—I just don’t listen to it. ‘Disco Sucks’ was a kind of panic on the part of straight white guys. Disco was basically black music, rock ‘n’ roll was basically white: those guys felt displaced.”⁷⁸

Whether or not the event had a racist slant was, and still remains, contested. Some newspapers dismissed the riot as a ruckus caused by drunk and stoned teenaged rock fans. Other newspapers felt that the event showed the public’s shift away from disco music and culture. Over the years, Dahl has maintained that the event was not racist or homophobic and that the media has incorrectly portrayed it as so. Dahl argues that the intention of

72. Paul Sullivan and Phil Rosenthal, “Disco Demolition at 40: 2 views of an explosive promotion that caught fire at Comiskey Park in 1979,” Chicago White Sox, Chicago Tribune, Published June 12, 2019.

73. *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 13, 1979.

74. *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 13, 1979.

75. *Chicago Tribune*, July 20, 1979.

76. Dahl, Hoekstra, and Natkin, *Disco Demolition Night*, 27.

77. Robinson, “Boogie Nights,” *Vanity Fair*.

78. Robinson, “Boogie Nights,” *Vanity Fair*.

Disco Demolition Night was for people to voice their frustrations with the mass market saturation of disco music and culture in America at the time. Although the event was not intended to be viewed as racist or homophobic, one Black usher who worked the event claimed that many records brought into the stadium were records by Black R&B artists such as Stevie Wonder, Marvin Gaye, and Isaac Hayes. The usher called it a “racist, homophobic book burning.”⁷⁹ Meanwhile, Thomas stated, “I never got the sense that it was a racist thing.... At least for me, it was never a racist thing. As a matter of fact, white artists were kind of seen as posers.”⁸⁰ She later added that she could see how Disco Demolition Night could be interpreted as a racist event since most disco music was created by Black artists.

The anti-disco movement was also fueled by anti-gay sentiments still prevalent across the United States. Gillian Frank stated in a 2007 article on discophobia, “Although gays were making significant political and cultural advances, with disco as their anthem, their achievements were widely resisted by those who maintained that homosexuality threatened society and ought to remain invisible and illegal.”⁸¹ In a 1977 Gallup poll analyzed by the *Washington Post*, 66% of people interviewed believed that homosexuality had increased since 1952 and was more widespread. In the same Gallup poll, 56% of people believed homosexuality came from how a person was raised and their social environment.⁸² Many anti-gay groups across the country were formed during this time to oppose equal rights for gay people. In addition, being gay was still a serious crime in all but 8 states at this time.

One notorious crusader against gay rights was Anita Bryant, a Republican, Christian fundamentalist, singer, and former Miss America. Bryant argued that people could do whatever they wanted in private, but that “flaunting homosexuals” were “morally dangerous” to children.⁸³ Bryant knew that LGTBQ+ people could not legally do whatever they wanted in private. She created the “Save Our Children” campaign in 1977 as a way to combat the 1977 gay rights ordinance in Miami, Florida, which made it illegal to discriminate against gay people in employment, housing, and public accommodations, such as hotels (NB: same-sex sexual acts were illegal in Florida until 2003). Senator Curtis Peterson from Florida echoed Bryant’s disingenious rhetoric, “We’re trying to stop men from trying on women’s clothes.”⁸⁴ Since discotheques were a safe space for the gay community, people like Bryant were firmly against them. According

79. *The Bee Gees: How to Mend a Broken Heart*.

80. Julie Thomas, interview by author, 2022.

81. Gillian Frank, “Discophobia: Antigay Prejudice and the 1979 Backlash against Disco,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16, no. 2 (May 2007): 285.

82. *Washington Post*, July 18, 1977.

83. *Washington Post*, May 2, 1977.

84. *Washington Post*, June 1, 1977.

to Alice Echols in *Hot Stuff*, “The militantly homophobic Anita Bryant reportedly sent President Carter a telegram asking him to deport Jacques Morali [creator of the Village People] because of his corrupting influence on children.”⁸⁵ To combat the homophobic rhetoric of Bryant and others, gay activists held benefits, fundraisers, and roastings at discotheques where both gay and straight people showed their support for gay rights.

Despite gay activists finding ways to combat Bryant and her anti-gay rights crusade, the “Save Our Children” campaign was successful. The country’s only gay rights ordinance in Miami was repealed in 1977, only months after its passage. From then on, it was legal to deny employment, housing, and hotel accommodations to anyone suspected of being LGTBQ+. Due to her win, Bryant launched her “Save Our Children” campaign nationally as a way to prevent the enactment of protections for LGTBQ+ people across America. In an article for *The New Republic*, John Osborne argued that “Gays are engaged in seeking the only kind of visibility available to them ... legal visibility.”⁸⁶ In a nation without any national protection for LGTBQ+ people, discotheques provided a safe place for many to feel seen and acknowledged. For some, Disco Demolition Night felt like an effort to crush one of the only safe spaces for gay people. Yet, most rock fans countered that the audience running into the field after the records were blown up was a frantic attempt to make rock music visible again—and it worked.⁸⁷

The popularity of disco continued following Disco Demolition Night. Bill Gleason, in a *Chicago Sun-Times* article, claimed the event failed, “Everybody who is predicting a sudden end to disco is wrong. Disco will last.”⁸⁸ Disco Demolition Night inspired other rock radio stations and rock radio personalities to do similar, albeit less intense, stunts to bring rock music back to radio stations. For example, Los Angeles radio station KROQ had its program director Darrell Wayne ask listeners “to write in and express their opinions on what can be done to eliminate disco.’... ‘So far about 450 letters have been received from listeners with suggestions’.... Wayne is planning to send letters to local discos asking them to set aside at least one night a week for rock ‘n’ roll.”⁸⁹

Although most rock fans hoped for a swift end to disco, the end of disco was more gradual and quieter. The periodical indexes in the Sacramento State Library show that the number of articles talking about disco and discotheques significantly diminish after 1979. Only a handful of articles

85. Echols, *Hot Stuff*, 138-139.

86. Paul Robinson, “Invisible Men,” *The New Republic*, June 3, 1978, 10.

87. Frank, “Discophobia,” 290.

88. *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 1979.

89. *San Bernardino Sun*, July 30, 1979.

talked about disco and discotheques in 1980 and 1981. In 1980, Steve Banerjee, owner of a discotheque called Chippendale's in Los Angeles, remarked that "there were too many places [discotheques] and not enough disco fans. The music isn't happening anymore."⁹⁰ After the arrest of owners Steve Rubell and Ian Schrager for tax evasion in February 1980, Studio 54 closed after being open for less than three years.⁹¹

As with all hugely popular musical styles, sooner or later, tastes change. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, disco began to evolve, as is evidenced by what music scholars call "late disco." This movement away from disco resulted in many different streams of disco-influenced musical genres such as house, techno, postpunk, no-wave, hip-hop, and rap. In the music industry, songs were promoted using the Billboard charts; based on radio airplay and record sales. In August 1979, Chic's "Good Times" and rock group The Knack's "My Sharona" competed for the number one spot on the Billboard Hot 100 chart. "Good Times" held the spot for a week and was then pushed to number two by "My Sharona," marking the first time since the mid-1970s that a song not of the disco genre took the number one spot. Meanwhile, "Good Times" reached number three on the Billboard Disco charts. Nile Rodgers, leader of Chic, commented on the moment, saying, "The Knack was going to be the savior of rock 'n' roll, and for the first time, we were sort of ostracized."⁹² Other artists, such as the Bee Gees, had difficulty getting their new songs played on the radio in the 1980s because they were closely associated with the disco genre. Barry Gibb, in an interview, frustratingly explained, "We're just a pop group. We're not a political force. We're just making music. But I don't think there's any reason to chalk us off because we existed in the seventies, and we would like to exist in the eighties."⁹³

Conclusion

Disco club culture offered a sanctuary where people could be openly different without fear. Disco music, at first shunned by the record industry and corporate Top-40 radio stations because of its roots in Black, Latino, and LGTBQ+ club culture, became a huge money maker with the 1977 release of the *Saturday Night Fever* soundtrack. Thousands of new discotheques opened across the country, and disco-influenced fashion and design became the norm. Disco reached its moment of mass saturation in 1979.

90. *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1980.

91. Morgan, *Disco: The Music*, 167.

92. Robinson, "Boogie Nights," *Vanity Fair*.

93. *The Bee Gees: How to Mend a Broken Heart*.

The commercialization of Disco, especially in Top-40 radio popularity, created a backlash from classic rock radio fans and from conservative, anti-LGTBQ+ Christian groups. People like rock radio personality Steve Dahl, gave a voice to their frustrations. Those frustrations manifested at Disco Demolition Night on July 12, 1979, in Comiskey Park. To this day, whether or not Disco Demolition Night was an inherently racist and/or homophobic event is still being debated. The promotional event-turned-riot coincided with the end of the 1970s Top-40 disco era. By the early 1980s, disco was replaced in popular culture by “late disco,” which quickly gave rise to the next batch of popular musical genres such as hip hop, rap, no-wave, house, and postpunk, to name only a few.

The Billboard Top-100 year-end charts for 1982 show that many disco artists such as Olivia Newton-John, Dazz Band, Earth, Wind, and Fire, Diana Ross, and Donna Summer were still releasing massive hits, although disco itself was evolving and changing. When thinking about Disco Demolition Night, Julie Thomas stated, “I didn’t realize at the time that it was a seminal moment. . . . When disco started losing popularity, I saw it as its time was up.”⁹⁴ People were ready for something new.

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94. Julie Thomas, interview by author, 2022.

The Path to Persecution: Thirteenth Century Toulouse Inquisition and the Papacy's Endeavor to Hegemonize Southern France

Mindy Fowler

Abstract: Before the professionalized institution-led Inquisition made infamous by Spain, heretical sects were well-known in various parts of Europe. In thirteenth-century Languedoc, France, the Catholic Church sponsored an inquiry into the region's spiritual health led by Franciscan Friars Bernard of Caux and John of Saint Pierre. This paper examines aspects of the Catholic Church's sociopolitical aspirations seeking to subdue the social order in Languedoc through the 1245-1246 Inquisition. Using primary sources, like "*Processus Inquisitionis*" and MS609, the *Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse*, as the foundation of research, this paper plunges into how inquisitors approached their subjects and what informants exposed about Languedocian society.

Centuries before the term 'inquisition' became associated with institutionalized torture, the Catholic Church sponsored civil inquests throughout various areas of Europe, including the Languedoc region of modern France. In the middle of the thirteenth century, friars Bernard of Caux and John of Saint Pierre spent two hundred and one days questioning over five-thousand people at Saint-Sernin Cathedral in the Languedocian city of Toulouse. Heresy was not a new phenomenon in the region, nor was Languedoc isolated in heterodox claims. However, it was chosen as the center of the first systematic investigation into heresies. Arguably, the Catholic Church used previous incidents of heretical rampancy in Languedoc as an excuse to make the region the epicenter of the 1245-1246 Inquisition. Under the guise of assessing the "spiritual health" of Languedoc, the Catholic institution assumed the power to subdue the social order during the Toulouse inquest. Through the investigation, friars Bernard and John learned how to streamline inquisitorial hearings, thus aiding the ecclesiastical aspiration towards sociopolitical hegemony elsewhere in Christendom.

Heterodoxy was a long-established tradition in Languedoc. Speculation on how these ideas arrived and were established within the region abounds. Some historians believe the influx of foreign merchants, traders, and crusaders to the area during the thirteenth century is responsible. Alternatively, new biblical translations fostered fresh philosophical ideas allowing more people direct access to religious sources. Coincidentally, new interpretations of the bible challenged the doctrines and traditions

of the Catholic Church.¹ Depending on the source consulted, the most predominant heterodoxies were Catharism, Waldensianism, Manichaeism, and even Judaism.

Other than Judaism, these heterodoxies preached simplistic and apostolic lifestyles over the materialistic ones promoted by the Catholic Church.² Specifically, Cathars and Manicheans were dualists, believing in two gods. The good god represents all things innate, and the bad god symbolizes the material world.³ Cathars believed it was necessary to deny all things physical, essentially refuting worldly carnal desires associated with evil. Examples of self-imposed refutations include marriage, sexual relationships, meat consumption, and medicines.⁴ Cathars also dismiss the idea of baptism as a tenant of their beliefs, a notion strongly displeasing to the papacy. The Waldensians differ as they hold fast to the orthodox faith in one God, though they possess a deep conviction to live a life of poverty. Waldensians believe the institutional church is inundated in material wealth, corrupting its sole mission of saving souls.⁵

A tradition of heterodox rampancy plagued the Languedoc region of Toulouse. For at least one-half of a century before Toulouse's Inquisition, the area was afflicted by whiplashing relations with the Catholic Church. Over the generations, disputes between the counts of Toulouse and the papacy left the region's inhabitants subjected to the ramifications of their overlord's disobedience. Often the king of France participated, adding more chaos to the quarrels. Historians estimate that the Counts of Toulouse, through their holdings and those of their nobles, controlled as much land as France's King.⁶ The land-holding rivalry was dangerous as it implied a potential threat to the king's authority and his ability to control the population. The unequal power dynamic between the Catholic Church-backed French monarchy and the counts of Toulouse resulted in at least fifty years of troubled relations with the Church before its launched inquest. The Church's perception that heterodoxies were widespread in Languedoc and that the counts of Toulouse were complicit caused disputes, which the king of France often inflamed.

The established heresies of the region had little to do with the conflict between the count and the king. Instead, the lack of leadership at the

1. Clifford C. Backman, *The Worlds of Medieval Europe*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 373.

2. Backman, *Worlds of Medieval Europe*, 373.

3. James McDonald, "Cathars and Cathar Beliefs in the Languedoc – The Inquisition Against the Cathars of the Languedoc," last modified February 8, 2017, https://www.cathar.info/cathar_beliefs.htm#dualism.

4. Backman, *Worlds of Medieval Europe*, 377.

5. Backman, *Worlds of Medieval Europe*, 374.

6. Walter Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 52.

local diocese level strongly influenced the conflict between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The resident church leadership was not respected and had little influence over the Toulousian populace. Historian Walter Wakefield asserts that the Pope believed the local archbishop, Berengar of Narbonne, was “the root of all evil” whose only god was money.⁷ Thus, the lack of leadership within the local church strengthened the people’s loyalty to their lord, the Count of Toulouse. The substantial degree of individuality, autonomy, and religious toleration granted to Toulouse residents by the counts contrasted sharply with the public’s lack of respect toward the local church.⁸ The disconnect between authoritative powers led to the formation of several heterodoxies that permeated Languedoc and frustrated the Holy Roman Church’s hierarchy.⁹

Since the number of practicing heretics during the Middle Ages is hard to know for certain, it is imperative to understand the Catholic Church’s perception of ‘rampancy.’ At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the number of practicing heretics in Languedoc was around 1,500.¹⁰ The number reflects the assumed members of heretical sects and does not include sympathizers or rumored followers. Factored in with the approximate population of the region, the Catholic Church sought to punish less than one percent of Languedoc, suggesting that the papal institution was unjustly paranoid about losing its authority over the masses.

Nonetheless, in 1179, the papacy’s Third Lateran Council announced that the region of Toulouse was infested with heretics, formally commencing a centuries-long conflict. Heretics had become “so strong that they no longer practice[d] their wickedness in secret...but proclaim[ed] their error publicly and [drew in] the simple and weak to join them.”¹¹ Attempting to remedy the problem quickly, the Council proclaimed that heretics and anyone protecting or defending them would be excommunicated. By 1209, Pope Innocent III was exasperated by the growing contempt and called for a crusade against Languedoc’s heretics. The Albigensian Crusade plunged the region into warfare for two decades. Knights, nobles, and laypeople battled on both sides. The violent exchanges between those crusading for the papacy and those defending the Toulousian order ranged from minuscule to massacre.

Roughly five years after the onset of the crusade, the Fourth Lateran Council attempted to make firmer declarations to hasten a conclusion of the ravaging throughout Languedoc. The Council announced that those

7. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 65.

8. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 61-65.

9. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 53-54.

10. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 70.

11. Norman P. Tanner, trans., “Third Lateran Council – 1179 A.D.,” no. 27, *Papal Encyclicals Online*, accessed September 20, 2021, <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum11.htm>.

willing to battle against the heretics would receive the same indulgence as a crusader going to the Holy Land.¹² Inducing persecution of fellow Christian brethren through an indulgence reserved for those defending Christendom from Islamic foes was significant. It implies that the papacy considered heterodox sects as significant a threat to Christianity as Islam and Muslims in the Holy Land. Perceivably, the internal institutional struggle afflicting the Catholic establishment promoted such symbolic connections between Islamic and heterodox sects. Thus, anyone not conforming to the papal dogma threatened the entire Christian domain.

The Fourth Lateran Council further focused on Languedoc by insinuating that the rampant heretics were a problem because of the region's secular overlords. The Council affirmed that the church had the authority to intervene if a temporal lord, such as the Count of Toulouse, could not eliminate heretics from their lands. The papacy concluded they retained the power to seize secular lands with the right to redistribute them to faithful Catholics.¹³ The assertion of possessing the authority to appropriate the lands of high-standing peoples and reallocate them elsewhere was a dangerous affirmation as it assumes that church power stretched beyond religiosity into secular affairs. Considering the Count of Toulouse's connection through marriage to the king of England, who, too, held land titles within Southern France, the papacy and French crown's actions against the region are curiously political.¹⁴ Unfortunately, any definitive connections are outside of this project's reach. Nonetheless, such papal presumptions about civil authority created friction throughout Languedoc. Inhabitants were essentially redirected. Instead of going against the Church, the population was pitted against one another.

The papacy's attempt to rid Languedoc of heretics through a crusade and force the population's conformity did not end as hoped. In 1229, the campaign fizzled, though not because heretics were eradicated from the region. Simon de Montfort, the leader of papal forces, was struck down by a rock catapulted from across the river by Toulousian women. Without its leadership's driving force, crusader interest was lost.¹⁵ Later the same year, the papacy, French king, and Count Raimond VII of Toulouse signed the Treaty of Meaux-Paris, leading the Count to believe the long battle afflicting his ancestral lands had finally ended. However, because of the Count and his predecessors' roles in the fight, two-thirds of their lands were lost in the peace treaty. Large portions of the land went to the French

12. Norman P. Tanner, trans., "Fourth Lateran Council: 1215," no. 3, *Papal Encyclicals Online*, accessed September 20, 2021, <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum12-2.htm>.

13. Tanner, "Fourth Lateran Council," no. 3.

14. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 51.

15. Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 160.

crown, positioning the king's holdings above the Counts. The local Catholic Church also gained substantial holdings of land. In addition, the Count was ordered to pay the church restitution for ten years.¹⁶ Consequently, land redistributions and money finally placed the local Languedocian diocese on an equal footing with the region's nobility. However, the rebalancing of local power did not fundamentally change the attitudes of the Count of Toulouse or the church, meaning the fight was far from over.

The Pope ordered Languedoc's count and feudal lords' loyalty, hoping that forced compliance would end heretical sects in the region. As part of the Peace of Paris, the nobles and consular class had to sign an oath of allegiance pledging loyalty to King Louis IX and the church. Signatories promised to "aid the Church against heretics, all believers and receivers of heretics, and all others who come against the existence of the Church, whether the heresy or in defiance of excommunication in its lands."¹⁷ Further, signing the document meant that the signatories agreed to denounce the Count of Toulouse should he move against the church or French crown.¹⁸ The requirement indicates conspicuous suspicion existed among Church leadership that the count was untrustworthy and disloyal. Some scholars assert that Pope Innocent III had never trusted any of the counts of Toulouse because most of their lands did not reflect his vision of Christendom.¹⁹ Regardless, three years later, inquisitors John and Bernard tested the allegiance of the signatories by acting as an independent entity with authority to challenge the entire Languedocian establishment.

The assessment of Languedoc's spiritual health was left behind in manuscript 609 of the *Bibliothèque de Toulouse* (MS 609), offering an intimate insight into the 1245-1246 Toulouse Inquisition. The most descriptive depiction of MS 609 appears in historian Mark Gregory Pegg's *The Corruption of Angels*. As the first contemporary academic examination into what Pegg termed the "Great Inquisition," scholars worldwide have since joined the debate over what the manuscript does and does not convey. Modern scholarship believes eight additional manuscripts are missing from the 1245-1246 Toulouse Inquisition. What is available is a copy, ordered roughly a decade post-inquest. However, the validity of MS 609 is widely accepted because, as Pegg argues, the Dominican order was insistent

16. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 127.

17. "Oath – Louis IX, Mas-Saintes-Puelles," March 1242, Documents Related to Heresy and Inquisition from the "*Trésor des Chartes*" (*Archives Nationales de France*), Document TDC-J305-28, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 20, 2021. <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/TDC-J305-28>.

18. "Oath – Louis IX, Mas-Saintes-Puelles," March 1242.

19. Pegg, *A Most Holy War*, 60-61.

on and dedicated to accuracy.²⁰ Thus, there is no dispute over MS 609's authenticity. Regardless, the lost texts could answer many looming questions about the Toulouse inquest.²¹ It is essential to acknowledge that the manuscript is only one stone on the path, and conclusions deduced from it are potentially premature.

Over the years, academics have dissected MS 609, hoping to understand various aspects of medieval France and the sphere of papal Inquisitions, including Toulouse's. While some historians have taken an anthropological approach to research, more recent examinations use a statistical, data-based, sociological analysis that seeks to find patterns within allegations given in testimonies. The newest historian to tackle Toulouse's Inquisition, who takes an innovative, cutting-edge approach, is Jean-Paul Rehr.²² The advanced interpretation of Rehr's "macroanalysis" reveals solid correlations between those accused of heresy and the consular class. Rehr's findings have been compiled into tables of statistical analysis that show feudal lord families and how often these *seigneurial* families are mentioned in statements. Based on the collected data, Rehr argues that the noble class bore the brunt of the investigation, concluding that they were the predetermined targets of the inquisitors.²³ In contrast, other historians, such as Wakefield, claim that no evidence in MS 609 insinuates that heresy is connected to social class.²⁴ History scholar James Given acknowledges a struggle existed but believes it was over the morality of the whole Languedocian society, not over specific social class groups.²⁵

As Rehr indicates, MS 609 exposes social position as a pertinent factor in many depositions. Yet the manuscript should be understood in the context of encompassing papal proclamations and precursor incidents, which unravel much of the mystery. The Third and Fourth Lateran Councils cleared the path for inquiries by proclaiming that heretics threatened the Christian world, thus ensuring they would be hunted and suppressed. It should also be disclosed that the 1245-1246 Toulouse Inquisition was not the first papal examination in the region. According to historian R.I. Moore, earlier friars deliberately investigated noble families for heterodox associations. In 1235, friars were chased from Toulouse for implicating a group of people they believed were enthralled with heresy, though they

20. Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 26.

21. Jean-Paul Rehr, "Re-Mapping the 'Great Inquisition' of 1245-46: The Case of Mas-Saintes-Puelles and Saint-Martin-Lalande," *Open Library of Humanities* 5(1): no. 28 (April 2019): 44.

22. Rehr, "Re-Mapping the 'Great Inquisition,'" 9-10. It is important to note that Rehr was the newest historian to write about MS 609 at the time of this paper's writing, at the end of 2021.

23. Rehr, "Re-Mapping the 'Great Inquisition,'" 34-6.

24. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 79.

25. James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1997), 72.

possessed no evidence.²⁶ Depending on previous church representatives and their engagements, it is plausible that local citizens potentially held grievances against papal authority. Moreover, there are four occasions where other informal investigations seized substantial amounts of goods, allowing the diocese to profit from their sale and erect elaborate cathedrals with the proceeds.²⁷ Considering the thriving economy of Languedoc, such rationalizations conceivably account for papal incentives in Toulouse.

Thus, under the guise of surveying Languedoc's religious health, the Catholic Church inquisitors aimed straight for the top of the social ladder. In particular, "it is said he is the wealthiest in Mas-Saintes-Puelles" is penned neatly in the margins of Pons Barrau's record from almost eight hundred years ago.²⁸ Though it is a seemingly innocent annotation, the note offers significant insight into the motivations behind Inquisitors. The richest man in a village would fetch a substantial haul for the local diocese should the rumors of his prosperity prove true. How inquisitors knew of Barrau's status is, unfortunately, elusive. His brother, Pierre, never disclosed his brother's wealth, but neither did his mother, Raimunda.²⁹ The only admittance either of them indicated was that the sister, Ponsa Barrau, adorned heretics twenty years prior, although, at one time, Pons was in the presence of known heretics.³⁰

It is hard to know who the first person propelling Barrau into the crosshairs of Inquisitors was. Still, at least thirteen people swore under oath that he often associated with known heretics. Additionally, most witnesses claim Barrau frequently accompanied other men of high standing while in the presence of said heretics. For instance, Pons Gran confesses that eight years prior, his wife admitted that Barrau was at their home with other "certain men of Mas-Saintes-Puelles" who had praised heretics visiting while Gran was away, of course.³¹ Unfortunately, Gran's testimony does not

26. R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 293.

27. Moore, *War on Heresy*, 299.

28. "Deposition – Pons Barrau," November 30, 1245, document MS609-0297, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 20, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0297>.

29. "Deposition – Piere Barrau," May 27, 1245, document MS609-0298, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 3, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0298>; Deposition – Raimunda Barrau," November 30, 1245, document MS609- 0295, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 5, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0295>.

30. "Deposition – Piere Barrau," May 27, 1245 ; "Deposition – Raimunda Barrau," November 30, 1245.

31. "Deposition – Pons Gran," December 11, 1245, Document MS609-0302, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 1, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0302>.

name other suspects, nor do the inquisitor records imply he was questioned further. The abrupt halt in questioning confirms other allegations in Rehr's study, which suggests inquisitors often left questions unanswered.³² Conceivably, no further probing was likely conducted because they had already heard precisely what they wanted.

Pons Barrau was not the only high-social-status person in Languedoc to encounter the inquisitors' focus. During the investigation, the lord of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, Guilhem del Mas, and his entire family was targeted. Many depositions that name Guilhem, his brothers, or their sons always seem to divulge that they are lords of Mas-Saintes-Puelles. Plausibly, because of the *fief-holding* social structure of the region, such disclosure was a sign of respect for the del Mas family by those under their care, protection, or tenancy.³³ Regardless, the repeated declaration conveniently aided inquisitors by flagging a path to follow.

Associating lords of the land with heretics potentially opens many noble positions within Languedoc, should a verdict result in guilt. Bernard del Mas senior, brother to lord Guilhem, admits to hiding and adorning heretics after the signing of the Peace of Paris.³⁴ Another del Mas brother, Jordan, confesses to seeing heretics but never involves anyone else – family or otherwise.³⁵ Aribert del Mas professes his mother and sister were known heretics he once adorned. However, it was some time in the past.³⁶ Hence, none of the del Mas family testimonies offers significant heterodox associations, yet all were labeled as heretics. Unfortunately, no documents about the possible loss of del Mas family titles or landholdings have emerged.

32. Rehr, "Re-Mapping the 'Great Inquisition,'" 10.

33. Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1998), <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1rrd7vd>. According to the author, a *fief holding* is often confused with the contemporary term, feudalism, which is similar, but essentially not the same. Bouchard argues that thirteenth century France social system revolved around *fiefs*. The system was reciprocal in that a landowner, likely a noble, gave land to a person for their lifetime in exchange for loyalty. Although fiefs were only for aristocracy, such system explains the massive number of noble families that resided in Languedoc under the counts of Toulouse.

34. "Deposition – Bernard Del Mas senior," May 13, 1245, document MS609-0199, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "*De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition.*" The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 1, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0199>.

35. "Deposition – Jordan Del Mas," May 13, 1245, document MS609-0196, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "*De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition.*" The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 20, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0196>.

36. "Deposition – Aribert Del Mas," May 13, 1245, document MS609-0198, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "*De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition.*" The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 24, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0198>.

Of equal importance, most men in the del Mas family were knights and held lordship titles. Including the del Mas knights, at least ten other knights are mentioned in the studied depositions. Esteve de Rosengue's testimony alone names four knights he alleges noticing in the presence of or adorning heretics going thirty years into the past. Jordan del Mas and Raimund, a heretic with an unmentioned surname, were mentioned twice by Rosengue.³⁷ As minor nobles, knights held significant social positions in Languedoc, as elsewhere throughout Europe during the era. Because knights were known for their dedication to the Holy Land crusades, any allegations of associations with heretics would have disappointed and humiliated the papacy. The accusations of nobles and knights entertaining known heretics and that people were willing to reveal the links imply the likely existence of an underlying animosity by the lower echelons of Languedocian society toward the realm's patricians.

Men of high standing were not the only ones summoned to Saint-Sernin to testify about personal associations as noblewomen, too, received much attention in depositions. Since thirteenth-century women were under the authority of their husbands, fathers, brothers, or other male appointees, their lifestyles were left to the mercy of others. Despite what social class they belonged to, many scholars believe women chose to abandon Catholicism for heretical sects because, in them, they were treated as equals,³⁸ which could explain why the two aforementioned del Mas women left their high-status lives for heterodox simplicity.

Many women's testimonies implicate others, though it is undetermined whether accusations were gossip or truth. Nevertheless, lord Guilhem del Mas' daughter, Pelegrina de Mont Server, marked a path for inquisitors to pursue by incriminating her mother and father, friends, and multiple ladies of high standing.³⁹ Another woman, Aymersend Mir Arezat, confesses to seeing many high-status people of Saint-Martin-Lalande in the presence of heretics, including the town's lord and lady. According to testimony, every occasion involved all attendees "listen[ing] to [heretics preach] and adorn[ing] them."⁴⁰ Aymersend's husband, Bernard Mir Arezat, confirmed

37. "Deposition – Esteve de Rosengue," June 22, 1245, document MS609-0078, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 24, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0078>.

38. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 74.

39. "Deposition – Pelegrina De Mont Server," June 13, 1245, document MS609-0015, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 2, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0015>.

40. "Deposition – Aymersend Mir Arezat," June 13, 1245, document MS609-0511, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 2, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0511>.

her sentiment and actions toward known heretics.⁴¹ Implicating family, especially parents and spouses, requires a deep conviction that it is necessary. The question remains, however, whether admissions given to inquisitors were meant to unburden a conscience through confession or assert a previous admission already conceded. It is feasible that people believed nothing major would result from their confessions, thus challenging the church authority to act against them. Alternatively, people assumed their high social status protected them from any implications the Inquisitors brought against them.

Many witness accounts expose high-status households by portraying heterodox assemblies as a social gathering among the upper class. Within most testimonies reflecting large assemblages, a lord or lady was never the only noble in attendance. The same people were often encountered at gatherings, going back decades. One particular and well-known heretic, Bertrand Marti – the *episcopum hereticorum* – appeared in gatherings attended by the upper class most often.⁴² In fact, MS 609 contains over one hundred mentions of Marti being sighted, adored, or revered. It should also be recognized that although Marti was a crowd drawer, Inquisitors Bernard and John never spoke with the bishop of heretics during their time in Toulouse. Whether Marti was ever summoned, unfortunately, eludes this examination.

The studied testimonies show that no one was above, below, or exempt from inquisitorial questioning. Deciding on upper-class reliability meant all community members had to participate in the probe, regardless of who they were. Case in point, known leper Paul Vidal was summoned to Saint-Sernin. Vidal's deposition contains notes indicating he had previously been sentenced to wear crosses, assumably for dabbling in heretical associations.⁴³ It is conceivable that the summoning was a follow-up to earlier repercussions. Alternatively, inquisitors sought to utilize Vidal, a societal ghost – present but often unnoticed – to their advantage. Whatever the reason or motivation for reassessing Vidal's links to heretics, his interrogation implies that inquisitors were willing to speak with even socially outcast Languedocians to discover heretics.

41. "Deposition – Bernard Mir Arezat," May 29, 1245, document MS609-0425, document MS609-0015, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 24, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0425>.

42. For example, see "Deposition – Cerdana de Lalanda," June 15, 1245, document MS609-3742, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 10, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-3742>.

43. "Deposition – Paul Vidal," May 27, 1245, document MS609-0012, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 3, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0012>.

Since all of Languedoc was suspected of heretical associations, no one was outside of the summoning. Papal representatives believed they held the authority to interrogate, judge, and implicate anyone, regardless of social class, standing, or profession. For example, doctor Guilhem Garnier's statement reveals he encountered heretics eight years prior while on his way to an ill patient. Again, during the same time, but while in Avignonet, Garnier observed heretics leave with a man he knew, Raimund Esteve.⁴⁴ Others, however, report that, without a doubt, Garnier "was a believer in the heretics and friendly [to them] as well."⁴⁵ Yet, lord and knight Jordan del Mas assert in his statement that he never saw the doctor with any heretics.⁴⁶ Garnier was convicted of heresy, his self-defense unconvincing to inquisitors.⁴⁷ Having a lord of Mas-Saintes-Puelles speak in his defense did nothing to prevent the conviction, suggesting inquisitors believed del Mas was untrustworthy. Furthermore, there is a lack of evidence suggesting whether the Inquisitors considered Garnier's profession. Hence, plausibly unconsidered is that doctors assist all people in need of their services, regardless of religious associations. Therefore, based entirely on hearsay, the doctor was sentenced to excommunication without any consideration of professional moral obligations.

Inquisitors made no exemptions at Saint-Sernin by subpoenaing local ecclesiastics, although this might have been due to the diocese's ill reputation among the papal hierarchy. A case in point is fourteen-year-old local cleric Peire Faure de Castillo, whose testimony implicates a del Mas and his own mother and brother. Faure notes, "he was asked many times and said that he did not believe heretics nor ador[n] them."⁴⁸ The documented repeated hounding of Faure regarding his personal beliefs in heresies conveys a lack of confidence, perhaps associated with his young age. However, it is probable that inquisitors did not trust his truthfulness since his mother and brother were known heretics. Additionally, Johanna

44. "Deposition – Guilhem Garnier," May 12, 1245, document MS609-0178, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 20, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0178>.

45. "Deposition – Guilhem Peire Barbas junior," July 11, 1245, document MS609-0266, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 1, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0266>.

46. "Deposition – Jordan del Mas," May 13, 1245, document MS609-0197, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 20, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0197>.

47. "Sentence XXXVII – 1248-02-16," document MS9992-37, Documents Related to Heresy and Inquisition from the "Trésor des Chartes" (*Archives Nationales de France*), Accessed September 24, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS9992-37>.

48. "Deposition – Peire Faure de Castillo," March 12, 1246, document MS609-0613, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 20, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0613>.

de Turre, a nun at Lespinasse, was accused and convicted of listening to and adorning heretics earlier in her life. She was punished by imprisonment within her convent and ordered no outside contact.⁴⁹ Whether the lenient sentence was because of her place within a nunnery will likely never be known.

Retribution for acts of youth reached further than religious institutions. Documents show that no time passed was too far from bygone for a bestowment of a conviction for heresy – regardless of social position. For example, Raimunda German confessed to being an established heretic for three years, though it was sixty years before her admission was chronicled in inquisitor records. German claims she reconciled with the church a decade before but was, nonetheless, classified a heretic by inquisitors.⁵⁰ More than likely, she believed her past confession propitiated her relationship with the church, but the previous admissions meant nothing to inquisitors. Another example is the deposition of Guilhelmeta del Mas of the lording family. Four decades before her statement, she adorned heretics. The testimony also admits her mother, Lady Garsen, was a well-known heretic. Together, they hereticated Guilhelmeta's dying son.⁵¹ Naturally, she also was classified as a heretic. That she and other women, like Raimunda German, were shunned for their choices in their youth insinuates that inquisitors believed there was no limitation on heretical associations. Inquisitors were willing to ignore the cleansing power of past confessions, rendering them void, indicating that the papacy had no intention of allowing anyone to evade repercussions. The church sought to eradicate all heterodox activities and commanded the cooperation of all inhabitants, no matter the time passed.

Further exposing papal intentions is the decision that implicated people no longer living. Friars Bernard and John ensured their questions were wisely constructed to include people “living or dead.”⁵² The careful wording coincides with previous inquests into heterodox communities in Languedoc, which left people irate over the treatment of the deceased. Decades prior, many inhabitants witnessed their deceased loved ones exhumed and burned

49. “Sentence XI – 1246-07-08,” document MS9992-11, Documents Related to Heresy and Inquisition from the “*Trésor des Chartes*” (*Archives Nationales de France*), Accessed September 24, 2021. <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS9992-11>.

50. “Deposition – Raimunda German,” May 19, 1245, document MS609-0219, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. “*De Heresi*: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition.” The Registry of the “Great Inquisition” at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 24, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0219>.

51. “Deposition – Guilhelmeta del Mas,” June 10, 1245, document MS609-0160, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. “*De Heresi*: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition.” The Registry of the “Great Inquisition” at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 21, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0160>.

52. Bernard of Caux and John of Saint Piere, “*Processus Inquisitionis*” (1248 or 1249), in *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250* by Walter Wakefield, appendix 6 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 252.

as heretics by papal authorities.⁵³ Whether these people were heretics or not is inapplicable for various reasons. First, corpses could not adequately defend their innocence. Second, despite overtones of religious turmoil, most people were profoundly religious and loyal to the church during the era. Thus, unearthing and publicly desecrating people suggests the papal hierarchy lacked empathy and possessed *idée fixe* for heretics. So when new inquisitors arrived, resistance by some should have been unsurprising and expected.

Inquisitors listened to many testimonies sans heretical admissions, although whether the depositions were meant to deflect or hinder is inconclusive. For example, Raimund Alaman's confession concedes that he, Guilhem del Mas junior, Bertrand de Quiders, Peire Gauta junior, and another broke into the Mas-Saintes-Puelles prior's house and stole two horses. Alaman also admits they were ready to murder any potential witness, including the prior.⁵⁴ Hitherto, there is no documentation confirming the tale nor admittance from the others involved corroborating the story. But more crucially, Alaman does not acknowledge heresy in his deposition, inferring he either knew nothing or sought to obscure it. Additionally important is that Guilhem Peire Barbaras junior's statement implicates Peire Gauta, the same as mentioned above. Barbaras accused Gauta of having sexual relations with a close blood relative and claimed Gauta planned to perpetrate larceny and murder.⁵⁵ The records available show Gauta did not admit to either Alaman or Barbaras' accusations; however, he did reveal he fraternized with known heretics on occasion about a decade in the past.⁵⁶ Although the accusations by Alaman and Barbaras may contain some truth, it is more likely that an underlying familial or personal feud existed. According to Walter Wakefield, it was not uncommon for people to use their time with inquisitors to produce allegations against foes.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, motivations and actualities will remain unrevealed unless personal sources are discovered.

Papal inquiries often brought fabricated claims against rivaling nemeses, increasing the probability of people being convicted under false pretenses.

53. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 142.

54. "Deposition – Raimund Alaman," July 1, 1245, document MS609-0084, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 24, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0084>.

55. "Deposition – Guilhem Peire Barbas junior," July 11, 1245, document MS609-0266, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 1, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0266>.

56. "Deposition – Peire Gauta junior," June 10, 1245, document MS609-0171, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 1, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0171>.

57. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 142.

Historian James B. Given suggests the Toulouse Inquisitors had access to previous records and used them during questioning to discover liars.⁵⁸ According to Bernard and John's manual, everything "is on record," so if someone lies and others confirm the tale, they can catch the fraud.⁵⁹ Regardless of whether some of the convicted were enemies, competitors of people with deep pockets, or clerics seeking to instill fear into those within the region, circumstances may remain unknown.⁶⁰ Since thirteenth-century society suffered from the same human shortcomings as our own – entirely made up of people with the predisposition of human nature – there is always the possibility that stories of people's supposed affiliation with heretics were nothing more than gossip.

Rather than giving information to inquisitors, some witnesses elected to walk along the path of succinct denial. For example, Guilhem German declared, "he has not seen heretics...nor believed, nor adored, nor gave" when asked about contact with heretics.⁶¹ Since the records were not kept in a straightforward question-and-answer format, exactly what questions were asked must be speculated. Historian James Given suggests another possibility: because many church prelates were also secular lords, people of the dominion were reluctant to speak with them.⁶² And, since disputes over the jurisdiction of church and state were still unsettled, people defied the church's authority because they believed officials were overstepping their power, and vice versa. In other words, people thought they were resisting authority and thwarting papal inquiries by denying anything and everything.

Most people with depositions containing admittance of knowing heretics or their whereabouts include similar perceptions regarding those labeled heretics by the friars. The consensus agreed and believed the "heretics to be good [people] and to have good faith and [be] friends of God," despite the Church's persecution.⁶³ Numerous testimonies disclose that people trusted "one could be saved by [the heretics]," and often, witness confessions admit

58. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 39-40

59. Caux and Saint Pierre, "*Processus Inquisitionis*," 253.

60. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 43.

61. "Deposition – Guilhem German," May 19, 1245, document MS609-0237, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "*De Heresi*: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed September 20, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0237>.

62. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 18-19.

63. For example, see "Deposition – Guilhem de Canast Bru," May 26, 1245, document MS609-0101, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. "*De Heresi*: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition." The Registry of the "Great Inquisition" at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 2, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0101>.

that they “did not hear the heretic[s] speak errors.”⁶⁴ However, historians believe some people, though not admitting to believing heterodox beliefs themselves, may have merely been sympathizers.⁶⁵ Again, because none of the deponents from the Toulouse Inquisition have known surviving personal documentation, whether such assurances can be trusted cannot be proven.

According to the church, a heretic was more than a flouting rebel. Papal decrees claim the church held the authority to declare people heretics if they met specific criteria. For example, the Fourth Lateran Council claimed that anyone unable to prove their innocence was excommunicated and had one year to vindicate themselves. If they cannot, “they are to be condemned as heretics.” Further, secular lords unable to “cleanse [their] territory of... heretical filth” were excommunicated with one year to rectify the issue or vacate their position and forfeit their property as a heretic.⁶⁶ Some scholars argue that by refusing the authority and correction of the church, people essentially choose the heretical classification.⁶⁷ Thus, people who failed to convince Inquisitors of their innocence were condemned as heretics in the institution’s eyes, although some were because of their self-identification. Again, discovering why people would concede to papal overreach requires personal evidence, which has yet to be found.

While it was common for those convicted of heterodoxy to seek forgiveness at their sentencing, it is unclear whether it was an attempt to mitigate their sentence or sincere repentance. An example comes from the case of the earlier mentioned Pons Barrau, the wealthiest in the village, who was convicted of lying to inquisitors. Within the verdict, it announces that “following wiser council, [he] wish[es] to return to the unity of the Church... first having abjured heretical depravity; [the church] therefore release[s]... of the chains of excommunication... [and instead is ordered to] be put in prison indefinitely.”⁶⁸ Meaning, Inquisitors John and Bernard decided the wealthiest man in the lands was a liar because other people said he associated with heretics. Thus, ruined financially and socially, Barrau was ordered imprisoned for the remainder of his life. The papacy’s harsh implications indicate desperation to sustain authority while seeking conformity from the masses.

64. For example, see “Deposition – Galhard Amelh,” July 1, 1245, document MS609-0134, document MS609-0101, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. “*De Heresi: Documents of the Medieval Inquisition.*” The Registry of the “Great Inquisition” at Toulouse, 1245-46: Edition of BM Toulouse MS609, translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 4, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS609-0134>; For example, see “Deposition – Pons Gran,” December 11, 1245.

65. Backman, *Worlds of Medieval Europe*, 378.

66. Tanner, “Fourth Lateran Council: 1215,” no. 3.

67. R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 64.

68. “Sentence XVIII – 1246-08-18,” document MS9992-11, Documents Related to Heresy and Inquisition from the “*Trésor des Chartes*” (*Archives Nationales de France*), Accessed September 24, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS9992-18>.

Historians such as R.I. Moore believe it is crucial to remember that people who merely aided heretics were considered heretics, according to the Catholic Church.⁶⁹ Such was the case for the previously discussed doctor Guilhem Garnier, who was convicted and excommunicated based solely on rumor sans any cogitation of profession. Other people were stigmatized because they refused to align with the Catholic institution's view that their beliefs were heterodox.⁷⁰ Case in point, three Toulousians refused penance for claimed heretical implications, snubbed their sentencing, and thus, were declared heretics. Additionally, their property was ordered confiscated, and they were excommunicated.⁷¹ Even when people divulged their guilt, they sometimes refused to receive penance. However, those "caught in heresy by their own confessions" and did report for sentencing received the exact fate as those who did not appear at their condemnation.⁷² Therefore, despite a person's presence, according to the church, whatever the type of heretic, all non-conformers were expected to disappear from the Christian realm.

The two-hundred and one-day crammed proceedings at Saint-Sernin allowed friars Bernard and John ample paradigms of streamlining inquisitorial proceedings. A few years after the Toulouse Inquisition's conclusion, Pope Innocent IV requested the friars' author a manual for other inquisitors to utilize in investigations of heterodoxies elsewhere in Europe.⁷³ The manual contains the procedure used in Toulouse and includes examples of letters, summons, and even questions to pose to deponents. The queries include things like, have you seen "a heretic or Waldensian, where and when, how often and with whom...[were] others...present; [did you] listen to their preaching...[give] them lodging or arrange shelter." Questions continue to probe further with "whether [a person] ate or drank with [heretics] or ate bread blessed by them...whether [they] adored a heretic or bowed [their] head [to them] ...[even inquiring if a person] confessed [their] sins to them, accepted penance or learned anything from them."⁷⁴ Because the questions asked to every deponent were not recorded during questioning, much can only be speculated through examining Toulouse's testimonies. That Bernard and John's guide against heretics stretch beyond the living world implies the goal was not only persecution but complete conformity to the Catholic Church's ideals. Moreover, the written

69. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 7.

70. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 64.

71. "Sentence XIV – 1246-07-22," document MS9992-14, Documents Related to Heresy and Inquisition from the "*Trésor des Chartes*" (*Archives Nationales de France*), translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 4, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS9992-14>.

72. "Sentence XXIII – 1246-09-08," document MS9992-23, Documents Related to Heresy and Inquisition from the "*Trésor des Chartes*" (*Archives Nationales de France*), translated by Jean-Paul Rehr, accessed October 4, 2021, <http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/documents/MS9992-23>.

73. Caux and Saint Pierre, "*Processus Inquisitionis*," 250.

74. Caux and Saint Pierre, "*Processus Inquisitionis*," 252.

formal guide suggests that the papacy was preparing to initiate a formal institutional Inquisition throughout Christendom.

Despite the manual's admissions about the Toulouse investigation, there are still misunderstandings about Bernard and John's process. One major misconception about the 1245-1246 Inquisition is that the friars used physical torture to extract confessions from witnesses. While some deponents may have spent time in a Castellan dungeon for refusing to speak, torture was not instituted nor permitted by the papacy until Pope Innocent IV issued the *Ad Extirpanda* bulla in 1252, roughly six years after Bernard and John's inquest at Toulouse.⁷⁵ Within the bulla, the papacy formally criminalizes heretics and places the secular authorities in charge of "rooting-up...the plague of heresy."⁷⁶ Most importantly, the bulla proclaims that the state "must force all heretics...to confess their errors and accuse other heretics whom they know."⁷⁷ Further, all people accused of heresy's goods were seized and homes destroyed by the state, with no right to interfere or contest the decision.⁷⁸ In other words, the state was responsible for the papacy's dirty work, and what the pontificate decided about a person was final. Notably, the papacy was kept clean of heinous blasphemies by making secular authorities responsible for the church's dirty endeavors.

The 1252 *Ad Extirpanda* bulla goes beyond permitting physical force and lays the groundwork for the path to persecution. In Languedoc, inquisitors had intimate dealings with the region's noble class. Contextualized with the experiences from Toulouse, *Ad Extirpanda* stipulates some curious assertions. For example, the host state had to pay Inquisitors and their entourage for their services.⁷⁹ Additionally, confiscated heretic goods were to be divided evenly, with "one-third...to the government of the state...[one-third] as a reward...shall go to the officials who handled [the] particular case... [and one-third is to] be deposited in some secure place to be kept by the...Diocesan bishop and inquisitors" to be spent in ways that "promote the faith."⁸⁰ In other words, for their assistance, the state and inquisitors are paid from "heretic" property. Hence, the more prosperous a "heretic" was, the more money the government and papacy received. When the time of the bulla is considered with the Toulouse inquest, it is reasonable to surmise that the papacy's bullas were developed from Bernard and John's experiences and encounters in Languedoc.

75. "1243-1254 – SS Innocentius IV – Bulla 'Ad Extirpanda' [AD 1252-05-15]," http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/01p/1252-05-15,_SS_Innocentius_IV,_Bulla_%27Ad_Extirpanda%27,_EN.pdf.

76. Bulla 'Ad Extirpanda,' no. 1 & 3.

77. Bulla 'Ad Extirpanda,' no. 26.

78. Bulla 'Ad Extirpanda,' no. 32.

79. Bulla 'Ad Extirpanda,' no. 14.

80. Bulla 'Ad Extirpanda,' no. 34.

Inquisitors John and Bernard's time at Saint-Sernin Cathedral helped the papacy develop the impending institutionalized Inquisition as it is known today. Toulouse's next inquisitor, Dominican friar Bernard Gui, built upon his predecessors' manual, *Processus Inquisitionis*, to assemble his own. Gui's manual comprises five parts; however, only the fifth, *Practica officii inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, guides inquisitors. According to historian Janet Shirley, it is crucial to recognize the totalitarian connotations encompassing Gui's manual as it portrays the overtones of the Inquisition process adopted by the church.⁸¹ As previously stated, the papal institution sought the eradication of heresy. Only through fear did the church stand a chance at success, and Gui's manual instructed inquisitors on achieving the desired outcome.

Instilling fear into the people sought by the inquisitors was done in several ways, but the most effective was psychological. Gui's manual informs inquisitors that the heretics encountered will "conceal their errors rather than admit them...[and] men of Scriptures cannot convict them because they use a screen of deceitful words and clever tricks" that make them unrecognizable.⁸² Thus, Gui insists that the inquisitors use their God-felt convictions to root out heretics. So understood, Gui claimed the papal representatives possessed the power to determine what evidence was sufficient to label and condemn a person as a heretic. The masses of Languedocians, then, were at the mercy of the ecclesiastical-chosen delegates. Moreover, corruption was still possible even if inquisitors were new to the area. Considering the local diocese was included in witnessing interviews, as were old inquisition records available, people could be lured into false confessions or accusations simply because they were afraid.

Both inquisitor manuals have lasting legacies on Inquisitions elsewhere in the Christian world. By the first quarter of the fourteenth century, seventy years after Bernard and John's time in Toulouse, Jacques Fournier conducted an inquisition in Pamiers. Although this examination does not contain much detail about Pamiers, there are apparent correlations between earlier inquiries and Fournier's. The most distinct evolution that occurred was the records kept. Out was the third-person translation of answers as Fournier's registers offer literal compilations of deponent interviews. The new way of chronicling testimonies meant that readers no longer had to hypothesize what questions were being asked based on the statement's summary.

The verbatim statements of deponents allowed Fournier to conveniently pursue the leads offered by witnesses. For example, priest Barthélemy

81. Bernard Gui, *The Inquisitors Guide: A Medieval Manual on Heretics*, translated and edited by Janet Shirley (Welwyn Garden City, U.K.: Ravenhall Books, 2006), 18-19.

82. Gui, *The Inquisitors Guide*, 30.

Amilhac submits a brief comment concerning the accusations of his “complicity in and concealment of heresy,” which opens the record. Equally helpful, after each statement Amilhac gives, follow-up questions are recorded, taking away any uncertainty about the probe. The procedure allowed Fournier to catechize and reexamine witnesses with competency. Additionally, Amilhac’s interviews reveal that Fournier requested the names of people mentioned rather than accepting vague references as Bernard and John did in Toulouse.⁸³ Therefore, by Fournier’s time in Pamiers, interviews were streamlined, and registers systematically documented, making papal investigations more efficient.

The thirteenth-century inquisition in Toulouse commenced centuries of proceeding papal investigations that devoured the Christian world. The Catholic Church’s claim that heretical sects infected Languedoc sanctioned the papacy to subdue the social structures, thus theoretically gaining substantial amounts of material wealth and secular power. As the first inquisition to leave extensive written records, the significance lay in what was said by deponents and the evolution it commenced for how future papal investigations transpired. Bernard of Caux and John of Saint Pierre’s time at Saint-Sernin Cathedral conducting inquisitorial interviews developed a methodology that would later be commissioned to assist successors. Regardless of what heterodox sect people chose to associate with, heresy existed because people sought a different relationship with their god, which the Catholic Church did not promote or accept. MS 609 shows the organized picking and choosing of whom inquisitors wanted to question – the focus on upper echelons of Languedocian society, implying the path led towards an ecclesiastical increase. The authorization of further inquiries ushered in new developments for papal investigations, creating a sphere of fear and, thus, forced conformity. Nevertheless, Bernard and John left a legacy in their registers and guides, cementing the future persecution of nonconforming populations throughout Christendom.

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83. “Confession of Barthélemy Amilhac,” 1320, “Inquisition Records of Jacques Fournier Bishop of Pamiers 1318-1325,” Vatican Library, Lat. MS4030, *Internet Archive*, translated by Nancy Stork, accessed October 2, 2021, <http://web.archive.org/web/20071120005321/http://www.sjsu.edu/depts/english/Fournier/amilhac.htm>.

Quicksilver Mining and the California Gold Rush: A Lasting Legacy with Incalculable Consequences

Travis Morgan

Abstract: Those casually familiar with the Gold Rush rarely learn of the crucial role the toxic element mercury played in the gold recovery process. Those more familiar with the era know “mercury amalgamation” and the consequences it had on environmental and human health. However, the mining of cinnabar itself — necessary for the production and supply of mercury to the gold fields — is often overlooked. This work takes a deep dive into this more obscure yet fascinating topic. A variety of primary sources are presented to examine how the Gold Rush created a demand for mercury mining and how the mines were operated. The work explores the negative implications of historic mercury mining on both environmental and human health — including among Native American laborers. This work is meant to raise awareness for a lesser-known topic that is highly relevant to local history and which remains of great concern to human and environmental health.

While the romantic lure of the California Gold Rush has created a broad historical familiarity with gold mining in the Sierra foothills in the days of ‘49, some of its consequences have passed by the public psyche. Perhaps one of the most overlooked aspects of the California Gold Rush is the demand for mercury that it created. To meet this demand, cinnabar mining, cinnabar being mercury’s principal ore, greatly accelerated in the state. However, cinnabar has been described as “the single most toxic mineral known to man.”¹ In fact, the term cinnabar is thought to have come from the Persian word “zinjifrah,” meaning “dragon’s blood.”² The mercury derived from it is no less toxic. Nevertheless, it was used heavily throughout the latter half of the 19th century to aid the gold recovery process, wreaking havoc on both human health and the surrounding environment indefinitely.

Introduction to Mercury

Cinnabar, or mercury sulfide, has been used since antiquity. Ancient societies used the mineral for medicinal, artistic, and ritual purposes. Cinnabar varies in color from cochineal to ruby red. When used as a pigment, cinnabar is often referred to as vermilion. In fact, “Until the discovery of cadmium red in the early 20th century, vermilion was the most

1. Admin, “The 5 Deadliest Minerals Ever Mined.”

2. Ray L. Frost et al., “Raman Spectroscopic and SEM Study.”

widely used red pigment around the globe, and the most vibrant red.”¹ Once cinnabar is refined into its liquid mercury form, a process which will be described later, it becomes even more useful.

Mercury, the only metal that maintains a liquid state at room temperature, has been used to make scientific instruments, batteries, electrical switches, detonators for explosives, and in the treatment of felt hats. Indeed, mercury treatment became so widespread in the felt industry that mercury poisoning became endemic among hatters in the 18th to 20th centuries. This is where the term “mad hatter” comes from since mercury poisoning was also called “Mad Hatter’s disease.” Most notably, liquid mercury is used to recover precious metals, such as gold and silver, through a process called *mercury amalgamation*. It is said that “by 1000 CE, mercury was used to extract gold by amalgamation.”²

Aristotle was the first to describe mercury, referring “to it as ‘fluid silver’ and ‘quicksilver’.”³ Quicksilver has served as an alternative name for mercury ever since. The origin of the term is widely debated, with some historians believing it refers to alchemists’ belief it could be turned into silver; or perhaps its mobility as a liquid metal (in conjunction with its color); or the term could have developed as a result of its ability to speed up the recovery process of silver or gold through mercury amalgamation.

Mercury Amalgamation

To understand why the California Gold Rush created such a high demand for mercury, one must first understand the process of mercury amalgamation. As a dense liquid metal with high surface tension, mercury does not absorb the average contents of the earth, such as dirt and gravel. However, it will absorb or amalgamate precious metals with a significant density, such as silver and gold. Gold miners of the era could use this to their advantage in several ways.

First, they could place mercury in the bottom of their gold pan. Upon sloshing paydirt around in the pan with water, any gold would fall to the bottom and amalgamate with the mercury, forming a “pasty, silvery pseudo alloy.”⁴ To recover the gold, miners would need to heat up the mercury/gold amalgam to the boiling point of mercury, around 674 degrees Fahrenheit, at which point the mercury would vaporize.⁵ After the mercury evaporates completely, a “sponge gold” is left over. This sponge gold is then melted into solid gold as a final product.

1. Ellen Spindler, “The Story of Cinnabar and Vermilion (HgS) at The Met.”

2. Ellen Czaika, “History of Mercury Use in Products and Processes.”

3. Czaika, “History of Mercury Use in Products and Processes.”

4. Mary L. Coomes, “From Pooyi to the New Almaden Mercury Mine,” 49.

5. Marcia Huber et al., “The Vapor Pressure of Mercury.”

Miners could also put the mercury in the ruts of long sluice boxes to collect gold in higher quantities or to speed up the processing of crushed ore from hard rock mines. The latter process was done by “running the enriched ore over copper plates coated in mercury. The waste material would float on the mercury while the gold and silver would sink into it. The mercury was then scraped off the copper plates and heated to the boiling point of mercury, driving off the mercury and leaving the gold and silver behind.”⁶ In both processes, if the miner were to use a retort when burning the mercury out of the amalgam, he could condense the mercury vapor and return it to its liquid mercury form on the other end. However, this process was imperfect. “Although the mercury could be reused after it was separated from the amalgam, some mercury was lost each time the mercury was vaporized. So a continual supply was necessary.”⁷ This is what would eventually fuel the demand for expanding cinnabar mining in the state.

Cinnabar to Mercury

The process of refining the vibrant red cinnabar ore into its metallic liquid mercury form is quite similar to the process of separating gold from its mercury amalgam. One must begin by mining the ore and crushing it down into manageable sizes. For a large-scale operation, chunks of ore would be thrown into massive furnaces and burned to its sublimation point, the point at which the solid mercury sulfide vaporizes, around 1,100 degrees Fahrenheit.⁸ This also necessitates “the consumption of large amounts of firewood to fuel the ovens.”⁹ Through sublimation, furnaces would separate the mercury sulfide into poisonous mercury vapor and sulfur dioxide. The mercury vapor would then be condensed through a cooling pipe in the form of pure liquid mercury. Most typically, the liquid metal would then drip into collection vessels, later being transferred to iron flasks for transport.¹⁰ While this is the general process for reducing cinnabar ore, each mine developed its own particular system, as will be seen.

Quicksilver Mining in Gold Rush California

Cinnabar ore is typically found “in granular crusts or veins associated with volcanic activity and hot springs.”¹¹ In California, such deposits are most often located in coastal regions, far to the west of the Gold Country. That being said, cinnabar occurrences are quite rare, making the relative proximity of these deposits to the gold fields a fortunate coincidence, to say the least.

6. Guy Nixon, “Slavery in the West,” 22.

7. Coomes, “From Pooyi to the New Almaden Mercury Mine,” 54.

8. ChemicalBook, “Mercury Sulfide.”

9. Nixon, “Slavery in the West,” 22.

10. Nixon, “Slavery in the West,” 22.

11. Spindler, “The Story of Cinnabar and Vermilion (HgS) at The Met.”

“Before 1850, the world’s supply of usable mercury was extracted from three mines located in Almaden, Spain (dating back to Romans times); Idria, Slovenia; and Santa Barbara, Peru (which the Spanish also controlled, during colonial times).”¹² With the coming of the California Gold Rush and the increased demand for mercury which accompanied it, mercury production ramped up in the state. The two most notable quicksilver mines of 1850s California were the New Almaden and New Idria mines, located in San Jose and San Benito counties, respectively. Evidently, they inherited their names from two of the most successful international quicksilver mines. The increased production of quicksilver in California, following the discovery of gold in 1848, “ended Spain and the Rothschild family’s monopoly on mercury, and cut the price of mercury in half,” with the price of a 76 lb flask dropping from \$100 to \$50.¹³

The New Almaden mining operation actually predated the Gold Rush, with production beginning in 1845 under Mexican control, making it the oldest mining operation in California. Andreas Castillero, the Mexican Army captain who identified the cinnabar, filed a mining claim, and received a land grant from the Mexican government, began hiring Indian workers “to build rudimentary furnaces to work the mine.”¹⁴ By 1847, the mine was being run by an English industrial firm, though it was worked primarily by Sonorans, Native Californios, Chilenos, and Indians, in conjunction with Spanish/Mexican mining technology. European miners, and later Chinese miners, did not arrive at New Almaden until after 1860, in the American era.

In the Mexican era, the workers at New Almaden were divided into two groups, *mineros* and *tanateros*. The *mineros* were the actual miners, while the *tanateros* were tasked with carrying the ore out of the mines, “a physically strenuous and demanding task.”¹⁵ “Their stamina and physical endurance was severely tested as they brought out the ore over a tortuous course of travel.”¹⁶ Workers would be either a designated *minero* or *tanatero*, forming two distinct classes within the mines. *Mineros* would also be referred to as *barateros*, “so named because they used *barra* or crowbar.” *Tanateros* derived their name from the large leather bags, or *tanates*, they used to carry the ore.¹⁷

William Wells, a journalist who came to California by sea in 1849, traveled to the New Almaden quicksilver mine in 1863 and documented his

12. Czaika, “History of Mercury Use in Products and Processes.”

13. Leigh Ann Clifton, “Digging Deeper: Cinnabar, Quicksilver and Gold-Rush History.”

14. NPS, “New Almaden Mining Historic District.”

15. NPS, “New Almaden Mining Historic District.”

16. NPS, “New Almaden Mining Historic District.”

17. Linda Newson, “Labour in the Colonial Mining Industry of Honduras.”

experiences. His accounts provide an intriguing insight into the work of the miners.

“The main entrance to the mine is a tunnel, commenced in 1850, in a side of the mountain,” said Wells. “Through this an iron rail track passes, the cars receiving the ore as it is brought upon the backs of carriers (tanateros) from the excavations. These cars are calculated to carry about a ton each, and are pushed rapidly in and out by hand.”¹⁸ Of the Tanateros, Wells observed them to be “the most muscular and the best proportioned of all those engaged in the mine. Long practice has injured them to the labor, and a first-rate man will pack 200 pounds up the escalaras without stopping to rest.”¹⁹ The dangers of mining were not unique to quicksilver mines, but the toxicity of the mineral certainly was.

Regarding the production process, Wells noted that after the ore was thoroughly cleaned and broken into the required sizes, it was “wheeled in barrows from the pile where it is deposited, along the tops of the furnaces and turned into the receptacles, which are of uniform capacity and open at the tops. These will contain about seven tons of ore each. After being filled, they are closed hermetically. As the ore becomes sublimated the vapors pass through a series of twelve compartments.... In their passage through these compartments such of the vapors as become condensed flow in the form of quicksilver through the numerous small holes into covered troughs, attached to the outside of the furnaces their entire length.”²⁰

Before the Gold Rush, New Almaden’s mercury supplied “most of what was needed for the many and varied uses of mercury, medical, wood-processing, early photography (Daguerreotypes) and even hat-making...”²¹ The mine’s deposits of cinnabar were plentiful enough to nearly-independently service the increased demand for mercury which followed the discovery of gold at Sutter’s Mill in the spring of 1848, until the early 1870s.

In the American period, New Almaden would become the most successful quicksilver mine in California and the second largest in the world, producing “\$70,000,000 in quicksilver, a fortune greater than any California gold mine that made New Almaden the most valuable single mine in the State.”²² While New Almaden ceased operation in 1912, other California quicksilver mines continued production well into the 1970s, including the New Idria Mine and many Sonoma County mines which came about during the notable quicksilver rush of the 1870s.

18. Isenberg and Wells, “The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden, California,” 113.

19. Isenberg and Wells, “The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden, California,” 113.

20. Isenberg and Wells, “The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden, California,” 113-114.

21. Gaye Lebaron, “The Lasting Impact of Mercury Mining.”

22. NPS, “New Almaden Mining Historic District.”

The Quicksilver Rush of the 1870s

Although the primary focus of this work is on the California Gold Rush era, it is essential to understand how Western mining evolved out of it, and to consider the drastic effects which this development had. “Between 1863 and 1872, the price of quicksilver fluctuated between forty-five and sixty-five cents a pound, but suddenly in 1872, the price began a rapid ascent. By early 1873, it had exceeded a dollar a pound.”²³ There are a couple of explanations for this boom. By the 1870s, New Almaden’s relative monopoly on quicksilver production began to fade. For two decades, it had been producing more than enough mercury to satisfy the demands from the gold fields, particularly with help from the mine at New Idria. According to a chart published by the *Mining and Scientific Press* published in 1874, both the quality and quantity of New Almaden’s ore had dropped drastically. “Its ore had yielded 36.47 percent in 1850, but by 1873 it yielded only 4.87 percent. In 1867, the mine produced 47,194 flasks of quicksilver and in 1873 only 11,042 flasks.”²⁴

Simultaneously, the demand for mercury use in gold mining was increasing. Within twenty years of the initial Gold Rush, gold became more difficult to obtain. Miners were no longer panning for placer gold in creeks with hopes of picking up a nugget and striking it rich. They were now engaged in strenuous hard rock and hydraulic mining. This was much more laborious and organized work, as vast amounts of gold-bearing ore had to be mined, transported, and processed to extract the precious metal. At this point, “gold mining became just another extractive industry, albeit a profitable one.”²⁵ In order to maximize its profitability, an increase in mercury use would be required. Hydraulic mining was the process of blasting mountains containing gold ore with high-pressure water nozzles, then putting the material through sluices to recover the gold. Naturally, the process would be more effective if mercury were added to the bottom of these long sluices to amalgamate with the gold. This form of gold mining created an even greater demand for mercury than existed during the early Gold Rush days. All of these factors also happened to coincide with the final boom period of the Comstock Lode in Nevada. The Comstock Lode was the first major silver discovery site in America. The decrease in the state’s supply of mercury and the significant increase in demand for the liquid metal created a crisis among gold mining operations.

Gold miners were desperate for an abundant supply of affordable quicksilver. According to a December 1874 article in the *Mining and Scientific Press*, “Cheap quicksilver is one of the greatest needs of the mining

23. Joe Pelanconi, “Quicksilver Mining in Sonoma County,” 22.

24. Pelanconi, “Quicksilver Mining in Sonoma County,” 23.

25. Lebaron, “The Lasting Impact of Mercury Mining.”

community. They lose in working ore from one to two pounds per ton which at \$1.55 per pound is a very important item even for small mills.”²⁶ This point was further highlighted in another article in the *Press*. “High rates for quicksilver mean a large diminution in profits for all gold and silver mines and a possible suspension of work on very low-grade ores.”²⁷ This undoubtedly created an opportunity for those wishing to seek a fortune in the cinnabar mining industry. Luckily, deposits had been recently discovered in the Mayacamas Mountains in northeastern Sonoma County, continuing into Lake and Napa Counties. This area was already notable for its geothermal activity, commonly referred to as “the geysers,” despite this being a technically incorrect characterization of “fumaroles,” in which steam is released from the earth rather than water. This geothermal activity is why cinnabar deposits exist in the area.

The continual discoveries of new cinnabar deposits at the geysers turned into a true mining boom, with the *Russian River Flag* reporting in October 1873 that “the subject of quicksilver mining has become so prominent in this part of the county that the whole region about the geysers has been overrun by prospectors seeking their fortunes in the silvery fluid. Nearly every spot that could be suspected of harboring mercury has been claimed.”²⁸

By 1874, seventy-three claims had been located in the Cinnabar Mining District, most having been staked after the 1872 supply crisis.²⁹ Over the next century, several of these mines became major quicksilver producers. The initial quicksilver rush was short lived, since increased production led to the price of mercury finally falling, much to the relief of gold and silver miners. “In early 1875, the price had fallen from its high of \$1.65 a pound to \$0.90, and by April, it reached \$0.60 a pound.”³⁰

Many quicksilver mines, even if they had previously ceased production due to low mercury prices, became essential during WWI and WWII. Some of the most productive Sonoma county mines of the post-WWII era included the Culver-Baer, Cloverdale, Mount Jackson, and Socrates mines. In fact, a Caterpillar machinery advertisement from a 1952 edition of *Mining World* highlighted this point. “The output of the Culver-Baer mine, one of the richest Cinnabar ore mines in the world, is essential for the nation’s defense program. Dependable equipment at the mine is essential for uninterrupted production.”³¹

26. Mining and Scientific Press, “Mining and Scientific Press (1874),” 381.

27. Mining and Scientific Press, “Mining and Scientific Press (1874),” 93.

28. Pelanconi, “Quicksilver Mining in Sonoma County,” 26.

29. Pelanconi, “Quicksilver Mining in Sonoma County,” 28.

30. Pelanconi, “Quicksilver Mining in Sonoma County,” 20.

31. Mining World, “Mining World 1952,” 52.

While the quicksilver rush of the 1870s created many jobs and was successful in increasing the supply of mercury and driving down its price, the previously unpolluted region suffered irreparable toxic pollution. The quicksilver rush littered geysers with abandoned mine workings. These long-term effects include decaying buildings, open adits and shafts, and tailings piles extending down into creeks, permanently polluting watersheds with toxic cinnabar. In order to understand the short-term effects of the quicksilver rush, we must examine the toll mercury mining took on the lives of the miners themselves.

Mercury and Human Health

While cinnabar miners working underground faced potentially grave dangers on a daily basis, those who worked in the mercury recovery ovens faced the greatest risks of all. Describing the conditions for furnace workers at New Almaden, Wells noted that “The workmen at the furnaces are particularly subjected to the poisonous fumes. These men are only able to work one week out of four, when they are changed to some other employment, and others take their place for a week. Pale, cadaverous faces and leaden eyes are the consequence of even these short spells; and any length of time continued at this labor effectually shortens life and impregnates the system with mercury.”³²

With New Almaden being such a large and successful operation, its processes were exceptional for the time, as Wells noted. “Probably less mercury escapes from the present works of New Almaden Mine than any other; but even here, to such a degree is the air filled with the volatile poison, that the gold coins and watches on the persons of those engaged about the furnaces become galvanized and turn white).” As he put it, “In such an atmosphere, one would seem to inhale death with every respiration.”³³

Mr. Brewer, a member of a US Geological Survey Team which visited New Almaden, wrote in an 1861 journal that “any miner who worked in the mercury recovery ovens would eventually die if exposed for as little as four days. They might live for a month or less but exposure to the mercury in the recovery facility would lead to certain death.”³⁴

By 1847, only a few years after production had begun at New Almaden, the mine was having trouble maintaining Indian workers to operate the furnaces. “The local Indian community’s awareness of health hazards at the mine may have made it difficult for management to recruit new workers.”³⁵

32. Isenberg and Wells, “The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden, California,” 114.

33. Isenberg and Wells, “The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden, California,” 114.

34. Nixon, “Slavery in the West,” 23.

35. Coomes, “From Pooyi to the New Almaden Mercury Mine,” 75.

William Chard, who supervised the reduction process at New Almaden, was questioned in court following a furnace explosion. Upon being asked who attended the furnace and if anybody was injured by the vapors, he responded, "It was attended by no one but myself and the Indians. I got badly hurt with it, salivated, and it came very near killing me."³⁶ Chard was only the supervisor, and it was not said what came of the Indians involved in the incident.

The constant demand for native Californian labor created by the hazards inherent in cinnabar sublimation had great consequences for tribal relations. Throughout the 1800s, California Indians were engaged in tribal warfare and the enslavement of captives. In the Spanish and Mexican eras as well as the early American era, many of the enslaved were traded or sold "to Mission San Jose as well as the Mexican Ranchos and the Mercury Mines of New Idria and New Almaden."³⁷ In fact, this need for laborers served as motivation for the Miwok to conduct a slave raid on the Maidu in 1848, roughly six miles east of the gold discovery site in Coloma. This would come to be known as the Battle of Rock Creek. The battle was between "a Miwok force who had crossed into Maidu territory and the Maidu plus a few of their Washoe allies."³⁸ The battle occurred in the late fall since the American River would be low enough for the Miwok forces to cross. However, the Maidu forced the Miwok to retreat after killing 30 men and taking another 30 as captives, ironic given the original intent of the Miwoks.

If the Maidu had been defeated and enslaved, they would likely have found themselves working quicksilver furnaces. As dangerous as it was at New Almaden, the furnaces of other quicksilver mines in the West was far more dangerous and required a constant flow of new labor. Enslaved native Californian laborers frequently had no idea of the grave dangers which awaited them in the mines. This was particularly true of those from tribes far to the east of the quicksilver mines and, therefore, unfamiliar with the deadly nature of the work. Untold numbers of native Californians were worked to death in the mines.

When death did not occur, "The immediate effects of poisoning by inhalation of mercury vapors, then referred to as salivation, include a metallic taste in the mouth, and excessive production of saliva. Victims may also develop inflamed membranes in the mouth, and loose teeth. More serious long-term symptoms would have included pain, numbness, and tremors in the extremities, suppressed appetite and weight loss, and impaired mental abilities and depression."³⁹ Although working the mercury

36. Coomes, "From Pooyi to the New Almaden Mercury Mine," 75.

37. Nixon, "Slavery in the West," 63.

38. Nixon, "Slavery in the West," 43.

39. Coomes, "From Pooyi to the New Almaden Mercury Mine," 77.

furnaces and being exposed to the toxic vapor was the most deadly, the effects of mercury poisoning also affected every person who worked with quicksilver, such as gold miners. Among many gold miners, “eye disorders resulted also from the evaporation of mercury in open pans.”⁴⁰

Many cases of mercury poisoning came from mere ignorance. Frank Marryat, an English visitor during the Gold Rush, was disgusted with medicines being used in the diggings. He began telling miners to throw away all their medicine after “Having seen too many gold seekers dosing themselves with mercury at the first symptom of fever... To him, the only valuable medicines were quinine and castor oil.”⁴¹

Large amounts of mercury were accidentally yet inevitably released into the environment throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, a byproduct of both quicksilver and gold mining processes. While the environmental implications of this release will be discussed in the next section, it is important to consider how such implications do not exist in a vacuum. An environment permanently polluted with mercury, considered the earth’s most toxic metal, is one which inevitably affects human health.

Mercury and the Environment

As quicksilver is extracted and processed, it permanently pollutes the environment; leaving toxic tailings, polluting watersheds, and poisoning the land. The reckless use of mercury in gold mining only increased the permanent ecological damage. At New Almaden, the surrounding environment was significantly impacted by mercurial vapors. When Wells visited in 1863, he observed

that despite the lofty chimneys, and the close attention that has been devoted to the secret of effectually condensing the volatile matter, its escape from the chimneys withers all green things around. Every tree on the mountainside above the works is dead.... Cattle, feeding within half a mile of the hacienda sicken, and become salinated; and the use of the waters of a spring rising near the works is guarded against....⁴²

Wells also noted how the tall chimneys would be “constantly pouring clouds of arsenical vapors,” the tops of them being “quite coated with cakes of white arsenic.”⁴³

Environmental degradation from quicksilver mining came not only from mercury vapor but also from liquid mercury and water pollution

40. John E. Baur, “The Health Factor in the Gold Rush Era,” 100.

41. “The Health Factor in the Gold Rush Era,” 104.

42. Isenberg and Wells, “The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden, California,” 114.

43. Isenberg and Wells, “The Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden, California,” 114.

from the mines themselves. When mercury was used in sluices, some would inevitably be swept away by strong currents and escape into creeks and rivers. “Large volumes of turbulent water flowing through the sluice caused many of the finer gold and mercury particles to wash through and out of the sluice....”⁴⁴ Such sluices are estimated to have had a 10 to 30-percent annual loss rate of mercury, with “a typical sluice likely lost several hundred pounds of mercury during the operating season.... Historical records indicate that about 3,000,000 lb of mercury were lost at hard rock mines, where gold ore was crushed using stamp mills.”⁴⁵

Regarding modern water pollution from the old mines, “The New Idria Mercury Mine, which features 30 miles of tunnels and 20 levels, is half flooded.”⁴⁶ The water reacts with the “high iron and sulfur content of the bedrock to form an acidic solution, typically known as acid mine drainage (AMD), which drains from the Level 10 adit.”⁴⁷ This does not even include the water’s mercury contamination. Mercury contamination has been found “in sources at the Site and in creeks downstream of the mine.”⁴⁸

Sonoma County had more mercury mines by the end of the 1800s than any other county in the state. The Cloverdale Mine, at the intersection of Big Sulphur and Mayacamas creeks, is to this day littered with rich chunks of cinnabar ore sitting along an old ore car path on the hill above the processing site. Heavy rains wash these minerals into the creeks below. The Mount Jackson Mine in Guerneville has made news for its tailings piles of cinnabar ore extending directly into Sweetwater Creek, which runs through the property.⁴⁹ The creek empties directly into the Russian River, a popular recreation location for all ages, which flows out to the Pacific Ocean in Jenner.

When mercury becomes dissolved in water, it creates methylmercury. According to the United States Geological Survey, this is mercury’s most toxic form, as “it is absorbed more readily and excreted more slowly than other forms of mercury.”⁵⁰ Methylmercury exposure by humans is a result of bioaccumulation via ingestion. Mercury “works its way up the food chain as large fish consume contaminated smaller fish. Instead of dissolving or breaking down, mercury accumulates at ever-increasing levels.”⁵¹

44. Charles N Alpers et al., “Mercury Contamination from Historical Gold Mining in California.”

45. Alpers et al., “Mercury Contamination from Historical Gold Mining in California.”

46. EPA, “New Idria Mercury Mine Site Profile.”

47. EPA, “New Idria Mercury Mine Site Profile.”

48. EPA, “New Idria Mercury Mine Site Profile.”

49. CBS, “Abandoned Mine near Russian River Has Alarming High Levels of Mercury.”

50. USGS, “Mercury in the Environment.”

51. Assembly, “Mercury Contamination: Toxic Legacy of the Gold Rush.”

Mercury may also be absorbed into vegetation, as “Plants are known to accumulate metals and metalloids from the environment... Mercury uptake occurs in primary producers at the base of the food chain, and it is a major human dietary concern.”⁵² While the ingestion of such plants is cause for serious concern, mercurial pollution in vegetation can be even more harmful to human health in another form, as “the efficiency of mercury absorption by the gut is only approximately ten percent as efficient as that of the lungs.”⁵³ This creates a particular problem in marijuana, which is an accumulator plant. This means “it takes up everything from its environment. Heavy metals typically accumulate in the plant through the root system. This can include fertilizers with large amounts of heavy metals or contaminated soil. Even water from contaminated soils can carry heavy metals and be absorbed by the plant.”⁵⁴ Whatever the form of intake, mercurial pollution of the environment can be deadly, not just to wildlife but to humanity.

All in all, “It is estimated that, over the last 4000 years, historical and continued use of mercury have released 350,000 tonnes of mercury from the depths of the earth into air, surface land, and water, where its toxicity becomes problematic for human health and Earth’s sensitive biosphere.”⁵⁵ This is no trivial matter, and it all started with the California Gold Rush and the demand for mercury which it created.

Conclusion

In conclusion, quicksilver mining in California was just as lucrative, if not more so, than the Gold Rush itself. There is no denying, however, that it came at a much greater cost to both human health and the environment, as its toxic legacy is still with us today. In the Mexican period, the industry used the labor of enslaved native Californians, low-paid Chilenos, and Mexican Californio settlers as a disposable labor force who knew little about the fatal nature of the work. In the early American period, workers were mostly enslaved native Californians, also unaware of the health risks. As time went on, the mines began using paid labor and tried to introduce some worker protections. Quicksilver mining proved fatal for untold numbers of laborers, both enslaved and free. It also permanently polluted our watersheds and land. Our food chain is affected by the bioaccumulation of mercury, which humans ingest. Mercury accumulation is dangerous and can be deadly. The quicksilver mining industry has done immense damage to our state and its people. Although it provided jobs and boosted local economies while aiding in the defense of the nation during the 20th

52. B.Z. Siegel, Lindley Garnier, S. M. Siegel. “Mercury in Marijuana,” 619.

53. Siegel et al., “Mercury in Marijuana,” 619.

54. Micheal Straumietis, “The Dangers of Heavy Metals in Your Cannabis Crop.”

55. Czaika, “History of Mercury Use in Products and Processes.”

century, there is much work to be done in cleaning up the toxic mess it left behind. If we wish to effectively utilize our region's mineral wealth, we must focus on developing mineral mining and processing practices that respect human and environmental health.

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Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon

Rachelle Vernier

Abstract: Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon fought together for LGBTQ+ rights and the rights of all women in the United States between the 1950s and the early 2000s. Martin and Lyon are less-known activists that made significant strides with their work in groups, such as The Daughters of Bilitis, the National Organization for Women, and the 1977 National Women's Conference. Their positive impact and interesting story make them an important duo to study. Martin and Lyon not only had a long-lasting political activist career but also a long and healthy romantic relationship together. This paper explores how their romantic relationship propelled them into the world of activism and argues that their activism positively affected the LGBTQ+ community and all women in the United States.

Introduction

On June 26th, 2015, there were massive celebrations by the LGBTQ+ community in the United States. A step forward for gay rights was made when gay marriage was legalized in the US after the *Obergefell v. Hodges* case decision.¹ Before this case, states had different laws regarding same-sex marriage. While some allowed same-sex marriage before 2015, others did not. One notable example is California, where San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom issued same-sex marriage licenses in 2004. While the practice was not yet legalized, first for their wedding were activists Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon. Four years later, same-sex marriage was legalized in the state, and Martin and Lyon were the first legal gay marriage in California, wed again by Gavin Newsom.

The *Obergefell v. Hodges* ruling has since been upheld in the United States, allowing many same-sex LGBTQ+ couples to marry if they choose. However, the case was not won overnight, and unfortunately, today, some states are going back on certain gay rights. Decades of activism by hundreds of people enabled members of the LGBTQ+ community to win fundamental rights already afforded to heterosexuals. As a result, many activists faced trouble with law enforcement, the loss of their jobs, and even their own lives during the fight for gay rights. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon were two such activists who faced trouble from law enforcement in their struggle for marriage equality and women's rights. However, like

1. "Civil Rights in the United States, A Brief History: A Timeline of the Legalization of Same-Sex Marriage in the U.S." Guides, Accessed March 29, 2022, <https://guides.ll.georgetown.edu/c.php?g=592919&camp:p=4182201>.

many activists, their contributions have been overlooked in the shadow of grandstanding political events.

The 1969 Stonewall Rebellion is considered the most critical turning point for LGBTQ+ activism. The police in New York raided a gay bar, which was not uncommon during that time. However, this raid was different. It resulted in a six-day-long uprising from the New York LGBTQ+ community. Notably, the rebellion helped cement a place for groups, like people of color and non-gender conforming people, to stand at the forefront of the movement.¹ For example, one of the prominent figures leading the riots was Marsha P. Johnson, a transgender woman. Although Stonewall, by itself, did not cement the 2015 legalization of same-sex marriage, it did help propel the movement. Other events before and after Stonewall also contributed to the 2015 court case success, and individuals made these events happen.

Various conflicts in LGBTQ+ history are essential for showing the fight for gay rights, but there is more to a movement than events that contributed to its change. The individuals making up these historical events and communities contribute to their importance. Decades-long movements can cause individual contributions to be overlooked or potentially forgotten. From a contemporary perspective, it is easy to criticize individuals and claim they could have done more at that time. It is important to remember that LGBTQ+ activists were organizing in a terrifying environment, with dangers lurking from internal and external factors. Thus, Stonewall is an easy event to compare to lesser-known activist activities because it was one big and shocking event.

Two noteworthy individuals that ultimately helped the LGBTQ+ community gain the right to marriage were lesbian activists Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon. Martin and Lyon's achievements through lesbian and feminist activism, at times, have been overlooked in comparison to more significant events. However, their work is just as important. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon helped members of the LGBTQ+ and all women through their activism efforts. As a result, enormous strides for both the LGBTQ+ community and feminist movements were made. Martin and Lyon stand out from other activists mainly because their work was done together. To fully understand their political careers and how they began, it is essential to understand their individual and combined background as a couple. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon tirelessly worked to improve the lives of the LGBTQ+ community and all women, and the effect of their work is still felt today.

1. "LGBTQIA+ Studies: A Resource Guide: 1969: The Stonewall Uprising." *Library of Congress: Research Guides*, (accessed March 29, 2022). <https://guides.loc.gov/lgbtq-studies/stonewall-era>.

Love turns into Activism

Dorothy L. Taliaferro, later known as Del Martin, was born in San Francisco, California, on May 5, 1921. From an early age, Martin knew she was different from other kids, admitting she was instinctively aware that her difference should not be discussed.² Ultimately, Martin pushed forward with what was considered “normal” in the 1940s by marrying and starting a family. As a college student studying journalism at the University of California, Berkeley, and later San Francisco State College, she married a man named James Martin at nineteen years old. Immediately she found herself pregnant, thus, was forced to leave school to focus on creating a traditional family life. They were married for four years and had a daughter named Kendra.³ After four years of marriage, Martin divorced her husband, claiming that the union did not feel right. She wanted to discover herself and come to terms with her sexuality, despite the stigma facing LGBTQ+.⁴ Martin eventually moved to Seattle to work for a building trade company, where she met Phyllis Lyon.⁵

Phyllis Ann Lyon was born in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on November 10th, 1924. Her family moved to Sacramento, California, in the 1940s.⁶ Lyon, like Martin, knew from adolescence that she felt attracted to women but ultimately could not act on these feelings, claiming that when she was in high school, she thought it would be “interesting...to feel another woman’s breasts. But it was kind of like, I know I can’t do that. So why worry about it?”⁷ Lyon decided to date men and even found herself engaged to one while young. The engagement did not feel right, and she eventually called it off. Lyon felt reservations because of her attraction to women. She was also ambitious about her future career as a journalist.⁸ Lyon graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1946 with a degree in journalism. She moved to Chico, California, and worked at the *Chico Enterprise-Record* until she got a job in Seattle.⁹

In Seattle, Lyon started at the building trade company before Martin. Despite it being the 1950s, Martin came out as a lesbian to coworkers immediately. To Lyon, Martin’s courage was impressive. Martin and Lyon soon began a casual sexual relationship. However, with no commitment,

2. *No Secret Anymore: The Times of Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon*, directed by Joan E. Biren (2003; CA: Woman Vision and Moonforce Media), Amazon Prime.

3. William Grimes, “Del Martin, Lesbian Activist, Dies at 87,” *The New York Times*, Aug. 27, 2008; Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, *Lesbian/ Woman* (Volcano CA: Volcano Press, Inc., 1991), 28.

4. Biren, *No Secret*.

5. Biren, *No Secret*.

6. Julia Carmel, “Phyllis Lyon, Lesbian Activist and Gay Marriage Trailblazer, Dies at 95,” *The New York Times*, April 10, 2020.

7. Biren, *No Secret*.

8. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, *Lesbian/ Woman* (Volcano CA: Volcano Press, Inc., 1991), 12.

9. Carmel, “Phyllis Lyon.”

Lyon eventually moved to San Francisco. Though apart, she and Martin remained in contact via letters, blossoming their casual friendship into a deeper connection. Lyon asked Martin to relocate to San Francisco and begin a real relationship. On February 14, 1953, Martin and Lyon officially became an item.¹⁰ Martin chose Valentine's Day because "that way you can't forget your anniversary."¹¹ The couple moved in together to the house they would live in for the rest of their lives. Martin's daughter, Kendra, stayed with Martin and Lyon every summer but returned to her father the rest of the year.¹²

Martin and Lyon were not "in the closet" as a couple but struggled the first year together. In uncharted territory, they were attempting to recreate a heterosexual lifestyle. They were friends with heterosexual couples and tried to mimic the dynamic they observed, though they quickly realized it did not feel right. To Martin and Lyon, it made no sense for them to try and be what they were not. As a couple, they were two women. Pretending they were anything but what they were was pointless.¹³ Despite a difficult first year, Martin and Lyon pulled through. Lyon explained that the two were together because of love. Martin added, "It has something to do with common interests. We just enjoy being together".¹⁴ The love and common interests translated into their later activist work. In 1955, Martin and Lyon helped co-find the Daughters of Bilitis, hoping to make friends with other lesbian couples.¹⁵ Martin and Lyon came together despite the difficulties facing LGBTQ+ people in the 1950s. Their desire to be together would help them begin their political careers and drive to help others.

The Daughters of Bilitis

Police raids and alcoholism were two main factors that perpetuated the start of the lesbian social group, Daughters of Bilitis, or DOB. There were few places where lesbians and gays could meet safely and form connections. Bars were the most common. Despite efforts to stay hidden, there were undeniable risks involved. LGBTQ+ bars were often subjected to police raids that had the potential to be violent. If someone was arrested during a raid, their lives were at risk. Other risks included losing their jobs and aspects of their livelihood. Despite the original intent of just a social group, DOB became one of the first lesbian organizations that fought to improve the lives of LGBTQ+ in the United States.

10. Biren, *No Secret*.

11. Biren, *No Secret*.

12. Biren, *No Secret*.

13. Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/ Woman* (Volcano CA: Volcano Press, Inc., 1991), 12-13.

14. Biren, *No Secret*.

15. Biren, *No Secret*.

Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon were two of the original eight members of DOB. Originally founded by Rosalie “Rose” Bamberger in 1955 in San Francisco, DOB was a social club for lesbian couples. The name “Daughters of Bilitis” was from a French song and was used as a cover in case the group was questioned. The members would say instead that it was a “Greek Poetry club.”¹⁶ Lyon told the story of Bamberger calling at a conference in 1955, asking, “Would we like to become a part of this group of six other lesbians” and that a “secret social lesbian club” was forming. Naturally, they “said, of course!”¹⁷ The couple was excited to finally have other friends who were also lesbians. Martin and Lyon often felt isolated before joining DOB.

They enjoyed the social aspect and events for a while but soon wanted to use the group to help other members of LGBTQ+. Martin and Lyon split from the original members in 1956 because they wanted to open the group up to allow more lesbians to join. The other members were working-class women, and they did not want to risk potentially being outed as Lesbians when the organization would open for new members.¹⁸ This split was painful but ultimately jumpstarted Martin and Lyon’s activist careers.

After changing DOB into a lesbian rights group, Martin became the President and Lyon the secretary. Both began their first publication of *The Ladder*, a journal written and distributed by the DOB which discussed LGBTQ+ issues (1956-1972) to reach lesbians across the country.¹⁹ Although Lyon was the editor of *The Ladder* for the first few issues, it was under the alias Anne Ferguson because she feared to have her real name in print. Using an alias was not uncommon for members of the LGBTQ+ community since many lesbians were in the professional world, like teachers, and feared being exposed and losing their jobs. Additionally, there was the potential of being arrested and sent to psychiatric facilities as a looming consequence. Many lesbians who received *The Ladder* used fake names. Nevertheless, eventually, Lyon confessed, “I killed Ann Ferguson. Premeditatedly and with malice aforethought. . . now there is only Phyllis Lyon. . . I’m only simplifying matters and practicing what I preach.”²⁰ Bringing her identity forth was significant because it showed other lesbians that they do not need to hide.²¹

16. “LGBTQIA+ Studies: A Resource Guide: Before Stonewall: The Homophile Movement: Daughters of Bilitis.” Library of Congress: Research Guides, (accessed April 5, 2022.) <https://guides.loc.gov/lgbtq-studies/before-stonewall/daughters-of-bilitis>.

17. Biren, *No Secret*.

18. Biren, *No Secret*.

19. “LGBTQIA+ Studies: A Resource Guide: Before Stonewall: The Homophile Movement: Daughters of Bilitis.” Library of Congress: Research Guides, Accessed April 5, 2022. <https://guides.loc.gov/lgbtq-studies/before-stonewall/daughters-of-bilitis>.

20. Phyllis Lyon, “Anne Ferguson is Dead!”, *The Ladder* 1 no.4 (1957), 7.

21. Biren, *No Secret*.

During the 1950s, *The Ladder's* mailing list was constantly moved around to ensure the safety of those receiving the publication. *The Ladder* presented journals encouraging lesbians to be proud and offered information on important issues, like lesbian sex, gender identity, and transgender issues. Unfortunately, these topics did not have any safe place to be written about in the 1950s. Nevertheless, it was meaningful in connecting lesbians across the United States. Around two-hundred recipients received *The Ladder* when it was first created.²² *The Ladder* helped many lesbians understand who they were, creating a community not just in San Francisco but across the country.

Lyon and Martin opened more DOB headquarters in places like New York. The new chapter hosted meetings and sent publications to lesbians on the east coast. *The Ladder* helped DOB become one of the first cross-state lesbian activist groups in the United States.²³ The spread of DOB ultimately lay the groundwork for unifying lesbians to fight for LGBTQ+ rights. Without the help of Martin and Lyon, the cross-state unification of lesbians may not have happened. Martin, Lyon, and the DOB not only helped to unify lesbians but also worked to have good standings with other organizations to push DOB forward.

One of the DOB's most significant accomplishments was forming positive relationships with ministers during the 1960s. However, forming relationships was a challenge that Martin and Lyon did not look forward to in the beginning. Both women did not like organized religion due to the repercussions they had seen for many lesbians from the church. In their book *Lesbian/Woman*, they claim that "our rejection of and antagonism toward the whole concept of religion has been reinforced over the years as we have witnessed the damage the church has done to the lesbian, to the male homosexual, and especially to women."²⁴ Despite rejecting organized religion, Martin and Lyon knew they needed influential religious leaders on their side if they were to change the lives of lesbians for the better.

The Glide Urban Center church, led by San Francisco minister Ted McIlvenna, extended a hand to both gays and lesbians. McIlvenna organized a retreat with fourteen ministers and San Francisco LGBTQ+ activists, which Martin and Lyon were invited to, at Mill Valley in 1964.²⁵ At the retreat, Martin was able to express her anger towards the church, and she and McIlvenna were able to come to an understanding. In the end, the retreat resulted in the creation of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual. The council worked with organizations like DOB and

22. Biren, *No Secret*.

23. Biren, *No Secret*.

24. Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 41.

25. Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 239.

ministers to spread awareness and improve lives within the LGBTQ+ community.²⁶ To celebrate the union, on January 1st, 1965, The Council on Religion and the Homosexual worked with DOB and other gay rights organizations to host a New Year's Eve ball fundraiser at the California Hall in San Francisco.

Martin and Lyon stayed at the front of the building the night of the ball to take the invitations as their fellow LGBTQ+ members made their way inside through the mass of police out front.²⁷ This absolutely shocked the ministers involved, and many publicly criticized the police. One onlooker, Reverend Cecil Williams, noted that "the police department... wanted to deal more in theology rather than open up a dialogue."²⁸ The ball was, unfortunately, raided by fifty police officers with floodlights at the entrance.²⁹ Weeks before the ball began, the police attempted to convince the California Hall staff to cancel the event. When this did not work, the night of the ball, a member of the sex crimes unit came into the hall around 10 pm. He was greeted by two lawyers that told him that they could not be there without a warrant. This did not matter to the officer, and he arrested the lawyers by claiming "obstruction of justice." More officers then moved in. Outside the ball, police photographers were taking pictures of everyone entering.³⁰

Organizations like the Young Democrats of California and Washington called to have a revision of sex crime laws. In 1969, Willie Brown Jr.'s "homosexual bill" was first put forth. The bill stated that consenting adults would be able to participate in any sexual contact they wanted. However, it would take a few more years to pass the bill. The partnering ministers standing up for LGBTQ+ would be significant for legal battles and swaying public opinion.

The minister's public condemnation of police purposefully raiding places with LGBTQ+ members made tremendous efforts that eventually ended these raids. A liaison, Elliot Blackstone, was the middleman between LGBTQ+ organizations and the police. No longer would the police raid LGBTQ+ events in San Francisco.³¹ Strong efforts gave space for some members of the LGBTQ+ community to feel safe in their personal religions again. Without Martin and Lyon attending the initial retreat representing DOB, the Council on Religion and the Homosexual may have never been

26. Biren, *No Secret*.

27. Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 240.

28. Donoran Bess, "Incidents at a Homosexual Benefit: Angry Ministers Rip Police", *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 3, 1965, <https://exhibits.lgbtran.org/exhibits/show/crh/item/1780> (Accessed April 12, 2022).

29. Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 239.

30. "Cops Invade Homosexual Benefit Ball," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 2, 1965, <https://exhibits.lgbtran.org/exhibits/show/crh/item/1774> (Accessed April 12, 2022).

31. Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 242-243.

created. These are just two examples of how they turned a little social group into an organization to fight for change. Martin and Lyon, still with DOB, decided to broaden their horizons and join other organizations as well.

National Organization for Women

The National Organization for Women, or NOW, is a grassroots organization founded in 1966 to help fight sexism and secure equal opportunities for women. The organization was dedicated to helping women from all different walks of life, including women of color, working class, middle class, and many other women. NOW was essentially a civil rights organization for women.³² Despite the initial message that NOW was an organization for all women, lesbians were not initially allowed in the group. This changed once Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon joined under Aileen C. Hernandez, the second NOW President. Hernandez admits Martin and Lyon changed the course of NOW, offering education about lesbian rights to everyone, including herself.³³ Martin and Lyon were able to get lesbian rights put on NOW's agenda, despite it not being their beloved DOB. NOW was not founded with lesbians in mind, Martin and Lyon's additions to the organization caused some members to push back.

Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon initially joined NOW in 1968 and wanted to take part in the organization's couple's package largely because, as a lesbian couple, they did not get to enjoy the economic breaks that heterosexual married couples did. When they submitted their application, they contacted Inka O'Hanrahan, the national secretary-treasurer of NOW at the time, to ensure they would receive the couple's membership for joining. O'Hanrahan was delighted to have Martin and Lyon join, she stated, "It's so good to have you with us. Surely there are more of you. I hope you'll bring them around."³⁴ This positive attitude from O'Hanrahan was crucial for Martin and Lyon to feel secure in this new organization. Martin and Lyon wanted to expand their political activism to not only help lesbians but help women in general. Martin would take a special interest in helping women escape domestic violence in relationships. Unfortunately, O'Hanrahan's enthusiasm was not shared by all members of NOW.

Renowned author of *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan, was involved with NOW at the time Martin and Lyon joined. Friedan did not share O'Hanrahan's excitement over Martin and Lyon joining the organization. As a result, Friedan suspended the option of having a couple's membership. According to Friedan and other conservative members, the original purpose of a couple's membership was to have men join so the organization could

32. "Founding," National Organization for Women, July 2006, <https://now.org/about/history/founding-2/> (Accessed April 22, 2022).

33. Biren, *No Secret*.

34. Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 262.

have support from the husbands of their members in the form of donations. Lyon stated at a NOW Rights Summit in 1990 that they “joined now as a couple, a lesbian couple. Amazingly enough, I must say, that the couple’s membership vanished very fast.”³⁵ Despite the opposition from Friedan, Martin and Lyon stayed in the organization. They had support from others like O’Hanrahan and Hernandez to make them feel more accepted. And the longer they stayed in NOW, the more influential they became. In fact, Martin became so influential that in 1973 she became the first openly lesbian board member for NOW.³⁶ Note: Friedan and other conservative members were not done trying to get lesbians out of NOW.

Martin becoming a board member for NOW in San Francisco was a huge step in the right direction for lesbian rights. With Martin on the board, there was a higher possibility of having lesbian rights be considered part of the overarching women’s rights and the feminist movement. But, unfortunately, Betty Friedan made an even bigger scene after Martin was on the board. Martin explained, “Betty Friedan was such a homophobe. She was so afraid of the stigma that lesbians might bring to NOW. . . as soon as I was on the board, she was talking to *The New York Times* that ‘some lesbians are ruining the movement’ and ‘some of them tried to seduce her,’ and so on.”³⁷ Despite Friedan’s attempts to force Martin, Lyon, and now other lesbians out of NOW, the two stayed and pushed for lesbians’ rights to be considered a concern for the larger feminist movement.

Ultimately, Martin becoming a NOW board member was what the movement needed to show some progress and success. In 1971 it was decided that lesbian rights would be added as a “legitimate concern of feminism,” and in 1973, NOW created the Task Force on Sexuality and Lesbianism.³⁸ Martin and Lyon helped push NOW to become the inclusive organization that it originally claimed to be. Due to their contributions, NOW still recognizes the issues facing LGBTQ+, and they currently, in 2022, fight for better rights for all women and LGBTQ+.

1977 National Woman’s Conference

Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon were both nominated and selected to attend the 1977 National Woman’s Conference as delegates.³⁹ This was the only federally funded conference for women to discuss their rights. The conference was put together by different feminist organizations, including

35. Biren, *No Secret*.

36. Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 285.

37. Biren, *No Secret*.

38. “Highlights.” National Organization for Women, July 2006. <https://now.org/about/history/highlights/>. Accessed April 22, 2022.

39. IWY Houston Collection 1973-1982, Intercollegiate Feminist Studies Center, Scripps College, Box 1, Folder 3. Accessed March 1, 2021. <https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1dQeVPa4aPMh1sgGVV7qDwhC76d5JuODz>.

NOW. The National Women's Conference was held from November 18 to 21, 1977. The four-day event in Houston, Texas had 2,000 delegates attend with over 15,000 observers. Over the four days, delegates hosted panels on important women's issues and voted on acts of legislation they wanted to see implemented. The Equal Rights Amendment was one of the bigger pieces of legislation discussed. The delegates were chosen based on nominations from different advocate groups.

Martin and Lyon were a part of the Lesbian Caucus, one of the six recognized specialty groups in the Northern California delegates' meetings. The Lesbian Caucus consisted of Del Martin, Phyllis Lyon, Margaret Sloan, Jean Crosby, and Jo Daly.⁴⁰ Only five women made up the Northern California representation for lesbian rights for the National Women's Conference, most coming from San Francisco. Having lesbian issues addressed and added to the list of women's issues being presented at the conference created a disadvantage. At a meeting held on October 1, other delegates expressed concern that gay rights would overtake the discussion at the conference. But Martin would not allow Lesbian rights to be disregarded. The meeting's minutes illustrate, "she stated that the Northern California Lesbian Caucus is very committed to all the resolutions passed. . . including minority issues, the ERA, etc. She asked if the . . . delegation was committed to gay rights." The minutes then recorded, "It was moved, seconded, and passed that the Northern California delegation to on record as supporting all the Lesbian Resolutions."⁴¹ Lesbian rights would then, for sure, be added to the list of issues to be discussed at the National Women's Conference.

Del Martin's work with the Lesbian Caucus significantly contributed to the start of legislation concerning lesbian rights. The conference proposed legislation that would put an end to lesbians being used as political scapegoats in the media; promote equal pay, legal rights for lesbian mothers; the decriminalization of homosexual relations between consenting adults, and more.⁴² Despite the support from the Northern California delegation, the Lesbian Caucus still faced backlash from conservative women at the conference. Conservative speakers attempted to push back against lesbians being a part of the conference and of the feminist movement. One would state at the conference, "as long as homosexuals keep their sexual preference in private, the same as adulterers and adulteresses. . .our nation does not discriminate against them."⁴³ Fortunately, most members of the delegation

40. IWY Houston Collection 1973-1982, Intercollegiate Feminist Studies Center, Scripps College, Box 1, Folder 4, 2017-08-29 10.50.47.jpg.

41. IWY Houston Collection 1973-1982, Intercollegiate Feminist Studies Center, Scripps College, Box 1, Folder 2-Folder 4, 2017-08-29 10.50.47.jpg.

42. IWY Houston Collection 1973-1982, Intercollegiate Feminist Studies Center, Scripps College, Box 1, Folder 2-Folder 9, 2017-08-29 13.26.20.jpg.

43. Biren, *No Secret*.

from different states did not agree with this line of thinking and passed the resolution to have lesbians be a part of the conference and the women's movement.⁴⁴ Martin and Lyon being nominated as delegates illustrates the trust that lesbian rights organizations had in them to get lesbian issues recognized. After the National Women's Conference, Martin and Lyon would be a part of and help co-found different organizations.

Other Activist Work

Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon are most known for their activism for lesbian rights; however, they also fought for the rights of LGBTQ+ and all women. They fought for legal protection for women fleeing domestic violence, the ERA, ending the sterilization of women of color, and many other issues. These efforts were made through organizations and other activist work. Due to the nature of their efforts to help multiple groups, they co-founded many organizations to work on these diverse issues. They also wrote a book together to help lesbians better understand themselves.

With other activists, Martin and Lyon helped create seventeen LGBTQ+ organizations between 1955-1980. Some of their better-known organizations include The Daughters of Bilitis (1955), The Council on Religion and the Homosexual (1964), Alice B. Toklas Memorial Democratic Club (1972), and San Francisco Feminist Democrats (1978). The two women were inspirations to others, sparking the creation of organizations, like the health clinic Lyon Martin Women's Health Services, which was named to honor Martin and Lyon.⁴⁵

These two women worked together with many different people to create different organizations that would help create resources for both LGBTQ+ and women while also fighting for their rights. When asked about their extensive activist work, especially with organizations, Lyon responded, "We were enjoying it, we were having fun at doing it and . . . nobody had invented burnout yet, so we didn't know we could do that, so we just kept going."⁴⁶ Even after the end of their co-founding organizations, the two activists continued to make appearances at different conventions to give speeches.

Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon were co-authors of the incredible book *Lesbian/ Woman* (1972). Martin and Lyon give their own personal stories from their relationship to offer their point of view on a lesbian relationship. Throughout the book, they also explain the experiences of other lesbians to give more than one point of view. The book discusses their activism, with multiple chapters covering their time in DOB and NOW. The book

44. Biren, *No Secret*.

45. Biren, *No Secret*.

46. Biren, *No Secret*.

also discusses important issues, like lesbian mothers losing custody of their children because of their sexuality. Ultimately, the book was one of the first published works that helped lesbians become comfortable with themselves. This book was so influential that it got a reprint for its twentieth anniversary in the 1990s with an update on the topics discussed during the original publication.⁴⁷ The book was important to generations of lesbians growing up in a world that pretended they were not there and did not accept them. It helped them feel visible and offered knowledge to navigate future relationships.

Creating organizations and writing a book are just a few ways Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon help members of LGBTQ+ and all women. The two of them never stopped working to make the lives of these groups better. Martin went on to write another book called *Battered Wives* (1976) to show she was “a feminist, not just an advocate for lesbians.”⁴⁸ The book calls out domestic violence in the United States. Martin and Lyon always found themselves being activists for others. During their activism, they never lost sight of one another.

Their Later Years

Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon lived a long life together. For fifty-five years, they remained partners in love, life, and activism. Lyon expressed that “it wasn’t that one of us stayed home and the other went out and did things. We did it together, which is probably why we’re still together, I think.”⁴⁹ Both received the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality Public Service award in 1996 for their “pioneering work in the Lesbian Movement.”⁵⁰ In 2003, the couple starred in the documentary, “*No Secret Anymore: The Times of Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon*,” directed by Joan E. Biren. The film followed their life and was in celebration of their fiftieth anniversary together. It also showcased all the amazing work these two activists did to improve the lives of others.⁵¹

In 2004, the couple was finally married by Mayor Gavin Newsom. Mayor Newsom was issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples in San Francisco, and Martin and Lyon were the first. Unfortunately, the California Supreme Court overturned their marriage and marked it as invalid, claiming Mayor Newsom was acting outside his authority. The setback did not stop Martin and Lyon. They were among other same-sex couples that sued the court, which led to the legalization of gay marriage in California in 2008.

47. Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 6-10.

48. Biren, *No Secret*.

49. Biren, *No Secret*.

50. Biren, *No Secret*.

51. “Del Martin & Phyllis Lyon | Profile”, LGBTQ Religious Archives Network, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://lgbtqreligiousarchives.org/profiles/del-martin-phyllis-lyon>.

Martin and Lyon were the first gay couple to be married in California, again by Mayor Gavin Newsom, on June 16, 2008.⁵² Sadly, Del Martin passed away two months later, on August 21, 2008. Martin had experienced deteriorating health for quite some time, and she passed from an infection at the age of 87. Lyon stated after her passing, “I am devastated, but I take some solace in knowing we were able to enjoy the ultimate rite of love and commitment before she passed.”⁵³ Though it is heartbreaking that Martin passed so soon after marrying, at least she and Lyon could marry before she passed.

After Martin’s death, Lyon lived for a while longer. She continued to make appearances and speeches for LGBTQ+ rights. Lyon passed on April 10, 2020; she was ninety-five. The now governor of California, Gavin Newsom, stated after her death, “Phyllis — it was the honor of a lifetime to marry you and Del. Your courage changed the course of history.”⁵⁴ Once gone, their house in San Francisco was turned into a historical landmark commemorating all the work they did as activists.⁵⁵ The suits they wore at their first wedding are on display at the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco to honor them.⁵⁶

Conclusion

Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon were terrific women who did much for the LGBTQ+ community and all women. They did not want to cover only one issue; they wanted to help all different people to the best of their abilities. Amazingly, they were able to do it as a couple. Acting as an activist couple made their work even stronger. They were able to support each other and fought for the right to be married themselves.

Unfortunately, the political climate of today threatens *Obergefell v. Hodges* safety. Despite the uncertainty, it is essential to honor these two activists for all the work they did during their time. They dedicated their lives to helping others and improving the lives of LGBTQ+ and all women.

It is uncommon for activists to see a change in their own lifetimes from their work. Martin once explained, “We’ve seen change that we never thought would happen in our lifetime . . . You have to be involved in politics, and that is where change has come about that I have seen in the last 50 years.”⁵⁷ Martin and Lyon’s political work is even more courageous

52. William Grimes, “Del Martin, Lesbian Activist, Dies at 87,” *The New York Times*, Aug. 27, 2008.

53. Grimes, “Del Martin.”

54. Carmel, “Phyllis Lyon.”

55. Allyson Waller, “San Francisco Makes Home of Lesbian Couple a Landmark,” *The New York Times*, May 7, 2021.

56. Carmel, “Phyllis Lyon.”

57. Biren, *No Secret*.

in the context of the McCarthyism of their era. The persecution and even imprisonment of left-wing intellectuals for supposed communist loyalties under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, created a climate of fear. Bravely continuing to organize in a time when “subversives” were being targeted by the US government, Martin and Lyon persevered, even becoming the first gay couple in California to be married.

Martin and Lyon’s relationship shows the longevity a connection outside the hetero-normative sphere can have. Many relationships, especially couples involved in politics, can fall apart. Fortunately, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon beat those odds and had a beautiful life together. Their relationship was the foundation of their political activism, and without it, LGBTQ+ and women’s rights may not be where they are today.

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The “Polish” Helmet: The influences on the collecting habits of William Randolph Hearst as reflected by one of the most ambiguous items in his collection.

Anastasia Thompson

Abstract: Research into William Randolph Hearst’s vast art collection has gained importance in the last decade as questions of provenance and ethical art collecting have come into question in the field of art history. Unfortunately, many items documented in the collection’s online database managed by Long Island State University have provenances labeled “unknown” and descriptions of 100 words or less. Little details have led to ambiguous items with long histories that cannot be investigated historically or connectively. The “Polish” Helmet is one such ambiguous item, with not only the motivations behind Hearst’s purchase unknown but also the helmet itself. Using previous sale documentation and exhibition catalogs from Hearst’s original purchase, as well as comparative examples currently in archives and museums in Poland, this paper attempts to definitively identify the “Polish” helmet. The paper theorizes that the notoriety of the helmet’s original owner, Archduke Eugen of Austria, was used to boost Hearst’s social status. Dr. Bashford Dean’s influence on wealthy white men collecting medieval armor to embrace the idea of Arthurian chivalry is also discussed.

The “Polish” Helmet. Description: 70 words. Provenance: Unknown.¹ This item is one of the most ambiguous items in William Randolph Hearst’s art collection. One photograph, a short item description, and an incomplete provenance record provide clues to help explain the significance of this item. The helmet may have been a one-off piece that Hearst bought in a large lot, similar to the modern-day purchase of an auctioned storage unit, but this was not the case for the “Polish” helmet. So why purchase this specific item? The helmet could have been bought or given to him. However, if Hearst purchased the helmet intentionally, there must have been a historical reason for his decision. Understanding Hearst’s motivations requires understanding the origins of the helmet, the provenance of the helmet, and the motivations behind the culture of collecting.

Hearst possessed numerous pieces of medieval arms and armor, which may offer insight into why he acquired the “Polish” helmet. The “Polish” helmet’s previous owner is believed to be the Archduke Eugen of Austria.

1. Anonymous. A “Polish” Helmet. Decorative arts. Place: Unknown, Provenance: Purchased by William Randolph Hearst from H. I. & R. H. Archduke Eugen, F. M. Sale, through the Anderson Galleries, March 7, 1927, for \$575; sold to Gimbel Bros., Inc., October 30, 1942, for \$145. https://library-artistor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/asset/AWSS35953_35953_43775189.

It was common for rich, white American men to collect medieval armor, a practice popularized by Doctor Bashford Dean and his revival of interest in Arthurian Chivalry. Possibly influenced by the trend, Hearst may have wanted the item because of its connection to European status.¹ Considering Hearst's desire for status, the prestige associated with the helmet, and his romanticized ideas of medieval history perhaps help to explain the presence of the helmet in his collection.

What is a “Polish” Helmet?

Its description:

The helmet is composed of “a sharp bowl, consisting of eight-pointed arched sections, of which an acorn forms the point of union, and a twice laminated neck-guard. The triangular nasal is fastened by a spring-clip to the umbril, which stands out horizontally. The heavily studded solid is provided with bindings of red velvet. Mark on upper edge side of umbril. Original lining. Highly tempered laminated metal. Unmistakably the work of an Augsburg armorer.”²

This report, with a photograph attached to the item, is in the Long Island University database (*figure 1*).³ Convincingly, it suggests that this helmet is at least Polish in design. Yet the style of the helmet is referred to as a *zischäge* or “lobster-tail pot” shape, developed from the original Ottoman Turkish *çiçak* (*figure 2*) at the turn of the sixteenth century.⁴

The pointed top of the bowl, with eight segmented pointed arches, the addition of the neck guard, and the triangular nasal on the umbril⁵ emulate the style of a Turkish *çiçak* helmet. But the characteristic of a Polish *hussar* cavalry helmet (*figure 3*), called *syszak*, was worn by Polish Winged Hussars and cavalymen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶ When comparing Hearst's helmet design to both the traditional Turkish *çiçak*⁷ and Polish *syszak*⁸ helmets, it is unique. Hearst's helmet utilizes

1. Twelve item lot purchased by Hearst at the Archduke Eugen auction: <https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/#/category/10374058946;page=1;size=48;term=Eugen>.

2. Anonymous. A “Polish” Helmet. Decorative arts. Place: Unknown, Provenance: Purchased by William Randolph Hearst from H. I. & R. H. Archduke Eugen, F. M. Sale, through the Anderson Galleries, March 7, 1927, for \$575; sold to Gimbel Bros., Inc., October 30, 1942, for \$145. https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/asset/AWSS35953_35953_43775189.

3. University, Long Island. “William Randolph Hearst Archive “. ARTSTOR, December 16, 2022, 2005. <https://www-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/collection/william-randolph-hearst-archive-long-island-university/>.

4. H.R. Robinson, (2002) *Oriental Armour*, Courier Dover Publications. ISBN 0-486-41818-9, 62-63.

5. Umbril: the visor of a helmet, usually referring to a set of metal armor.

6. R. Brzezinski, (McBride, A. - illustrator) (1987) *Polish Armies 1569-1696* (1), Osprey Publishing, London.

7. Example of Turkish *çiçak* helmet: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/27936>.

8. Example of Polish helmet: Armour of Stephen Báthory (c. 1560, later King of Poland), displayed at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria www.khm.at/en/object/373023/.

characteristics of the Turkish and Polish helmets, making the usage of the “Polish” moniker more logical as the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth had an extensive cross-cultural relationship with the Ottoman Empire.⁹ Hearst’s “Polish” helmet bears a striking resemblance to a “German” cavalry or dragoon officer (*figure 4*) in Prince Radziwell’s Lithuanian Army from 1650,¹⁰ suggesting the helmet resembles armor in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that is more in the Lithuanian territories, closer to Hungary and Turkey, domains of the Ottoman Empire.

To unlock the meaning behind the term “Polish” to describe the Hearst helmet, the provenance of the object included in the albums used in the Long Island State University database is critical. “Provenance: Purchased by William Randolph Hearst from H. I. & R. H. Archduke Eugen, F. M. Sale, through the Anderson Galleries, March 7, 1927, for \$575.”¹¹ The original owner of this item, Archduke Eugen of Austria, sold this item from the armory collection of Hohenwerfen Fortress, a property he acquired in 1898 with the intention of massive restoration.¹² However, in this same 1927 Anderson galleries auction catalog, *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour*, it states in the preamble, “to these Archduke Eugen added fine examples in a splendid state of preservation from the Freudenthal Armoury of the ancient Order of the Teutonic Knights, of which he is a Grandmaster.”¹³ Thus, whether the “Polish” helmet was already in the Hohenwerfen fortress’s armory collection when Archduke Eugen purchased the property or was added to the collection from the Freudenthal Armoury must be considered. Looking at the language used in the “Polish” helmet’s original 1927 description and auction catalog (*figure 5&6*), between the time of Hearst’s original purchase in 1927 and the selling of the object in 1945, the words “Museum Example” were removed from the object’s original description in auction inventory documents.¹⁴ In addition, the preamble of the 1927 auction catalog includes small passages describing the extensive restoration work that Archduke Eugen executed through the handiwork of German craftsmen, including the “replacing of missing parts.”¹⁵

9. Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century)*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 17 Oct. 2022) doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/97890004507562>.

10. Brzezinski, Richard *Polish Armies 1569-1696*. Men at Arms Series. 205 vols. Vol. 188, London, UK: Osprey Publishing, 1987.

11. “The “Polish” Helmet.” William Randolph Hearst Archive, ITHAKA, accessed 09/19, 2022, https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/#/asset/AWSS35953_35953_43775189;prevRouteTS=1663382419935.

12. Inc., Anderson Galleries. *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour*. Internet Archive: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. <https://archive.org/details/greathistoricalc00ande/page/n13/mode/2up>.

13. Anderson Galleries, Inc., *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour*, 14.

14. Anderson Galleries, Inc., *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour*, 14.

15. Anderson Galleries, Inc., *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour*, 14.

The combination of the helmet's Turkish and Polish design characteristics and the specific usage of the words "museum example" in the object's auction description suggest that Hearst's helmet was a "museum quality" Ottoman-influenced Polish Hussar helmet. It most likely originated from a more eastern region of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and possibly even that of a high-ranking officer due to the inclusion of the red-velvet bindings.¹⁶ Additionally, the words "unmistakably the work of Augsburg armorer" in the item's description imply that the craftsmanship of the helmet is German in origin, most likely from the Helmshmeid family armory¹⁷ in Augsburg, the royal armorer to the Habsburg family. It is impossible to confirm which Augsburg armory crafted this specific helmet without the ability to examine it for the Helmshmeid mark closely.

The Notoriety of Purchase

The purchase of this helmet, out of thousands of items, is evidence to show Hearst was concerned with its provenance rather than the historical



Figure 1: The "Polish" Helmet, formerly of the William Randolph Hearst Collection.



Figure 2: A Turkish *Çiçak* Helmet from the 16th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 3: A Polish *syszszak* helmet.



Figure 4: Radziwell's Lithuanian Army, c. 1650 – Item #2: "German" cavalry or dragoon officer, pg. D of Polish Armies 1569-169

16. Armour of Stephen Báthory (c. 1560, later King of Poland), displayed at the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna, Austria. www.khm.at/en/object/373023/.

17. Dirk H. Breiding, "Famous Makers of Arms and Armors and European Centers of Production." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, October, 2002, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/make/hd_make.htm.

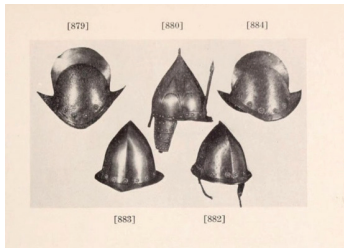


Figure 5: The “Polish” Helmet (880) in *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armor Auction Catalog* (1927).

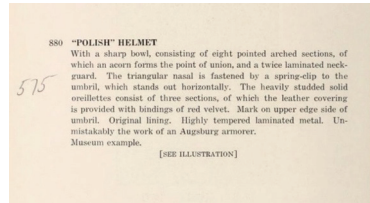


Figure 6: Item 880: “Polish” Helmet description in *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armor Auction Catalog* (1927).

significance of the item. The practice of collecting based on the notoriety of an object’s past owner was starting to expand to North America. In the Twentieth century, it was also a common trend among the nouveau riche in the United States. The most famous example of the American nouveau riche participating in this tradition is J. Paul Getty, who purchased significant European antiquities at auction during the Great Depression and World War II initially owned by famous European collectors. Antiquities allowed these men and women to forge new identities as sophisticated consumers who had more in common with Tiberius than Texas. Headlines for Archduke Eugen’s sale in the *New York Times* read “HISTORIC ARMOR ON SALE: First Session Brings \$9,397 for Archduke Eugen’s Collection”.¹⁸ The public knew the high-profile sale was a Habsburg-descended Austrian royal.¹⁹ Also included were the names of those that purchased from the collection, such as the prominent New York collector Theodore Offerman.²⁰ Thus, the publicity of the auction added to the notoriety of the purchase. The items Hearst bought from the collection were valuable. But even more valuable to Hearst was the public knowledge that he purchased a lot of twelve items, all armor or pistols.²¹

Archduke Eugen’s Habsburg heritage was the top selling point for the 1927 auction at Anderson Galleries. There was advertised emphasis on his connection to the royal family of Spain²² listed in the auction catalogue and

18. “HISTORIC ARMOR ON SALE: FIRST SESSION BRINGS \$9,397 FOR ARCHDUKE EUGEN’S COLLECTION.” 1927. *New York Times* (1923-), Mar 02, 3. <http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fhistorical-armor-on-sale%2Fdocview%2F104221399%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D10358>.

19. Anderson Galleries, Inc., *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour*, 14.

20. Stephen V. Grancsay, “Arms and Armor from the Theodore Offerman Collection.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 35, no. 2 (1940): 30–32. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3256776>.

21. Twelve item lot purchased by Hearst at the Archduke Eugen auction: <https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/#/category/10374058946;page=1;size=48;term=Eugen>.

22. Anderson Galleries, Inc., *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour*, 14.

several New York Times articles. For example, “OLD AUSTRIAN ARMS ARE EXHIBITED HERE: Collection of 2,000 Pieces Up for Auction -- Many Used in Medieval Battles. CONTAINS FINE ARMOR SETS Spanish King’s Uncle the Owner”²³ were headlines on February 23, 1927 – one week predating the beginning of the auction.²⁴ So, while the helmet may have been a “museum example”, whether Hearst was aware of this fact when he purchased the item is of little consequence when the item has been widely advertised as being formerly part of a European royal collection.

The Men Behind the Man

While collecting objects from famous collections was essential to the American nouveau riche’s self-fashioning, the trend of collecting medieval and Renaissance armor from Europe was confined to an exclusive subset of rich white men.²⁵ Self-fashioning, as defined by Stephen Greenblatt, is the constructing of public characteristics of self-identity to reflect cultural norms.²⁶ While it was created to apply to literary theory, the term applies to the concept of collectors collecting certain items.²⁷ The man credited for bringing the collecting of arms and armor to the American mainstream and building the scholarly field of armor is Dr. Bashford Dean.²⁸ He was the head curator for the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Department of Arms and Armor.²⁹ As the department head, Dean was responsible for acquiring new pieces to add to the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s now encyclopedic armor collection by cultivating relationships with wealthy collectors.³⁰ Before being installed as head of the newfound Department of Arms and Armor in 1912, he worked as both a zoologist and a freelance expert in European Arms and Armor. Dean was often hired to curate personal

23. “OLD AUSTRIAN ARMS ARE EXHIBITED HERE: COLLECTION OF 2,000 PIECES UP FOR AUCTION -- MANY USED IN MEDIEVAL BATTLES. CONTAINS FINE ARMOR SETS SPANISH KING’S UNCLE THE OWNER -- PEASANTS’ FLAILS AND “HOLY WATER SPRINKLERS” SHOWN.” 1927. *New York Times* (1923), Feb 23, 23. <http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fold-austrian-arms-are-exhibited-here%2Fdocview%2F104249050%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D10358>.

24. Anderson Galleries, Inc., *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour*, 14.

25. Donald J. La Rocca, “Bashford Dean and the Development of Helmets and Body Armor during World War I.” In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, March, 2017, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/bash/hd_bash.htm (March 2017).

Witkowski, Terrence H. 2020. “Arms and Armor Collecting in America: History, Community and Cultural Meaning.” *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 12 (4): 421-447. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1108/JHRM-12-2019-0050>. <http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/arms-armor-collecting-america-history-community/docview/2463197751/se-2>. 424.

26. Greenblatt, *Renaissance self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*.

27. Greenblatt, *Renaissance self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*.

28. La Rocca, “A Look at the Life of Bashford Dean.”

29. Witkowski, “Arms and Armor Collecting in America: History, Community and Cultural Meaning.”, 425.

30. La Rocca, “A Look at the Life of Bashford Dean.”

collections, as he was in 1909 when he was hired by William Randolph Hearst to purchase armor for his personal collection.³¹

Various reasons justify why Hearst likely bought from Archduke Eugen's high-profile auction. First, the history of Dr. Bashford Dean as Hearst's curator. Second, Hearst had a history of purchasing from notable collections, such as items from Prince Radziwill of Poland and the Princes of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringe.³² Dean is even applauded in *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour* auction catalog from Archduke Eugen's sale:

The appreciation of armour in America, the understanding of the historical, artistic, technical and romantic interest, has been brought to the attention of an increasingly large public by the efforts of Dr. Bashford Dean, to whom every lover of armour owes a debt of gratitude.³³

Most compelling, though, is that Hearst and Dean worked together throughout Dean's career at the Metropolitan Museum of Art which ended in 1927 with his retirement. It was the same year that the lot of twelve items was purchased at the auction of Archduke Eugen.³⁴ After Dean retired, Hearst began to work with Raymond Bartel, a French armorer who specialized in the restoration of European antique armor³⁵ and who worked with Dr. Bashford Dean to prototype armor for American soldiers in World War I.³⁶ As Archduke Eugen's auction was in 1927, the same year as Dr. Bashford Dean's retirement and only two years after Hearst's purchase of St. Donat's Castle,³⁷ a Welsh castle bought specifically to display Hearst's large collection of sixteenth-century arms and armor,³⁸ there is also a possibility that the person who advised Hearst to purchase certain objects from Archduke Eugen's auction was Raymond Bartel. But as Hearst liked to purchase based on his own whims,³⁹ his art collection is both "vast but personal,"⁴⁰ yet personal to reasons only known to Hearst himself.

31. Victoria Kastner, "William Randolph Hearst: Maverick Collector," *Journal of the History of Collections* 27, no. 3 (2015): 413-24. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhu043>. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhu043>.

32. Kastner, "William Randolph Hearst: Maverick Collector," 14.

33. Anderson Galleries, Inc., *The Great Historical Collection of Arms and Armour*, 14.

34. Donald J. La Rocca, (2012-10-28), "Bashford Dean and the Creation of the Arms and Armor Department", *Sunday at the Met (video)*, New York, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

35. Donald J. La Rocca, "THE MET AND WORLD WAR I." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (2017): 40-47. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48567978>.

36. Donald J. La Rocca, "THE MET AND WORLD WAR I," 45.

37. Victoria Kastner, *Hearst Castle: the Biography of a Country House* (New York: Abrams Books) ISBN 9780810934153. OCLC 925187626.

38. Stephen N. Fliegel, The dream of chivalry: arms and armour and their appeal to the American collector of the Gilded Age, *Journal of the History of Collections* 27, no. 3 (November 2015): 363-374, <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/10.1093/jhc/fhu038>.

39. Fliegel, The dream of chivalry: arms and armour and their appeal to the American collector of the Gilded Age, 366.

40. Kastner, "William Randolph Hearst: Maverick Collector," 413.

For more than three decades, Dr. Bashford Dean and Raymond Bartel played essential roles in Hearst's collecting of armor. Their influence on Hearst helps us understand some of the motivation behind his vast amount of armor purchases, possibly even the choice to purchase the Polish Helmet. Yet the answer to the question we have been asking from the beginning remains unanswered. While we will never be able to get into the mind of William Randolph Hearst to answer these questions, looking at what influenced the initial impulse to collect arms and armor by a generation of men during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century⁴¹ may give us better insight. Specifically, the influence of the Gothic - Romantic revival movement happening simultaneously during this time period.⁴²

The Chivalrous Revival

The Pan-European Gothic Revival movement of the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries was culturally a drawback to the bygone era of Medieval Europe that existed in literature, art, and music created during the Gothic era in reaction to the booming Industrial Revolution overtaking the world.⁴³ The characteristics of Arthurian Chivalry, a sub-movement of the romantic revival period that idolized the knight's honor code from the legends of King Arthur, is an influence that resonated with wealthy American men during the Gilded Age. Ideas were particularly found in the novels of Sir Walter Scott.⁴⁴ Most famous for his novel *Ivanhoe* and poem *The Lady of the Lake*, Sir Walter Scott is considered one of the most influential romantic historical authors and is heavily praised in his contemporary life by authors such as Jane Austen and Mary Shelley.⁴⁵ Being that he was a paragon of Romantic literature, particularly the idea of Arthurian Chivalry, it does not come as a huge surprise that Hearst owned three full sets of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverly Novels* (a 48-volume set), in addition to personal journals of Scott's in his library at his home in San Simeon.⁴⁶ Collecting Sir Walter Scott's novels was a trend among wealthy, white American families, along with the extensive collecting of Sir Walter Scott's personal letters. Besides Hearst, George Vanderbilt's library at The Baltimore contained the *Waverly Novels*.⁴⁷ Vanderbilt collected and impressive 273 of Scott's novels during his lifetime. Noteworthy is that handwritten manuscripts of Scott's

41. La Rocca, "A Look at the Life of Bashford Dean."

42. Witkowski, "Arms and Armor Collecting in America: History, Community and Cultural Meaning", 422.

43. Leopold Damrosch, (1985). *Adventures in English Literature*. Orlando, Florida: Holt McDougal. ISBN 0153350458. 405-424.

44. Fliegel, *The dream of chivalry: arms and armour and their appeal to the American collector of the Gilded Age*, 366.

45. John Murray, (1935), "Sir Walter's Post-Bag", p. 271.

46. Fliegel, *The dream of chivalry: arms and armour and their appeal to the American collector of the Gilded Age*, 367

47. Amy Dangelico, "Books by the Thousands: A Bibliophile's Collection," *More from Biltmore. The Biltmore Company*, December 16, 2021, <https://www.biltmore.com/blog/books-by-the-thousands-a-bibliophiles-collection/>.

novels were collected by J.P. Morgan, placed in his 1906 library.⁴⁸ Hearst was in good company when it came to collecting historical items of the Romantic period. Among his collection of Romantic-era items include Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *The Visit to the Sorceress*⁴⁹ (figure 7) and Sir David Willkie's *Escape of Mary Queen of Scots from Lochleven Castle*⁵⁰ (figure 8).⁵¹ As for the collecting of armour by the wealthy during the era, American businessmen embraced romantic ideals of Arthurian chivalry, ideals of loyalty, trust, and honor, that directly contrasted to their day-to-day business practices.⁵² Hearst's collection of European arms and armour is part of a larger accumulation pattern by wealthy elite men. The extensiveness of Hearst's armour collection is rivaled only by one wealthy, white American businessman named Joseph Woodman Higgins. Higgins was prompted to collect European arms and armor from a young age because of his interest in romantic chivalry.⁵³ His vast arms and armor collection, called the John Woodman Higgins Armory Collection, is one of the largest in the United States, housing over 1,500 pieces of arms. The collection happens to include a number of items purchased from Archduke Eugen's 1927 auction at Anderson Galleries, the same auction of which the Polish helmet was purchased.⁵⁴ Also similar to Hearst, Higgins regularly consulted with Dr. Bashford Dean on his arms and armor purchases⁵⁵ and bought from the famous art dealer, Joseph Duveen, of whom William Randolph Hearst also patronized.⁵⁶ Both Hearst, Higgins, and several other wealthy American collectors were driven to collect European arms and armor due to their love of the Romantic movement and the affinity for Arthurian chivalry displayed in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Looking at William Randolph Hearst's collecting habits, one would likely agree with Hearst's moniker of the "great

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48. Edward Rothstein, 2011. "Tales of Lives Richly Lived, but True? [Review]." *New York Times*, Jan 22. <http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Ftales-lives-richly-lived-true%2Fdocview%2F846744954%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D10358>.
49. Dante Gabriel Rossetti (British Pre-Raphaelite painter, 1828-1882). *The Visit to the Sorceress*. Painting. Place: Unknown, Provenance: Purchased by William Randolph Hearst from the P. A. Valentine Sale, American Art Association, March 7, 1923. https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/asset/AWSS35953_35953_43775488.
50. David Wilkie (Scottish painter, 1785-1841). *The Escape of Mary, Queen of Scots, From Lochleven Castle*. Painting. Place: Unknown, Provenance: Purchased by William Randolph Hearst from the P. H. McCormick Sale, American Art Association, April 15, 1920. https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/asset/AWSS35953_35953_43763687.
51. Fliegel, *The dream of chivalry: arms and armour and their appeal to the American collector of the Gilded Age*, 367.
52. For more on Hearst's Yellow Journalism practices, Nasaw, David (2000), *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst*, Houghton Mifflin.
53. Museum, Worcester Art. "The John Woodman Higgins Armory Collection." WorcesterArt.com, December 16, 2022 2014. <https://www.worcesterart.org/collection/higgins-collection/#gallery>.
54. Anonymous 17th century. *Closed Burgonet. Arms and Armour*: Worcester Museum of Art, Provenance: Purchased by John W. Higgins from H.I. & R.H. Archduke Eugen, F. M., through Anderson Galleries, March 1, 1927. <https://worcester.emuseum.com/objects/50016/closed-burgonet;sessionid=CD0463B771AB3CD9BB1FA40C05141578?ctx=7beea1d9-3405-417e-87cc-e88aa3af446a&idx=22>.
55. Scherer, Barrymore Laurence. "Arms and the Man." *The Magazine Antiques*, March 25, 2022, 2022. <https://www.themagazineantiques.com/article/arms-and-the-man-2/>.
56. Kastner, "William Randolph Hearst: Maverick Collector," 413.

accumulator”⁵⁷ with his vast collection of items that were often collected with no particular rhyme or reason.⁵⁸ The lot of twelve items that Hearst purchased from the 1927 auction from Archduke Eugen⁵⁹ follows this pattern of “omnivorous”⁶⁰ collecting, with items purchased ranging from Seventeenth Century carbine dueling pistols⁶¹ to Elizabethan British Blue Armor.⁶²

Conclusion

The 1927 lot of twelve items purchased at auction is a look inside the ravenous collecting habits of William Randolph Hearst. It is undeniable that Hearst’s helmet is unmistakably Polish in design, that of a Polish Winged Hussar or a high-ranking cavalryman. The helmet belonged to



Figure 7: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Visit to the Sorceress*, 19th Century, “Unknown,” William Randolph Hearst Archive.



Figure 8: Sir David Wilkes, *The Escape of Mary, Queen of Scots, From Lochleven Castle*, c. 1837, “Unknown,” William Randolph Hearst Archive.

Archduke Eugen of Austria and is claimed to have come from Hohenwerfen Fortress in Salzburg, Austria. Hearst’s reasoning for the purchase becomes less ambiguous in the context of several factors such as the notoriety of Archduke Eugen’s auction, the trend of armor collecting among wealthy

57. Kastner, “William Randolph Hearst: Maverick Collector,” 413.

58. Kastner, “William Randolph Hearst: Maverick Collector,” 415.

59. Twelve item lot purchased by Hearst at the Archduke Eugen auction: <https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/#/category/10374058946?page=1;size=48;term=Eugen>.

60. Kastner, “William Randolph Hearst: Maverick Collector,” 413.

61. Anonymous. 17th century. Deer-Stalking Wheel-Lock Carbine. Weaponry. Place: Unknown, Provenance: Purchased by William Randolph Hearst from H.I. & R. H. Archduke Eugen, F.M., Austria Sale, through Anderson Galleries, March 7, 1927, for \$280; sold to Gimbel Bros., Inc., July 26, 1941, for \$119. https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/asset/AWSS35953_35953_43775433.

62. Anonymous English. early 17th century. Blue Elizabethan Armor. Arms and Armor. Place: Unknown, Provenance: Purchased by William Randolph Hearst from H. I. & R. H. Archduke Eugen, F. M. Sale, through the Anderson Galleries, March 7, 1927. https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/asset/AWSS35953_35953_43757945.

American men, the influence of Dr. Bashford Dean and the popularity of Arthurian chivalry as displayed in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. For Hearst, it was clearly about status – acquiring royal artifacts that connect him to an idealized past. Regardless of what the helmet and other items in the purchase may have offered his ego, the mystery remains.

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The Kānaka of New Helvetia: 19th Century Native Hawaiian Migrant Labor in Sacramento, California

Bria Puanani Tennyson

Abstract: The history of migrant labor in California predominantly focuses on nineteenth-century migrant labor from China and twentieth-century migrant labor from Mexico. Missing from the dominant historical narrative of migrant labor in California is the history of Hawaiian migrant labor beginning in the nineteenth century. This paper investigates the overlooked and under-researched history of Hawaiian participation in the founding of California's capitol city of Sacramento, primarily the establishment of John Sutter's New Helvetia settlement, now called Sutter's Fort.

Migrant labor in the Hawaiian Kingdom is well-known in world history. Beginning with the settler colonialism of the British, Russians, and Americans during the eighteenth century, the Hawaiian Kingdom welcomed thousands of migrant laborers from China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Portugal to work on Hawaii's booming sugar and pineapple plantations starting in the nineteenth century. Comparatively, the history of migrant labor in California predominantly features nineteenth-century migrant labor from China and twentieth-century migrant labor from Mexico. Missing from the dominant history of migrant labor in California are the significant contributions of Native Hawaiian laborers, *Kānaka*, beginning in the nineteenth century, especially in the establishment of California's state capitol, Sacramento and during the Gold Rush era.

The capital city of Sacramento, sometimes referred to as *Kakalameko* by Kānaka, rests upon the historical site of New Helvetia, founded in 1839 by Swiss entrepreneur Johann (John) August Sutter and his small company comprised mostly of Kānaka. Native Hawaiian laborers helped construct John Sutter's colony of New Helvetia, including Sutter's Fort, Hock Farm, and Sutter's Mill. Also important are the Kānaka who stayed in the region after Sutter's Fort was abandoned during the Gold Rush. This paper traces the journey of the Kānaka, who traveled with Sutter from the Hawaiian Kingdom to Alta California in 1839 and those that followed in the subsequent years leading up to California's Gold Rush. Furthermore, this paper investigates the cross-indigenous relationship the Kānaka had with the indigenous communities of the Sacramento region, first as laborers at Sutter's Fort, then as Kānaka husbands married into Miwok and Maidu communities. This research seeks to add their overlooked and under-

researched history to the historiography of Sacramento, the Californian Gold Rush, and migrant labor in California. The Kānaka's stories have been omitted or neglected given their status as a working-class minority that disrupts the white nativist narrative of early California settlement. However, recent scholarship examining historical records written in English, Hawaiian, and Spanish on the Kānaka, seeks to add their experience to its rightful place in California history.

While historiography on the early nineteenth-century Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) diaspora in North America is limited, primary and secondary sources provide insight into the Kānaka presence in California, including Sacramento. Primary sources include Sutter's journal, the *New Helvetia Diary*, memoirs written by Sutter's associates William Heath Davis, Heinrich Lienhardt, and John Bidwell, nineteenth-century Hawaiian and American newspapers, and English-translated letters to the Hawaiian Kingdom written by Kānaka and Hawaiian-American missionaries in the Sacramento region.

During the early nineteenth century, the arrival of British captain James Cook to the Hawaiian archipelago initiated tremendous changes. After Cook's landing, Kānaka Maoli society experienced natural resource extraction, colonialism and the introduction of a hierarchal plantation society. When the in-demand sandalwood was found on the Hawaiian Islands, western merchants seeking to turn a profit on this precious wood in Chinese markets made Hawaii a priority on many trade routes. Whaling was another profitable resource extracted by Western ships. While sandalwood and whaling put Hawaii on merchant maps, the actual value of the Hawaiian Islands was its location. Because Hawaii is situated in the center of the vast Pacific Ocean, world powers such as Russia, Britain, and the United States became "simultaneously dependent" on Hawaii as a midway rest stop for their trans-Pacific trade ships to acquire fresh produce, fresh water, and labor.¹ The value of Hawaii's harbors also attracted the naval forces of these colonializing world powers, especially to a pearl lagoon that would become significant in the United States' participation in World War II.

The nineteenth-century arrival of European and American merchants and navies, followed by American missionaries, drastically changed Hawaiian society and the landscape. Sadly, the alterations included the deaths of half of the Kānaka Maoli population caused by New World diseases brought by Westerners. As more Europeans and Americans infiltrated the inner circles of the Hawaiian *ali'i* (chiefly class), Western ideology and practice, including Christianity and private property, swept

1. Samantha Gregory Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i: Native Labor in the Pacific World* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018), 19.

away the traditional practices of Hawaiian society for new ways that benefited foreigners. The orchestrators of the Westernization were the New England Protestant missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who arrived in Hawaii in the early 1820s with their Bibles, printing presses, and proselytizing zeal. The arrival of American missionaries, the introduction of private property, and the Protestant work ethic led to the Kānaka Maoli's participation as migrant laborers in Northern California.

As historian Gregory Samantha Rosenthal explains, the “greatest revolution in all of Hawaiian history” was the Hawaiian government's plan to convert millions of acres of “common lands,” the traditional, collectivist feature of Hawaiian land tenure, into private property.² It is important to note that the Hawaiian government at this time was predominantly run by non-indigenous, white Hawaiian subjects, mostly from the American missionary party. The 1848 private property legislation became known as *Ka Māhele* (The Division) and awarded the missionaries 650 acres of former “common land” per family as a reward for enlightening the Hawaiian people through Christianity and Westernization.³ Rosenthal writes that after the disastrous *Ka Māhele*, the Kānaka Maoli “became a landless proletariat.”⁴ The lack of land ownership and wealth not only turned Kānaka Maoli commoners into wage laborers but also stripped them of political agency through disenfranchisement based on their lack of land and wealth. Westerners' abrupt introduction of privatization in the Hawaiian Kingdom is the foundation of Kānaka Maoli migrant labor to the North American West Coast. It created a landless proletariat through coercion, by which Hawaiians were forced to work for wages on plantations upon land that once belonged to them and aboard whaling and merchant ships that took them to foreign lands around the Pacific Rim.

In the Trans-Pacific World, the Kānaka Maoli migrant laborers were referred to in racialized terms, such as “Kanakas,” “Owyhees,” and “Blue Men.”⁵ “Kanaka” and its variations of “Canaca” and “Canaker” were the terms used for Kānaka Maoli by Europeans and Americans. In the Polynesian languages, including *ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi* or Hawaiian, “*kānaka*” means man. In the nineteenth-century western vernacular, especially in trans-Pacific trade, the term was appropriated by white men to refer to any indigenous laborer from the South Pacific, including Hawaii, New Zealand, Samoa, Tahiti, and Australia. As ethnohistorian April Farnham asserts, “It

2. Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaiʻi*, 43.

3. Churchill, Ward, Sharon H. Venne, and Lilikala Kameʻeleihiwa. *Islands in Captivity: The Record of the International Tribunal on the Rights of Indigenous Hawaiians*. Cambridge: South End Press, 2004.

4. Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaiʻi*, 45.

5. Janice K. Duncan, *Minority Without a Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788-1850* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1972), 1.

is important to note that the term ‘kanaka’ has racial connotations...[as] both Europeans and Americans appropriated ‘kanaka’ as a term for enslaved Pacific Islanders who were captured in the ‘black birding’ trade in the South Pacific.”⁶ It is akin to the use of racially constructed slurs such as “squaw” for American Indian women and “buck” for African American men.⁷

Often, “kanaka” was added to the first name of Kānaka Maoli men. For example, John Sutter’s part-Kānaka associate William Heath Davis was nicknamed Kanaka Bill. Sutter’s most loyal Hawaiian migrant laborer was referred to as Kanaka Harry. Furthermore, westerners often had trouble pronouncing Kānaka Maoli names or did not care to learn them, so they changed their names to English names. One of Sutter’s original Kānaka crew members, Ioane Kea’ala o Ka’iana, was given the western name of John Kelly.

The appeal of Kānaka labor for Western employers resulted from their exposure to the missionaries who Christianized and educated them in Western culture. Religious education led to high literacy rates in the Hawaiian language and some education in the English language through Bible study and church sermons. It also instilled a Protestant work ethic, which gave Kānaka Maoli a reputation for being hard workers. Kānaka laborers were also preferred for their physicality. Most were primarily young men in their twenties, whose upbringing in the Hawaiian Islands made them strong through a lifetime of swimming. As deckhands on whaling ships and laborers at coastal forts, being strong swimmers worked in their favor and earned them admiration from westerners who sometimes called them “Blue Men.” However, the most appealing quality of the Kānaka, according to historian Tom Koppel, was that they were believed to be “better workers than ‘half-breeds’ or Indians and cheaper to hire than French Canadians,” in the case of Kānaka labor in Vancouver and the Pacific Northwest.⁸ This rationale also applied to Kānaka labor in Alta California at Yerba Buena (now San Francisco), Monterey, and in the hide industries in Santa Barbara and San Diego, as described by Richard Henry Dana in his nineteenth-century memoir *Two Years Before the Mast*.

Dana’s memoir chronicles his experience as a common sailor on the American brig *Pilgrim* from 1834 to 1836. It provides the only well-known account of the Kānaka labor experience in California. His view on the Kānaka, as detailed in his book, is a positive one. He writes:

6. April L. Farnham, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kalipōnia Mai, Ka ‘Āina Malihini (Letters from California, the Foreign Land) Kānaka Hawai’i Agency and Identity in the Eastern Pacific (1820-1900),” Masters Thesis, Sonoma State University, 2019, 31.

7. Farnham, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kalipōnia Mai, Ka ‘Āina Malihini, 31.

8. Tom Koppel, *Kanaka: The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest* (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1995), 20.

I would have trusted my life and my fortune in the hands of any one of these people; and certainly had I wished for a favor or act of sacrifice, I would have gone to them all, in turn, before I should have applied to one of my countrymen on the coast... Their [customs], and manner of treating one another, show a simple, primitive generosity, which is truly delightful; and which is often a reproach to our own people. Whatever one has, they all have. Money, food, clothes, they share with one another; even to the last piece of tobacco to put in their pipes.⁹

Historically and contemporarily, the Kānaka Maoli are culturally generous, which predates missionary education and Protestant conversion. This cultural trait is no doubt one of the reasons why Kānaka labor was sought after.

In North America's Pacific Northwest, Kānaka generosity and indigenous empathy were utilized by the British Hudson Bay Company (HBC). At Fort Vancouver, Kānaka were used as middlemen between the European fur traders and the local indigenous communities upon whose land they colonized and conducted business. Traditionally, the Kānaka Maoli "had no racial prejudices" and "they accepted Indians for what they were, and in turn they were welcomed into the tribes."¹⁰ Yet, this oversimplifies the diplomacy between the Kānaka and the American Indians. It would not be wrong, though, to conclude that early indigenous encounters on the North American west coast led to an early indigenous solidarity that is still strong today. Historian David A. Chang argues that this solidarity was initiated not just because of phenotypical similarities that signaled a kind of kinship. Instead, "the notion of the indigenous as a category that connects Kānaka, American Indians, and others who have faced the onslaught of settler colonial impositions."¹¹ When Kānaka encountered other indigenous communities in North America, they recognized the same colonial conditions imposed on their people in the Hawaiian Kingdom. As a result, they interacted with these indigenous communities with generosity and empathy. As aforementioned, these behaviors were noted and manipulated by Europeans and Americans. This included John Sutter, who witnessed this cross-indigenous solidarity during his time at Fort Vancouver before his trip to the Hawaiian Kingdom en route to Alta, California.

The Kānaka Maoli's appearance in Sacramento and its adjacent towns during the mid-nineteenth century can be traced to Swiss entrepreneur John Sutter. As a young man, Sutter married Anna Dübeld, a Swiss heiress.

9. Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast and Twenty-Four Years After* (New York: P.F. Collier, 1909), 152.

10. E.D. Calhoun, *Coolies, Kanakas and Cousin Jacks: and Eleven Other Ethnic Groups Who Populated the West During the Gold Rush Years* (Sacramento: Cal-Con Publishers, 1986), 34.

11. David A. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 161.

Although he married into a wealthy family, he was incapable of being a breadwinner for his family of seven. Historian Albert Hurtado writes that “Johann August displayed some business acumen, but he had a large talent for creating debt that he paid with promises while he lived beyond his means and made grandiose plans for the future.”¹² This became a pattern of reckless behavior and foolishly daring business practices that followed him to the United States as he escaped debtor’s prison in Switzerland.

In July 1834, Sutter arrived in New York, deeply inspired by the American pioneer spirit moving through the Western Frontier. From New York, he traveled to Cincinnati, then to Santa Fe, and from there, he continued up the Oregon Trail into the Pacific Northwest. In Santa Fe, he started introducing himself as “Captain John A. Sutter, formerly of the Swiss Guards of Charles X of France.”¹³ The only truth in this lie was that Sutter did serve in the Swiss military as an under-lieutenant in the Swiss infantry reserve, which was far less impressive than being a Swiss Guard in charge of the security detail of foreign nobility.¹⁴ Through his notorious charm and fake title, John Sutter was able to befriend frontier entrepreneurs and find work in their ranks. However, he gained a reputation for being a man who took on too much debt that he could not repay in full, which is why Sutter never stayed in one settlement for long. Through his stays at trading posts, Sutter learned the colonists’ ways and set to become one himself in Alta California, where it was said that the Mexican government was giving land away for free.

The English-language Hawaiian newspaper, *The Sandwich Island Gazette*, reported on December 15, 1838, that “Capt. Shuiter,” i.e., Sutter, arrived at the Port of Honolulu on Sunday, December 9, 1838.¹⁵ It had been a twenty-eight-day voyage from British Columbia to Hawaii, a pitstop on his journey towards Alta California, the destination of his colonial ambitions. During his stay at Fort Vancouver in October 1838, Sutter met James Douglas, who inspired him to choose the Sacramento Valley as the site for “New Helvetia,” his dream colony named after his father’s homeland of Switzerland. Sutter had attempted to book a passage from Hawaii to California but had to wait five months for an outbound ship. The delay in Hawaii worked in Sutter’s favor. He was well-received¹⁶ This was due to Sutter’s natural charisma and his favorite false claim that he was a former Swiss Guard for Charles X, which he roleplayed confidently.

12. Albert L. Hurtado, *John Sutter: a Life on the North American Frontier* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 12.

13. James Peter Zollinger, *Sutter; the Man and His Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939, 35.

14. Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 12.

15. *Sandwich Island Gazette*: December 15, 1838, Honolulu, Hawaii.

16. William Breault, *John A. Sutter in Hawaii and California, 1838-1839: the Significant Impact of the Kingdom of Hawaii and the Honolulu Merchants on John A. Sutter* (Rancho Cordova, California: Land Mark Enterprises, 1998), 45; Breault, *Sutter in Hawaii and California*, 31.

Although Sutter was a Swiss fugitive with no financial prospects, his convincing impersonation of a worldly Swiss Guard who had traveled through the American Frontier gained him business associates who were ali'i, European and American captains, and Hawaiian merchants. As he had done in the United States and Pacific Northwest, Sutter won them over with charm and persuaded them that their investments in his colonial venture in Central California would reap riches. Ultimately, he was not wrong, but his track record of being unable to repay his debts would continue. Sutter's Hawaiian investors included Hawaii's "merchant prince," William French, Captain Eliab Grimes, John Sinclair, U.S. Consul John Coffin Jones, and, notably, the Governor of O'ahu, and ali'i, Mataio Kekuaonoa, the father of the future Hawaiian kings Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V. It was through Governor Kekuaonoa that Sutter acquired the contracts for the labor of eight Kānaka Maoli men and two Kānaka Maoli women whom some refer to as "Sutter's Kanakas." These 10 Hawaiians were the Kānaka pioneers of California.

Sutter left with his crew of thirteen from the Port of Honolulu for Alta, California on April 29, 1839. The *Sandwich Island Gazette* reported that on the British brig *Clementine*, Sutter departed for Sitka, Alaska, accompanied by "A. Thompson, 2 German cabinet makers, and 9 Kanakas" and cargo worth \$8000 for trading goods bound for California.¹⁷ From Sitka, the *Clementine*, and her crew sailed down to Yerba Buena to deliver the goods from Hawaii and Alaska. However, Sutter was denied entry to the harbor and forced to detour to Monterey, the capital city of Alta California. With his letters of recommendation from his powerful friends in Hawaii, Sutter sought the audience of the Governor of Alta California, Don Juan Bautista Valentin Alvarado y Vallejo, to receive permission to dock in Yerba Buena. Since he was already in the audience of the man who governed Alta California, Sutter seized the opportunity to discuss an acquisition of free land in the Sacramento Valley to establish a trading post colony.

True to his character, Sutter charmed the governor, and the two men became fast friends. Alvarado humored Sutter's request allotting him eleven leagues of land east of San Francisco and into the Sacramento Valley in exchange for having an ally in the area that Europeans and Americans were vying to possess. Since their arrival, Europeans were unsuccessful in colonizing California's interior due to the Californian Indians' successful defense of their territories. Sutter may have walked with bravado after receiving the Mexican land grant, which was a major hurdle in his colonial ambitions, however, the Mexican officials were certain that he would fail.

During this part of his journey, Sutter met one of his most significant associates, the young William Heath Davis, who became a successful

17. *Sandwich Island Gazette*, "Marine News Port of Honolulu," April 27, 1839.

merchant and ranchero in Alta California, and would go on to become one of the founders of San Diego. Davis was born in Honolulu in 1822 to Captain William Heath Davis Senior and Hannah Holmes, the biracial daughter of an ali'i. He was the adopted son of one of Sutter's business partners in Hawaii, U.S. Consul John Coffin Jones, who had married Davis's widowed mother a year after his birth.¹⁸ The first time Davis came to California was in 1831 as a young boy. Davis returned to Yerba Buena in 1838, as a teenager, and began his successful career as a merchant and ship owner. Davis, known as Kanaka Bill, was hired by Sutter to be a crewmember on the Sacramento Valley expedition.

Davis recalls this voyage in his memoir *Sixty Years in California*, which is regarded as one of the quintessential primary sources for early California history. Sutter's company left Yerba Buena on August 8, 1839, with three ships. The Monsoon was the only vessel available in the Yerba Buena Bay, along with two schooners, the Isabel and Nicholas, which Davis states Sutter put under his charge. It was an eight-day journey, during which Davis claims Sutter confided in him his schemes for the Sacramento Valley. Sutter said to him that "as soon as he found a suitable site, he would immediately build a fort, as means of defense against the Indians, and against the government of the department of California in case any hostility should be manifested in that quarter."¹⁹ He also reports, incorrectly, that Sutter brought with him only "four or five Germans or Swiss, who were mechanics, and three Hawaiians and their wives."²⁰ Davis remained an associate of Sutter's and is referenced in the *New Helvetia Diary*, the daily business log kept by Sutter and his associates at Sutter's Fort.

The *New Helvetia Diary* and the memoirs of Sutter and his associates published in the late nineteenth century are the most significant sources regarding early Kānaka Maoli settlers in the Sacramento Valley. In the *Diary of John Sutter*, entries detail that the first non-indigenous housing built in the Sacramento Valley was built by the "Canacas" and consisted of "3 grass houses, like it is customary on the Sandwich Islands."²¹ In his diary, Sutter also admitted, "I could not have settled the country without the aid of those Canacas. They were always faithful and loyal to me."²² Sutter's relationship with his Kānaka Maoli laborers resembled partnership based on the privileges he gave them at Sutter's Fort and later at Hock Farm and Sutter's Mill. It is conceivable that Sutter was fond of them because they comprised most of his company that helped establish New Helvetia in 1839.

18. Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 60.

19. William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California: A History of Events and Life in California, Personal, Political and Military, Under the Mexican Regime* (San Francisco: A.J. Leary, 1889), 14.

20. Davis, *Sixty Years in California*, 16.

21. John Augustus Sutter and Douglas S. Watson, *The Diary of Johann August Sutter, with an Introduction by Douglas S. Watson* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1932).

22. Erwin G. Guude, *Sutter's Own Story* (New York: Putnam's, 1936), 34.

Of the thirteen people Sutter brought with him to the Sacramento Valley, it is documented that eight Kānaka Maoli men and two of their wives were the original ten Kānaka Maoli pioneers that came to Sacramento as Sutter's migrant laborers. They were paid ten dollars a month for a three-year term and were allowed to return to the Hawaiian Kingdom after their contract had been fulfilled.²³ However, these Hawaiians who accompanied Sutter to Sacramento settled in the region, which may be due to their loyalty and friendship with Sutter. Some of these Kānaka Maoli pioneers were Harry, nicknamed Kanaka Harry, Samuel Kapu'u and his wife Elena Kapu'u, Ioane Kea'ala, nicknamed John Kelly, two Kānaka whose real names are unknown but who are referred to as Jim Crow and Maintop, Manaiki, and his sister Manuiki.²⁴

It has yet to be discovered if these original ten Kānaka Maoli settlers in Sacramento kept records or sent letters of their experiences back to family in Hawaii during the first years of New Helvetia's establishment. While Native Hawaiians of the era were frequently literate, it may be that these migrant workers were among the few illiterate people in Hawaiian society or were too busy to write and keep their own records due to their labor.²⁵ The New Helvetia Diary, the simple daily log that was kept for several years after the establishment of Sutter's Fort, contains records of the original Kānaka Maoli under Sutter's employ between 1845 and 1848. Maintop, John Kelly, Jim Crow, and Kanaka Harry, who seemed to be Sutter's favorite and most trusted Kānaka employee, appear in dozens of the short entries. In one entry, the diary reports that on Monday, February 16, 1846, "Makina is coming down to burn coal and Jim (Ca) [Crow] went up to take his place."²⁶ Another entry from Wednesday, June 20, 1847, states, "Harry sent me a Message that Spaniards have taken 20 Indians of Colusses by force."²⁷ One entry describes a priority in the well-being of Sutter's Kānaka. On Tuesday, August 10, 1847, it was reported that "Doctor Bates [the Fort's doctor] arrived from Hock stating that Harry and Manniki [i.e., Manuiki] are not in danger and getting better."²⁸ Of the Kānaka mentioned in this diary, it is interesting to note that Kanaka Harry and Manuiki feature prominently in the log.

23. Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre, *Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787-1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 152.

24. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It*, 164-165.

25. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It*, ix.

26. John Augustus Sutter, John Bidwell, William N. Loker, H. P. Van Sicklen, William F. Swasey, and Helen Putnam Van Sicklen, *New Helvetia Diary: a Record of Events Kept by John A. Sutter and His Clerks at New Helvetia, California, from September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press in arrangement with the Society of California Pioneers, 1939), 22.

27. Sutter et al, *New Helvetia Diary*, 55.

28. Sutter et al, *New Helvetia Diary*, 68.

The New Helvetia Diary details that in 1846 Sutter assigned Kānaka Harry as the overseer at Hock Farm, located in current Yuba City, California. The farm consisted of orchards, vineyards, livestock, and grain fields. As an overseer, Kānaka Harry also managed the Californian Indian labor which came to Hock Farm voluntarily or as enslaved laborers. It is well-documented by Sutter and historians that campaigns were launched against the local tribes who did not ally themselves with Sutter's colony. As Sutter built New Helvetia, with the help of his Kānaka, the California Indians residing near the colonial trading post were forced to relocate twenty miles away on the Consumnes River. Historian George H. Philipps writes, "from their new position, [the Californian Indians] raised Sutter's settlement, killing cattle and stealing horses."²⁹ In retribution, Sutter used canons and burned sacred village roundhouses to establish dominance over the land, killing many and taking prisoners. During one well-documented attack in 1840, Sutter employed his canon on the nearly three hundred Californian Indian warriors who approached the New Helvetia settlement. Sutter recalled, "the fighting was a little hard, but after having lost about 30 men, they were willing to make a treaty with me."³⁰ Documentation of the Kānaka participation in Sutter's violent campaigns against the Californian Indians has not been found, however, as Sutter's "faithful" and "loyal" workers, it is conceivable that they did fight alongside their employer.

What has been documented in the relationships between the Kānaka and the Californian Indians is that several of Sutter's Kānaka married Californian Indian women. The New Helvetia Diary mentions such a union on Thursday March 2, 1848, which states that "Sinamein (John's Wife) left for the Rancheria to be cured by an Indian Doctor."³¹ The marriage between Sinamein, the daughter of a Maidu chief who was one of the first to ally with Sutter, and John Kelly was the first known marriage between a Native Hawaiian and an American Indian from Central California. In her article "Influential Squaw," Ashley Sousa states that a marriage between Sinamein and an employee of Sutter's helped strengthen the "special bonds of kinship and reciprocal obligation" between Sutter and his Californian Indian allies.³² She also states that the union benefited John Kelly because it elevated his status amongst Sinamein's Maidu community and the Mexican vaqueros he worked with. He became someone who had intimate connections in three worlds: Sutter's New Helvetia, Sinamein's Maidu community, and the Mexican rancherias.

29. George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 119.

30. Sutter and Watson, *Diary of Johann August Sutter*, 9.

31. Sutter et al, *New Helvetia Diary*, 119.

32. Ashley Riley Sousa, "An Influential Squaw: Intermarriage and Community in Central California, 1839-1851" (*Ethnohistory*, vol. 62, no. 4 [2015]: 707-27), 722.

The intimate relations between Californian Indian women, Sutter, and his employees are documented in the memoir of Swiss pioneer Heinrich Lienhard. In *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846-1850*, Lienhard mentions the marriage of John Kelly and Sinamein, although she remains nameless. He writes, "An influential squaw who lived in Sutter's anteroom at the time had a sister who had married a native of Tahiti, called John."³³ He also mentions that John was fluent in English and told pioneer Charley Burch that Sutter had sexually abused a young girl.³⁴ Lienhard further writes:

Everyone knows Sutter was a typical Don Juan with women. In addition to the large number of girls who were constantly at his beck and call, there were also in the fort many Indian loafers who rarely worked but were fed and nicely clothed because their wives received special consideration from the master of the fort.³⁵

Sousa argues that Lienhard misunderstood the cultural transaction of wife-sharing that Sutter participated in with the local tribes. Like the marriage between Sinamein and John Kelly, wife-sharing was seen as a practice to strengthen alliances between two men in local Californian Indian culture.³⁶ However, this recounting of Sutter as a sexual predator holds significance.

Most primary and secondary sources concerning John Sutter and his fort greatly feature a Kānaka Maoli woman named Manuiki, which means Little Bird in Hawaiian. Apart from the man who would become her husband, Kanaka Harry, she is possibly the most important and intriguing member of the original company of Native Hawaiians who came to Sacramento with Sutter. Historians have questioned if Mauniki, whom some sources refer to as "Sutter's Hawaiian wife," was brought as a sex worker from Honolulu. It is documented by Sutter's associates that Elena Kapu'u and Manuiki were charged with teaching the Miwok and Nisenan girls and women how to perform domestic labor at the Fort, including sewing. However, the accounts of Manuiki at Sutter's Fort, as remembered by Heinrich Lienhard, describe her situation, like the many young Californian Indian girls and women Sutter "kept," as disturbing, especially in how carnally possessive Sutter was with her. Lienhard writes:

Among [the Native Hawaiians who came with Sutter in 1839] was a woman named Manawitte [i.e., Manuike] by whom [Sutter] is reported to have had several children and who appears to have lived many years with him as his wife. A man known as Kanaka [i.e., Kanaka Harry] was

33. Heinrich Lienhard and Marguerite Knowlton Wilbur, *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846-1850: the Adventures of Heinrich Lienhard* (Los Angeles: The Calafia Society, 1941), 76.

34. Lienhard and Wilbur, *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort*, 76.

35. Lienhard and Wilbur, *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort*, 77.

36. Sousa, "An Influential Squaw," 721-722.

one of his favorites from the Sandwich Islands. As he grew older Sutter seemed to prefer young Indian girls and finally gave Manawitte to Harry who was employed by Sutter as majordomo at Hock Farm.³⁷

Unfortunately, none of Manuiki and Sutter's children survived childhood, a fact reflected in a unique entry in the New Helvetia Diary. It is noted in the diary that on Wednesday, October 1, 1845, Kanaka Harry and his wife Manuiki had a daughter. A few months later, on Sunday January 22, 1846, the child died and was buried. This birth and death of a child is one of the earliest entries in the diary and the only one of its kind. It suggests the strong bond, or possessiveness, that Sutter had over Manuiki, who was reported to have been released from her attachment with Sutter and married to Kanaka Harry in 1845. One might speculate that the documentation of her daughter's birth and death in the New Helvetia Diary implies that the child was not Harry's but Sutter's.

The Kānaka presence at Sutter's Fort dwindled after gold was discovered by James Marshall at Sutter's Mill in Coloma, California, on January 24, 1848. Prior to gold's discovery, several Kānaka who came under Sutter's employ after the fort was built had already been living and working in the area surrounding the lumber mill. Like all the people who were struck with gold fever and came to the region to mine, more Kānaka Maoli left the Hawaiian Kingdom for the Californian gold fields. Their diaspora greatly concerned the Kānaka Maoli monarchs and government officials since the population of Native Hawaiians in the kingdom was beginning to be outnumbered by American and European settlers and migrant workers from Japan, China, Korea, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. Fears of population decline of the Kānaka Maoli were published in the English-language Hawaiian newspaper *The Polynesian* in 1849. The newspaper predicted that by 1850, due to the lack of immunity to Old World diseases and the immigration of Kānaka to North America, the Native Hawaiian population would drop from 80,000 to 6,000.³⁸ The paper's scare tactics worked, and by 1850 the Hawaiian Kingdom passed legislation that banned Hawaiian emigration without permission from the government, which was followed by Hawaii's Master and Servants Act that further restricted the Kānaka Maoli from leaving the kingdom.³⁹

While Native Hawaiian presence and contribution to the Sacramento region was omitted or barely referenced in historical documentation, it is during the Californian Gold Rush that their presence and their perspectives become more known. After leaving Sutter's employ, the Kānaka Maoli set up their own mining site along "the South Fork of the North of the Yuba

37. Leinhard and Wilbur, *A Pioneer At Sutter's Fort*, 77-78.

38. Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i*, 145.

39. Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i*, 147-148.

River,” which is known as Kanaka Bar today.⁴⁰ They also founded their own settlements in the Sacramento region, including what is presently known as Irish Creek in El Dorado County and the small towns of Fremont and Verona, which are near the present-day Sacramento International Airport.⁴¹ Kānaka Maoli references to these places are best exhibited in the *kanikau*, grief chants or lamentations. These chants were written in Hawaii by the loved ones of Native Hawaiians William H. Mai and Hiram Nalau, gold miners who died in Northern California during the Gold Rush period. In the *kanikau* the Hawaiian name for Verona is written as *Uanana*, Irish Creek is *Aliki*, and Sacramento is documented as *Kakalameko*.⁴² It is through these grief chants that clues of Kānaka Maoli awareness of the lives of their kin in Northern California become visible. Highly poetic and referencing the natural surroundings of the places that these men immigrated to, these grief chants reflect a longing for family members residing outside of the Kingdom.

Other sources that document the lives of their Kānaka kin in Northern California during the Gold Rush era include the letters written by Hawaiian-born missionaries back to the Hawaiian Kingdom that were printed in newsletters and newspapers. These missionaries followed the Kānaka Maoli to Northern California to ensure that their Christian souls remained pure while faced with the evil that lurked around the Gold Rush mines. Reverend Luther Gulick, Jr., known as *Kulika Opio* in the Hawaiian community, was one such missionary. In 1862, Reverend Gulick Jr. reported to the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Nūpepa Kū'ōko'a*, a surprising discovery that a Californian Indian orphan girl, Lakaakaa from the Concow Maidu tribe, was “*hānaied*” into a Kanaka community in Oroville. As explained by Chang, *hānai* is a form of adoption in the Hawaiian culture that traditionally strengthens bonds between families rather than find homes for orphans.⁴³ Furthermore, “through *hānai*, the Kanaka made Lakaakaa and her family into kin and gave the girl a new, Hawaiian name, *Wai'ūlili*.”⁴⁴ Gulick writes:

Aia no ma na kuahiwi o na Mauna Sierra Nevada, ma ka Hikina loa o Kaliponia, he nui loa na Ohana Ilikini. Ma ia kuahiwi no, maloko o ka Ohana Kongkowali, ua hanau o Waiulili, o Lakaakaa me Hitokane kona mau inoa Ilikini.

40. Richard H. Dillon, “Kanaka Colonies in California” (*Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 24, no. 1 [1955]: 17–23) 17.

41. Dillon, “Kanaka Colonies in California,” 17.

42. Drew Christina Gonrowski, “Ka `āina Paialewa i Ke Kai: Kanaka Hawai`i Gold-Mining Communities in Oregon and California.” (PhD. diss., University of Hawaii, Manoa, 2015), 76-79.

43. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It*, 168.

44. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It*, 168-169.

(On the Sierra Nevada Mountains in the far east of California there are many Indian tribes/families. In that mountain, among the Kongkowali Tribe/Family, Wai'ūlili [Babbling Waters in Hawaiian] was born. Lakaakaa and Hitokane are her Indian names.)⁴⁵

He reported that Wai'ūlili "*ua mareia*" (married) a Kānaka man named Edwin Mahuka in 1860, with whom she had a daughter and lived in a home that Mahuka built in the Native Hawaiian settlement of Irish Creek.⁴⁶

Kānaka miners were also reported in local Northern Californian newspapers. In the Sacramento Daily Union, in 1854, it was reported that arson was committed against the Kānaka mining site in *Waloupa* (Nevada City, California.) The article reports that two buildings "belonging to Kanakas" were burned down, "fired probably by whites."⁴⁷ The article also reports that a building belonging to white miners "Johnson, Rice, and others" was also burned down a week afterward. The article provides more details into the incident by reporting that "Johnson was particularly active in driving off the Kanakas, and it is thought that the house was set on fire in retaliation."⁴⁸ Consistent with the racist attitudes towards non-whites and the white supremacy that was prevalent in the United States before and after the Civil War, this article provides insights on how the early Native Hawaiian settlers in Northern California were treated. As foreigners who also had some physical resemblance to people from Asia, particularly the Chinese, discrimination and hate crimes against the Kānaka Maoli was tied to the development of the Chinese Exclusionary Act that would appear later in the nineteenth century.

More insight into the lives of the Native Hawaiians who left for Northern California to become migrant laborers and miners was provided by a fisherman living in the Hawaiian settlement of Verona, Thomas B. Kamipele, in 1861. To the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii*, Kamipele wrote the article "*No Kalifornia mai*. [From California.]," which was published on July 3, 1861:

He luhi ka noho ana ma keia aina, he nui ka hana, ua hanaia na la a pau, aole he mahua hua o kahi mea i loa mai, o ka inoino o ka opu kai hooko ia. Oia kahi mea i loa no ia la. I na makahiki i hala aku mahope, oia ka wa pono o Kalifornia nei. I keia mau makahiki e noho ia nei, o ka poe a pau e noho ana ma na kuahiwi, e eli ana i ke gula, aole i loa ka uku kupono no ka hana ana. O ke kapalili o ka houpo kai pono i kahi ai a me kahi ia, oia kahi mea i loa mai. A, no keia nele la, aole e hiki aku ke boi i ka aina

45. Farnham, "He Mau Palapala Mai Kalipōnia Mai, Ka'Āina Malihini," 83.

46. Farnham, "He Mau Palapala Mai Kalipōnia Mai, Ka'Āina Malihini," 84.

47. "Fires at Walloupa" *Sacramento Daily Union*, Volume 8, Number 1157, 7 December 1854.

48. "Fires at Walloupa" *Sacramento Daily Union*, Volume 8, Number 1157, 7 December 1854.

hanau. E like me na palapala a ka poe e palapala mai nei i ko lakou mau makamaka e noho ana ma Kalifonia nei.

(Life here is tiresome and one works hard, and you work hard every day but not to realize expansion [wealth], but experience hunger as your reward for the day. Recent years have seen better times here in California. These years in which we live, everyone living up in the mountains digs for gold, but do not get a worthy pay for the effort. What they earn is the pangs of hunger and a want of food and fish. And because of this lack [of pay] they cannot return to their homeland. It is just as it is said in letters of those who write to their friends living in California.)⁴⁹

He also wrote “*Ka hana ho’olimalima me na haku haole, ua pili aku no ike ano o na kauwa hooluhi* (The act of contract labor with white owners is very much like hard slavery).”⁵⁰ Kamipele’s account provides insight into the hardships Native Hawaiians faced during the Gold Rush. It also hints at some awareness of American slavery. His noted location of Verona and occupation also provide insight into the labor and community the Kānaka Maoli found in the Sacramento region during the mid-and late nineteenth century.

The riverside towns of Uanana (Verona) and its sister settlement *Pilimona* (Fremont) in Yolo County provided havens and places for employment for Hawaiians in the fishing industries.⁵¹ Verona, the most well-known Hawaiian settlement during the Gold Rush era, was established by Sutter’s Kanakas, John Kapu’u who was the son of Samuel and Elena Kapu’u, two of the original ten Kanakas who arrived in the Sacramento Valley with Sutter in 1839. Charles Kenn writes that John Kapu’u married a Maidu woman named Pamela Clenso and they lived together in the Hawaiian fishing colony of Verona.⁵² After John’s death, Clenso went out to marry again twice, to Hawaiian men, whom she outlived. Manuiki was also said to have lived and died in Verona.

Vernona was still known as a Hawaiian settlement in the early twentieth century. In a half-page article titled “Hawaii in California” written by Genevieve Pankhurst for *The San Francisco Call* on March 26, 1911, the small town of Verona makes an appearance in popular California media. The article features three attractive visuals referring to the Hawaiian settlement. Prominently featured is a sketch of a beautiful woman playing a ukulele. It is important to note that she appears to be a white woman

49. Farnham, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kalipōnia Mai, Ka Āina Malihini, 111-112.

50. Farnham, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kalipōnia Mai, Ka Āina Malihini, 112.

51. Farnham, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kalipōnia Mai, Ka Āina Malihini, 96.

52. Charles W. Kenn, “Sutter’s Canakas” (*Sutter County Historical Society News Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 5. April 1956), 55.

with dark hair. The only indicators of her being Hawaiian is in her attire, a muumuu, a flower crown that is more European in style than Hawaiian, and the ukulele she is playing. The smallest picture is a sketch of Verona's ferry, and the most informative is a sketch of Verona's waterfront, which depicts raised buildings with straw roofs, several small docks, and several ships that resemble the catamarans or double-hulled canoes traditionally used in Hawaii.

At the time of Pankhurst's article, it had been thirteen years since the Hawaiian Kingdom had been overthrown by American businessmen and formally made into a U.S. territory. Her article may have been a part of the publicity campaign to accustom Americans to the idea of Hawaii as a US state by showing an example of Hawaii already in the union on Californian soil. Her article begins by stating that "such a spot there is up in Sutter County where flourishes a Hawaiian village with all the delightful abandon."⁵³ Of the population, she writes, "a hundred or more big brown men and women and numerous tots form a colony where peace and content rule their world."⁵⁴ Her article shows that early nineteenth-century Kānaka Maoli immigration to Northern California was known in the early twentieth century and then subsequently lost to time and omission by the early twenty-first century.

Until recently, Kānaka Maoli histories have been absent from mainstream writing about migrant labor in California, the establishment of the capital city of Sacramento, and the California Gold Rush. One may conclude that these stories have been omitted or neglected because they are histories of a working-class minority which complicates the white nativist narrative of early California settlement. Although archival sources are limited, there is ample evidence that early Kānaka Maoli pioneers to California made important contributions to the settlement and development of the state. In addition, the archives indicate that the Kānaka Maoli created a unique relationship with the Native Californian tribes they interacted with, establishing kinship ties and gaining respect in indigenous communities. The Kānaka Maoli represent a diaspora that emigrated as a result of colonialization and the theft of communal land rights in their homeland. As such, the study of the Kānaka Maoli in California offers future scholars an opportunity to study the communities of colonial resistance formed by these unique Hawaiian and Californian families. Often arriving as migrant labor, many of the Kānaka Maoli found in the historical record settled in California permanently, establishing small Hawaiian towns on the margins of the Sacramento metropolitan area. Thankfully, recent scholarship seeks to include the Kānaka Maoli among the pioneers who emigrated to California in the late Mexican period and during the Gold Rush era.

53. Genevieve Pankhurst, "Hawaii in California," *The San Francisco Call*, March 26, 1911.

54. Pankhurst, "Hawaii in California."

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Indio vs. Judio: Constructing Native American Race on a Foundation of Antisemitism

Nathan Weisberg

Abstract: Racial constructs of indigenous peoples produced by Spanish and British colonizers in the Americas drew on earlier constructions of Jews as a religious and proto-racial “other” in Europe. This article compares the racial construction of indigenous peoples in Anglo-America and in Latin America. It makes use of primary sources from English and Spanish colonizers themselves that explicitly drew comparisons with Jews in the context of popular beliefs that the indigenous people of the Americas were the Lost Tribes of Israel. These include written and visual sources, as well as secondary analyses by historians of the process in question. This is an important subject for research as it explores the roots of modern racial constructs in older constructs of othering and some of the reasons why racial constructs that emerged in Anglo-America and Latin America share certain basic similarities. It also explores the shared framework for racism and antisemitism, closely connected topics, and their common basis in pre-colonial Europe.

The supposed “scientific” justifications for race have been effectively debunked by modern scholars. The reality of race as a social construct is easily demonstrated by comparing the arbitrary nature of past and present racial categories in the Americas - the “one drop” definition for African Americans versus the complex labels for mixed-race persons in Latin America or the Anglo-American meaning of whiteness expanding to incorporate Jews and Irish.¹ But despite its arbitrary and constructed nature, race continues to influence perception, which inevitably begins to affect individuals’ self-perception as well.² Studying the historical evolution of racial constructs, as well as the proto-racial and pre-racial origins of those constructs, offers valuable new insights into the process of racial construction and the close relationships between seemingly quite different ideas of race, providing us with valuable tools to understand race in both modern and historical contexts.

Spanish and English colonizers specifically based their racialization of Native Americans in the Spanish colonies and New England on their earlier proto-racialization of the Jews. It is more than likely that their purpose was to integrate them into a familiar category of otherness. The phenomenon

1. David Brion Davis, “Constructing Race: A Reflection,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 7, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2953310>.

2. Davis, “Constructing Race,” 7.

existed widely among Spanish and English colonizers in the Americas, for its existence not to be accidental or attributable to the views of a handful of individuals. One of the most widespread phenomena in European racial construction is the practice by explorers and colonizers of insisting, often in the face of considerable evidence to the contrary, that the indigenous people they encountered were Jews or in some way related to Jews. As Tudor Parfitt observes, Europeans applied such reasoning to “peoples from the Aztecs to the New Zealand Maoris,” drawing supposedly hereditary connections to the biblical Israelites, the Ten Lost Tribes, or the then-contemporary Jewish diaspora.¹ One of the first places where the Jewish comparison was applied was in the Americas, to the Native American peoples, by both English and Spanish colonizers. Even when they did not explicitly argue that the Native Americans were Jewish or had Jewish ancestry, they often explicitly or implicitly compared them to Jews in other ways. The practice of comparing the two groups was long-lived. As late as the end of the colonial period, race in Latin America was still partly defined in religious terms, and into the nineteenth century, many European Empires in both North and South America continued to argue that Native Americans descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.²

The Jewish connection does not mean that Native Americans were subject to the same treatment as European Jews. Nor does it imply that the process of constructing an Indian/*Indio* race proceeded the same as the construction of a Jewish race. Indeed, while they were often compared to Jews to illustrate their real or imagined similarities, Native Americans were frequently compared to Jews to highlight their differences. Arguments for Jewish-Native American differences could also be explicit or implicit, often drawing on the Christian Bible. Differences could, and did, significantly impact how Europeans conceptualized them and what practical policies European colonizers subjected them to. Notably, the role of an earlier Jewish category of “otherness” in developing a later Indian/*Indio* category of otherness does not imply identical, equivalent, or necessarily comparable experiences by both groups. It means only that how Native Americans were treated and racialized by Europeans was derived from earlier policies and racialization applied to the Jews of Europe.

The relationship between the construction of a Jewish proto-racial other and the construction of a Native American racial other has been studied in depth by numerous scholars. In *Genealogical Fictions*, Dr. Maria Elena Martinez delves deeply into the Jewish and Muslim origins of the Spanish concept of *limpieza de sangre* (“purity of blood”). She argues that it

1. Tudor Parfitt, *Hybrid Hate: Conflations of Antisemitism and Anti-Black Racism from the Renaissance to the Third Reich* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020), 168.

2. Elena Maria Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza De Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 2; Parfitt, *Hybrid Hate*, 110.

spread from Spain to the Spanish colonies, where it was applied to Native Americans and their mixed-race descendants. Richard Cogley explores the role of Puritan eschatological thought in debates over the supposed Israelite heredity of the Native Americans of New England in his article “John Eliot and the Origins of the American Indians,” published in 1986. He argues that the supposed Jewish descent of Native Americans shaped Puritan attitudes toward them. In *Hybrid Hate*, historian Tudor Parfitt addresses the construction of Jewish “otherness,” arguing for a close relationship between anti-Jewish racism and anti-black racism. However, there does not appear to have been any comprehensive attempt to study how European colonizers in the New World used the familiar construct of Jewish otherness as the basis for constructing a new “Indian/Indio” otherness for Native Americans across both North and South America.³

The Spanish concept of *limpieza de sangre* became central to constructing an “Indio” race, first applied to “New Christians”- Jewish converts to Christianity and their descendants. The late medieval to early modern Spaniards “defined blood purity as the absence of Jewish and heretical [ancestors]” and used it to restrict New Christians from being able to hold certain types of civil or religious offices and to deny them membership in religious and military orders, as well as many other formal associations.⁴ Initially, the focus of Spanish antisemitism was on the Jewish religion and preventing converts from Judaism from continuing to “Judaize” or practice their faith secretly. Martínez argues that the earliest antecedents of *limpieza de sangre* were derived from traditional canon law that excluded the children and grandchildren of heretics from “access to a host of honors, privileges, and posts until they had proven their loyalty to the faith” or at least until the third generation. At this point, it was assumed they were sufficiently removed from their heretical ancestor to have been influenced by them.⁵ Though initially temporary and limited to converts caught Judaizing, exclusions were applied to increasingly

3. In making this argument, some thorny terminology questions have emerged that need to be addressed. This paper uses “racialization” as shorthand for the “construction of a category, definition, or idea of race.” It uses the terms “Indio” and “Indian” to refer to the specific racial constructs created by Spanish and English colonizers, respectively, for the indigenous peoples of the Americas, but not to refer to those peoples themselves. As “indigenous peoples of the Americas” is overly verbose, “indigenous” or “native” too non-specific (after all, English persons, Spaniards, and Jews are also indigenous peoples in their homelands), and “First Nations” or “First Peoples” unfamiliar to the most likely demographic of readers, this paper uses the term “Native American” as a convenient way to refer to the indigenous peoples of the Americas. In doing so, it recognizes the flawed nature of the term; “Native American” is an exonym that is not commonly used outside of the United States of America, and many indigenous peoples of the Americas do not identify with it. However, no consensus over the proper terminology exists within academia or among the indigenous peoples of the Americas themselves. This option, while admittedly imperfect, is broadly considered acceptable and not offensive. Moreover, “Native American” has a precise meaning and is more likely to be familiar to the readers of this paper than any of the alternatives.

4. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 1.

5. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 49-50.

distant descendants. Eventually treated as permanent, bans applied to the descendants of all Jewish converts.⁶

An early form of *limpieza de sangre* can be found in one of the first laws referring to the need to prevent Jewish religious practice and the presumably permanent stain of Jewish ancestry. The 1449 *Sentencia-Estatuto de Toledo* was directed toward the Jewish descendants forcibly converted to Christianity during a pogrom in 1391. While accusing Jews of several unlikely heresies and religious practices, including believing in a “goddess” and offering animal sacrifices, the document notably targeted all “*Conversos* of Jewish lineage” or anyone “descended from the perverse line of the Jews.”⁷ Such persons, regardless of how distant or minor their Jewish ancestry might be, were forbidden from holding any office “through which they might cause harm, aggravation, or bad treatment to good old Christians (*Christianos viejos lindos*)” or from bearing witness against them in criminal cases.⁸

Although such requirements that candidates for offices or associations possess *limpieza de sangre* predate the 1492 expulsion of the Jews from Spain, they became much more widespread afterward.⁹ The expulsion and accompanying forced conversion of some two hundred thousand Jews and roughly a million Muslims heightened Old Christian (Spaniards of “pure” blood) concerns that “Jewishness” was a hereditary condition transmitted through the blood.¹⁰ Martínez describes how the term *raza*, or “race,” entered into the conversation; “linked to sin and heresy,” *raza* was not applied to Spanish Old Christians, but to “Jews, Muslims, and sometimes Protestants” and their descendants “deemed to be stained or defective because of their religious histories.”¹¹ Race was thus, from its inception, a pejorative category indicating inferiority and outsider status. It was not until much later that ideas of membership in a superior and approbatory race defined by not falling into one of the outsider categories would enter Spanish thought. The proto-racialization of Jews and Muslims initially produced a medieval category of mixed-race persons known as *híbridos* (“hybrids”). Still, this category was eventually conflated with the larger New Christian population.¹²

Reasons the Spanish state and many social and religious institutions chose to maintain *limpieza de sangre* restrictions for centuries after the

6. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 52.

7. Wolf, Kenneth B. “Sentencia-Estatuto de Toledo, 1449.” *Medieval Texts in Translation*, 2008. Web. 22 May 2009. canilup.googlepages.com, 1-2.

8. Wolf, “Toledo,” 1.

9. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 43.

10. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 28.

11. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 54.

12. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 142.

forced conversion of Iberia's Jews and Muslims and apply them to people of predominantly Old Christian ancestry who had never been accused of practicing any religion other than Catholicism for generations, remain debated. Martínez observes that regardless of the purpose, restrictions served to reinforce the "irreducible otherness of Jews" and bolster "the Christian foundation of Spanish communities."¹³ Muslims, and to a lesser degree Protestants, were included in this early construction of race, and '*Moriscos*' (converts from Islam and their descendants) were also described as "New Christians" and subjected to *limpieza de sangre* restrictions. However, it was the racial construction of Jews specifically that Spanish colonizers drew on to racialize the Native Americans they encountered, frequently describing them as Jews or compared to Jews, only rarely compared to Jews and Muslims, and rarer still to just Muslims.

In all European colonial empires, "notions of blood purity... flow[ed] from metropole to colony and back," resulting in European proto-racial ideas forming the basis for race in a colonial context, and new colonial ideas of race were exported back to Europe.¹⁴ The concept of *limpieza de sangre* and the racial categories accompanying it were thus disseminated from Spain to the Americas with the establishment of Spanish colonies there. As early as 1523, edicts issued by the Spanish crown increasingly forbade "Jews, Muslims, *conversos*, *moriscos*, Gypsies, heretics, and the descendants of those categories" from so much as entering the Americas, creating a nominal purity of blood restriction that applied to two entire continents.¹⁵ In theory, the restriction made a sort of purified space inhabited only by two racial categories – pure Old Christians or the "Indio Puro," the latter defined by a "combination of genealogical, sociocultural, economic, and physical characteristics."¹⁶ In practice, purity was only ever illusory and rapidly broke down due to the emergence of a "mixed-race" population and the insistence by Spanish authorities that colonists and their descendants demonstrate their conformance to *limpieza de sangre* restrictions in order to hold certain offices, just as they would have in Spain. But whereas concerns over blood purity in the Old World were concentrated on real or imagined Jewish and Muslim ancestry, in the New World, Spanish authorities feared that "some people who claimed to be Spaniards had traces of native, or in some cases black, ancestry and were therefore inferior in quality to persons who were born in the Peninsula and ineligible for public and religious offices."¹⁷ Such policies and fears thus directly reapplied the laws used to define and police

13. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 84.

14. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 175.

15. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 128.

16. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 105.

17. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 138.

the Jewish race onto an Indio race and the mixed-race descendants of Native Americans.

The Notion that Jewish racialization served as the foundation for Indio racialization becomes particularly evident upon close examinations made by Spanish colonizers between Native Americans and Jews. The Inquisition's operations were central to defining and enforcing the *limpieza de sangre* categories. Diego Jaime Ricardo Villavicencio was an inquisitor operating in New Spain (modern Mexico) colony, predominantly in policing the descendants of Native American converts to Catholicism. His book *Luz, Methodo, De Confesar Idolatras, y Destierro De Idolatrias, Debajo Del Tratado Siguiente* discusses Native American peoples of New Spain and their religion. Crucially, the book advises fellow inquisitors, helping them detect the continued existence of crypto-indigenous religious practices.¹⁸ Villavicencio frequently compares the indigenous peoples to Jews, such as when he speaks of "those who teach idolatry, that are idolatrous Rabbis, and are among the Indios," equating Native American religious leaders to Jewish religious leaders.¹⁹ Elsewhere Villavicencio equates Native American religion with Judaism, describing it as a "sacrilegious, and abominable sin, which the Israelites committed, obeying the devil, and the Idolaters commit, denying the creator, and true God."²⁰ Less explicitly, in effort to identify and destroy crypto-indigenous religious practice, he was continuing older methods to identify and destroy crypto-Judaism.

Villavicencio was not alone in using discourse about "idolatry" to associate Native Americans with both the biblical Israelites and later day Conversos. Spanish religious authorities commonly relied on antisemitic tropes that shaped how they discussed and understood Native American religions.²¹ Don Isidro de Sarinana y Cuenca, bishop of Oaxaca and one of Villavicencio's contemporaries, declared that "even if [Indios] appeared to be good Catholics... they were 'idolatrous' Jews who concealed the true objects of their devotion."²² Thus, clearly equating those who refused to abandon Native American religious practices with the reputed heresy of the crypto-Jews. As Martínez observed, a clear correlation existed between increased

18. Full title; *Luz, Methodo, De Confesar Idolatras, y Destierro De Idolatrias, Debajo Del Tratado Siguiente: Tratado De Avisos, y Puntos Importantes, De La Abominable Seta De La Idolatria, Para Examinar Por Ellos El Penitente En El Fuero Interior De La Conciencia, y Exterior Judicial.*

19. "Demamera, que los que á Idolatrar enseñan, que Ion sos Rabies idolatras, y entre los Indios son." Villavicencio Diego Jaime Ricardo and León Nicolás, *Luz, Methodo, De Confesar Idolatras Sic, y Destierro De Idolatrias, Debajo Del Tratado Siguiente.: Tratado De Avisos, y Puntos Importantes, De La Abominable Seta De La Idolatria, Para Examinar Por Ellos El Penitente En El Fuero Interior De La Conciencia, y Exterior Judicial ...* (Con licencia en la Puebla de los Angeles: en la Imprenta de Diego Fernandez de Leon., 1692), 58.

20. "Esta execrabie maldad, y este sacrilego, y abominable pecado, que obedeciendo al demonio cometieron los Israelitas, y cometen los Idolatras, negando al criador, y verdadero Dios." Villavicencio, *Luz, Methodo, De Confesar Idolatras*, 60.

21. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 148-149.

22. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 208.

attention by the religious authorities of New Spain “to the problem of idolatry” and “speculation about the native population’s possible Hebrew origins.”²³

The construction of an Indio race by Spanish colonizers through the lens of an earlier Jewish racialization is a notable phenomenon evidenced by the frequent claims found in Spanish sources that Native Americans were directly descended from Jewish ancestry. Of course, the most obvious way Spanish colonizers constructed an Indio race using an earlier construction of the Jewish race can be seen in many Spanish sources claiming the Native Americans were literally of Jewish ancestry. The arguments were supported by a plethora of questionable evidence, sometimes even bordering on the absurd. A member of the Dominican order, Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, makes the supposed Jewishness of the Indios one of the central theses of his *Descripción de la Nueva España en el siglo XVII* and defends it with a range of unlikely evidence. Espinosa begins with the “innumerable... Hebrew words” in Native American languages, such as “vinax, which in pronunciation is a Hebrew word, and means intelligence,” that he claims proves with “certainty the Indios come from the ten tribes.”²⁴ Specifically from the Tribe of Issachar, because “the qualities that the holy patriarch prophesied [would be present] in his son Issachar, they inherited and [are possessed by] all the Indians,” namely that like Issachar they are all as strong as donkeys.²⁵ Espinosa does not stop there, noting, incredibly, that the words Judío and Indio “are written with the same letters, and... only differ in the u of the first syllable, which converted into n would say... Indio.”²⁶ Clearly, the similarity of these two Spanish words, combined with all the other pseudo-facts, was conclusive to his mind.

Such specious reasoning was hardly confined to Espinosa. A fellow Dominican named Diego Duran argued that the Indios were descended from the Ten Lost Tribes, citing the fact that “God promised the ten tribes much affliction as a punishment for their sins” and identifying “the conquest of the Indios by the Spanish” as the fulfillment of the said promise

23. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 212.

24. Translated by Sarah Oslick and Nathan Weisberg from “Para decir los indios lengua que se da a entender, dicen vinax, que en la pronunciacion es vocablo hebreo, y significa inteligencia. Otros muchos hay a este modo en aquellas provincias, y en las del Piru algunas de las mujeres de los reyes se llamaban Anna, que es nombre hebreo, y significa graciosa... Otros innumerables vocablos hay hebreos, que por excusar proligidad no los refiero, que denotan con certeza proceden los indios de las diez tribus.” Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Descripción De La Nueva España En El Siglo XVII* (Mexico: Editorial Patria, 1944), 53-54.

25. “Y parece que toda la profecía y las calidades que en ella profetizo el santo patriarcia en su hijo Isacar, las heredaron y tienen en todo los Indios. Las palabras de la profecía son las siguientes. Isacar asinus fortis.” Espinosa, *Descripción de la Nueva España*, 41.

26. “Que en los nombres son parecidos, pues estos dos nombres se escriben con unas mismas letras, y solo se diferencian en la u de la primera silaba, que convertida en n dira ludio, Indio como parece por las letras y nombre.” Espinosa, *Descripción de la Nueva España*, 49.

of affliction.²⁷ A fact not disputed in this paper is that the Spanish conquest afflicted the Native Americans, although it seems unlikely this was the fulfillment of any particular prophecy. John Phelan writes in *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in The New World* about Jeronimo de Mendieta, an Inquisitor operating in New Spain a century earlier than Villavicencio, who argued in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana* that “the vague knowledge that the Indians had about the universal deluge, as well as the idea of a promised savior - the Aztec god, Quetzalcoatl - were both of Hebraic origin.”²⁸

Spain’s colonial ideology justified its conquest of Native American peoples by saving their souls by converting them to Catholicism.²⁹ However, were Spain to truly succeed in its missionary efforts, such success would undermine its own rationale for colonialism as there was no need to convert people who were already good Catholics. Consequently, Martínez observes that despite being “unblemished and perfect candidates for Christianity,” Native Americans were also characterized as “as fragile converts who if misguided could easily regress to idolatry.”³⁰ This contradiction was inherent to the project of constructing an Indio race. Even as Mendieta argues that the zeal for converting and practicing Christianity made them worthy “to assume the name of the people of Israel,” Villavicencio characterized Indios as nominal Christians who easily led astray into idolatry by their wicked “Rabbis.”³¹ One consequence of the tension between these two conflicting visions of the Indio was to drive racialization in a distinctly different direction than that of Jews. For all that, ideas of Jewish otherness continued to be influential, even if simply by demonstrating what Indios were not. And they were not conversos. Conversos were characterized by their inability to ever become true Christians due to their tainted blood that supposedly necessitated a state of permanent exclusion. If Indios were incapable of conversion, it would call into question the fundamental *raison d’être* for Spain’s presence in the Americas and the Catholic Church’s missionary efforts there.³² Spain’s colonial ideology could not survive unless it were possible for Indios to become true Christians.

The idea of racial fluidity from intermixing in Indios ran contrary to the concept of racial permanence, despite intermixing when it came to Jews. Such is the most fundamental difference between how the two groups were racialized. Escobar del Corro, an inquisitor in the Spanish

27. John L. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo De Mendieta* (1525-1604) (Millwood, N.Y: Kraus Reprint, 1980), 26.

28. Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*, 25.

29. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 95.

30. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 214.

31. Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*, 104; Villavicencio, Luz, Methodo, De Confesar Idolatras, 58.

32. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 206.

metropole, argued that the Indios were “fundamentally different from Jews and Muslims” because they had “embraced” Christianity when introduced to it instead of denying Christ for generations.³³ The Dominican brother Gregorio García agreed. While still maintaining that Native Americans were descended from the Ten Lost Tribes, García asserted that, unlike the Jews of Spain, they “did not meet, nor did they consent to Christ’s death.”³⁴ In his view, the Jews of the Old World who descended from the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin were ‘*deicides*’ (god-killers) not because of their ancestors’ involvement in the death of Christ but because the Ten Lost Tribes had already been exiled (apparently to the Americas). So, at that time, they could not have been involved, and thus their descendants were not guilty of killing Christ. García concludes that the Indios were descended from Jews but fundamentally different from the New Christians, leading him to certain vital conclusions. Namely, whereas persons with any Jewish descent were permanently restricted from holding particular offices, persons of mixed Spanish and Indio descent “although they are *Mestizos*... to other things of honor, and religion... [they] should not be excluded, for having part of the Indios.”³⁵ Paired with another argument, García counters the Spanish concept of the Jewish race. According to García, when an Indio intermarried with a Spaniard, the offspring would “take the name of Spanish” and cease to be an Indio at all, instead being a Spaniard.³⁶

Although most Spaniards agreed with García that Indios could become Spanish through intermixing with Spaniards, few agreed that one generation alone was sufficient. The idea necessitated the existence of an intermediate category, neither Indio nor Spaniard. Soon multiple intermediate categories took form, creating the *Sistema de Castas*. Each category delineates different proportions of Indio and Spanish (and African) blood.³⁷ There was room for factors other than heredity to complicate *Casta* categories. For example, reputation and social acceptance could elevate one beyond their parentage. It is seen in an eighteenth-century legal case where a witness testified that

33. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 204.

34. “Demas, de que Yo siempre hago la salva a los que proceen del Tribu de Juda, i de Benjamin, i a los que particularmente traen su Origen de los Judios, que no se hallaron, ni consintieron en la muerte de Christo.” Fr Gregorio García, *Origen De Los Indios De El Nuevo Mundo, e Indias Occidentales: Tratense En Este Libro Varias Cosas, y Puntos Curiosos, Tocantes a Diversas Ciencias, i Facultades, Con Que Se Hace Varia Historia, De Mucho Gusto Para El Ingenio, i Entendimiento De Hombres Agudos, i Curiosos.*, vol. II (Madrid: Impr. de Francisco Martinez Abad, 1729), 102.

35. “Aunque sean Mestizos, i asimismo a otras cosas de honra, i Religion, i no son excluidos, por tener parte de Indios.” García, *Origen de los Indios*, 102.

36. Demas, de que juntando aquella parte de Indio, que los tales Espanoles tienen con la de Nacion Espanola, pierde aquella parte lo que consigo traia de poca estimacion, y gana mucho por la compania que con estotra parte tiene; de la qual, como mejor, y mas hondra, toman los sobredichos Descendientes el Apellido, y nombradia de Espanol. García, *Origen de los Indios*, 102.

37. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 148.

a woman was “accepted and held to be Spanish” despite having an Indio parent.³⁸ However, at least initially, ancestry remained paramount.

The Sistema de Castas built on earlier categories of blood used by the Spanish Inquisition to describe the offspring of Old and New Christians; “half New Christians,’ ‘quarter New Christians,’ ‘one six-tenth of a New Christian,’ and so forth.” But it carried a great deal more significance assuming the ultimate dominance of Spanish blood over Indio blood, rather than Jewish, Muslim, or Protestant blood over Spanish blood. It was generally accepted that “anyone who has one Indian great-grandparent out of sixteen is by nature, and for all civil purposes, a pure Spaniard, without the mixture of any other blood, although racial ideas were never entirely universal across the Spanish colonies.”³⁹ The notion served Spain’s colonial purpose well by making it possible for Indios to become true Christians while, in turn, making it such a complex and long-term process that it allayed any fears of a successful conversion, eliminating the need for Spanish rule.

Gradually, a new factor inserted itself into the construction of the Indio race that was only vaguely attested to in Jewish otherness: skin color. In Spain, the Inquisition relied on both familial reputation and documentary evidence to determine *limpieza de sangre*, supplying inquisitors with strict questionnaires to use when interviewing people about a subject’s ancestry.⁴⁰ In Spain’s colonies, however, documentation was lacking, and Spanish colonists were recent transplants whose communities could not always be expected to know their racial heredity. Fortunately, whereas one could not identify New Christian ancestry by sight, it was possible to determine Indio ancestry based on phenotype. Consequently, “the meaning of blood purity moved farther and farther away from religious practices and became embedded in a visual discourse... about skin color.”⁴¹ Lighter skin was associated with being Spanish or at least being further towards the Spanish end of the Sistema de Castas and therefore assumed connotations with purity in colonial discourse. Darker skin was a racial marker for being Indio - or worse, Black - and connoted impurity.⁴²

Physical markers were not entirely absent from Jewish racialization, however. An examination of how the Judío and the Indio were depicted in Spanish art demonstrates once again how the Spanish used an earlier construction of Jews as the basis for constructing an Indio race and how those two constructions were distinct - particularly concerning

38. Rebecca Earle, “The Pleasures of Taxonomy: Casta Paintings, Classification, and Colonialism,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2016): p. 427, <https://doi.org/10.5309/willmaryquar.73.3.0427>, 433.

39. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 216; 260.

40. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 279-280.

41. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 248.

42. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 268.

intermarriage. Pamela Patton explains in *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain* how late Medieval Spanish art indicated Jews through the use of precise visual conventions that included “a close-fitting, slightly pointed cap and a dark wispy beard... enlarged eyes, strongly marked brows, and [a] sharp nose.”⁴³ They were contrasted with Christians who were most frequently depicted with “cropped blond hair and tidy beards” and lacked the distinctive noses that Spanish artists consistently gave to Jewish figures.⁴⁴ Several classic examples of Spanish artwork comply with these artistic conventions and can be found in the *Cantigas de Santa María*.⁴⁵ As a thirteenth-century collection of songs describing miracles supposedly performed by the Virgin Mary, each *cantiga* is paired with at least one full-page illustration of the story relayed by the song, playing itself out over a series of panels.⁴⁶ Highly significant to the evolution of the Spanish visual arts, the *Cantigas de Santa María* represents an “inventive marriage between a new interest in the observable world and a respect for authoritative visual models that would retain their centrality to image making for centuries to come.”⁴⁷ Several *cantigas* depict Jews, notably *Cantiga 4* (The Story of the Son of the Jew whose Father had thrown him into the furnace) and *Cantiga 85* (The Story of the Jew Converted in Prison).⁴⁸ Both are also conversion narratives and, as such, are stories about transformation and early (pre-*limpieza de sangre*) proto-racial ideas of Jews.

Cantiga 4 (Fig 1) retells a story that originated in the Byzantine Empire in the sixth century and was told and retold throughout Western Europe.⁴⁹ But whereas the story is far from original, its illustration is the product of a Spanish artist and reflects elements not present in the song’s words. The Jewish boy is easily identifiable in the first two panels by his peaked hat and prominent nose. He is seen attending class with his Christian friends and taking communion with them on Easter. When the boy appears in the third panel, however, having returned home after taking communion, he is confronted by his father (marked as a Jew by his dark hair, wild beard, and pointed hat). Significantly, the boy is represented as having undergone a physical transformation; his nose is straightened and appears unlike it was (his father then attempts to kill him by throwing him into a furnace, only for the boy to be saved by the Virgin Mary, who bids the Christians of the town to burn the Jewish father alive in the furnace instead). The physical transformation of the boy’s nose is not mentioned in the *cantiga*’s lyrics but

43. Pamela A. Patton, *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2013), 3.

44. Patton, *Estrangement*, 142-143.

45. *Cantigas de Santa María*, Códice rico, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

46. Patton, *Estrangement*, 136.

47. Patton, *Estrangement*, 138.

48. Fig 1-3.

49. Patton, *Estrangement*, 145.

plays a central role in its illustration.⁵⁰ *Cantiga 85* (Figs 2 and 3) shows a Jew taken prisoner by thieves.

In this depiction, the Jew is oddly beardless and without a peaked hat, yet clearly identifiable by his nose and dark hair. While imprisoned, he is visited by the Virgin Mary, who shows him a vision of Jewish souls burning in Hell and Christian souls present with Jesus in Heaven and bids him to convert. Freed from captivity, the Jew goes straight to the nearest convent where he eats pork, is baptized, and appears in the final panel dressed as a

Christian, identified with his nose no longer so prominent but only by his dark hair. Once again, the cantiga's lyrics do not mention the physical transformation present in the illustration.⁵¹

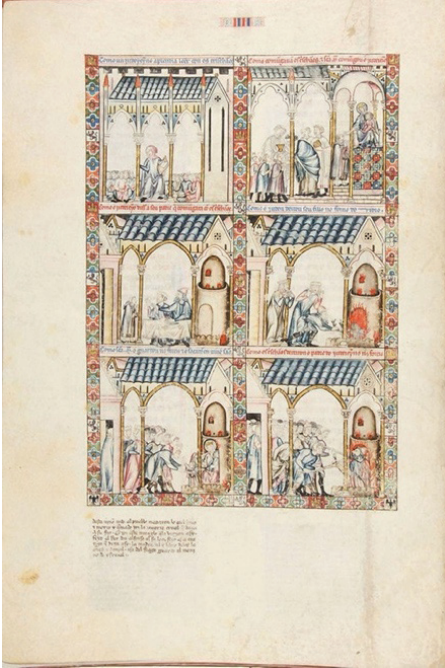


Figure 1: Cantiga 4-The Story of the son of the Jew whose father had thrown him into the furnace, fol. 9v.

On the other hand, Spanish Casta paintings offer illuminating examples of how Indio difference was depicted visually in Spanish art. Casta paintings are a type of racial art primarily produced in Mexico in the eighteenth century. Highly stylized, most Casta paintings “show family groupings consisting of a man, a woman, and their child, all helpfully labeled with their ‘castes.’”⁵² Illustrating the result of intermarriage between Spaniards, Indios, and Black people, the paintings rely on visual conventions to indicate the race of different individuals and depict a multi-generational

transformation process across a series of related paintings. For Indios and castes of Indio descent, these visual conventions include the “*huipil*,” a sort of smock commonly worn by the Native Americans of Mexico and Central America. Moreover, displayed are the performance tasks related to serving or preparing the Native American drink, pulque, and of course, through their skin color. However, skin color alone was not used as the sole determining

50. Cantiga 4-The Story of the son of the Jew who Father had thrown him into the furnace fol. 9v, <https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/11337#:c=&m=&ts=&cv=259&xywh=-3119%2C-1%2C9980%2C5616>.

51. Cantiga 85- The Story of the Jew Converted in Prison, TI.1, fol. 125v, 126r, <https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/11337#:c=&m=&ts=&cv=259&xywh=-3119%2C-1%2C9980%2C5616>.

52. Earle, “Pleasures,” 429.

factor.⁵³ Typical eighteenth-century examples of Casta art produced in the colony of New Spain depict Indios and persons of Indio descent. Examples include *De Español y India sale Mestizo* [From Spanish and Indian, Mestizo] and *De Mestiza y Español Castizo* [From a Mestiza and a Spanish Man, a Castizo], both by different anonymous artists and *De Castizo, y Española, Español* [From a Castizo Man and a Spanish Woman, a Spaniard] attributed to the artist José de Ibarra.

De Español y India sale Mestizo (Fig 4) shows an Indio woman (an “India”) serving pulque to her Mestizo (one-half Indio) son. At the same time, her Spaniard husband helps himself to a bowlful of the strong agave beer. In addition to being identifiable by her activity, she is also depicted wearing an ornately embroidered huipil and having deep brown skin. Her son is also brown-skinned but not to the same degree. However, he wears a plain European-style white shirt, while his father’s race is indicated by his lighter skin and typically Spanish coat, hat, and other clothing.⁵⁴ *De Mestiza y Español Castizo* (Fig 5) shows the next step in the intergenerational transformation of race from a different series of Casta paintings. Within, a marriage between a Mestiza and a Spaniard is displayed.

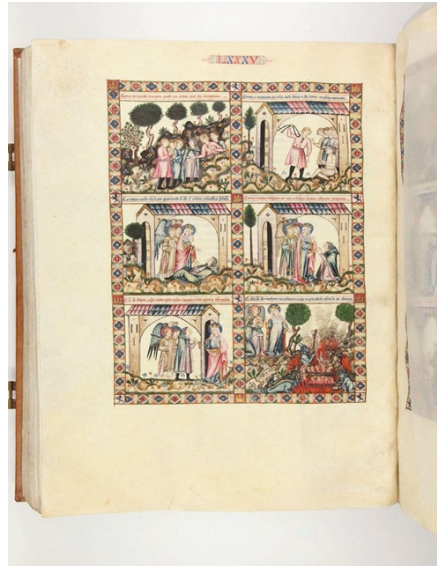


Figure 2: Cantiga 85 - The Story of the Jew Converted in Prison, TI.1, fol. 125v.



Figure 3: Cantiga 85 - The Story of the Jew Converted in Prison, TI.1, fol. 126r.

53. Earle, “Pleasures,” 436.

54. Mexican. *From Spanish and Indian, Mestizo (De Español y India sale Mestizo)*, early 18th century. Oil on canvas, 31 1/2 × 40 3/16 in., 29 lb. (80 × 102.1 cm, 13.15kg). Brooklyn Museum, Bequest of Samuel E. Haslett and Charles A. Schieren, gift of Alfred T. White and Otto H. Kahn through the Committee for the Diffusion of French Art, by exchange, 2011.86.1 (Photo: Brooklyn Museum, 2011.86.1_PS6.jpg).

The Mestiza - shown dutifully nursing her *Castizo* (one-quarter *Indio*) son as her husband affectionately presents her with a flower - wears Spanish clothing with a Native American pattern and is noticeably darker-skinned than either her husband or her child.⁵⁵ The final stage of the transformation can be seen in *De Castizo, y Española, Español* (Fig 6). A Castizo man and his Spanish wife look on proudly at their white-skinned son in fully Spanish dress. The Castizo father is dressed in entirely European clothing. Still, his darker complexion distinguishes him from his son, who, in the eyes of the artist and audience, is a full member of the Spanish race whose *Indio* ancestry has been entirely subsumed by that of his Spaniard forebearers.⁵⁶



Figure 4: Mexican. *From Spanish and Indian, Mestizo (De Español y India sale Mestizo)*, Early 18th century. Oil on canvas, 31 ½ x 40 3/16 in., 29 lb (80x102.1 cm., 13.15 kg). Brooklyn Museum, Bequest of Samuel E. Haslett and Charles A. Schieren, gift of Alfred T. White and Otto H. Kahn through the Committee for the Diffusion of French Art, by exchange, 2011.86.1 (Photo: Brooklyn Museum, 2011.86.1_PS6.jpg).

The *Cantiga* and *Casta* artwork both display differences through physical markers – prominent noses, dark skin, clothing, and close-fitting, pointed hats versus huipil smocks. The later Spanish visual construction of the *Indio* used similar ingredients as earlier Jewish visible construction and was likewise rooted in bodies and clothing. Both types of artworks also display somewhat fluid categories of identity that can transform otherness to not-otherness.

In the transformation method, some of the differences between the Spanish construction of *Indio* and the Jewish race become apparent. As the thirteenth-century *Cantigas* predate the introduction of *limpieza de sangre* requirements, Jewish caricatures are clearly proto-racial rather than racial. The physical differences between Jews and non-Jews are attributed to Jewish religious practices. By abandoning those practices and becoming Christian, the physical distinctions disappear, like the distinctive nose of the boy in *Cantiga 4*. Nevertheless, the idea that lifestyle shaped the body and that “Jews, for example, owed their pallid faces and hooked noses partly to

55. Fig 5: Anon., *De Mestiza y Español Castizo* [From a Mestiza and a Spanish Man, a Castizo], eighteenth century. Museo de América, Madrid. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.5309/willmaryquar.73.3.0427.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae3758321afe9ac5016f978e875ddb141&ab_segments=&origin=

56. José de Ibarra (attrib.), *De Castizo, y Española, Español* [From a Castizo Man and a Spanish Woman, a Spaniard], ca. 1725. Museo de América, Madrid. <http://artecolonialamericano.az.uniandes.edu.co:8080/artworks/628>.

their diet and sedentary ways” persisted into the eighteenth century.⁵⁷ The primary physical difference attributed to Indios, skin color, is also subject to transformation, but not for the subject. Instead, the ideas of race depicted in Casta paintings allow Indios to become Spaniards only vicariously through their descendants if they intermarry sufficiently with Spanish spouses.

Neither the *Cantigas*’ proto-racialism nor the *limpieza de sangre*’s later racialism allowed Jews to leave Judaism behind through intermarriage.



Figure 6: José de Ibarra (attrib.), *De Castizo, y Española, Español* [From a Castizo Man and a Spanish Woman], 18th century. <http://artecolonialamericano.az.uniandes.edu.co:8080/artworks/628>



Figure 5: Anon., *De Mestiza y Español Castizo* [From a Mestiza and a Spanish Man, a Castizo], 18th century. Museo de América, Madrid.

Indeed, the later racialization of Jews increasingly abandoned a definition of the Jewish race based on physical and sartorial differences in favor of one obsessed over the lack of such differences in New Christians. On the other hand, the definition of an Indio race increasingly relied on physical differences due to both an inability to track ancestry in the Spanish colonies and a construction of race that considered sufficiently distant ancestry irrelevant. Importantly, this is a significant discontinuity, resulting in constructions of race that worked to keep the descendants of Jews isolated from Spanish society while notionally integrating Native Americans into colonial rulership. Whereas Spain’s racialization of Native Americans as Indios built on its earlier othering of Jews, it functioned differently in response to the different needs of Spanish colonizers.

Using previous constructions of a Jewish other to understand Native Americans was not limited to Spain. Other European powers also engaged in colonizing the Americas, espoused antisemitism, relied on genealogy to construct an idea of race, and applied their own specific ideas of Jewish otherness to the racialization of Native Americans in ways that suited their

57. Earle. “Pleasures,” 440.

own particular needs.⁵⁸ The physical presence of Jews or identified persons of Jewish ancestry proved unnecessary for English antisemitism to remain an influential cultural force. King Edward I expelled the Jews of England in 1290, just over two centuries before King Ferdinand II expelled the Jews in Spain. Like the rest of non-Iberian Europe, the most critical and dangerous group of others remained the population of “Christ-killing Jews” who, if no longer present in England, still lived in thriving communities just across the English Channel in France and the Netherlands.⁵⁹ By the time of Shakespeare, Jews, Africans, “sodomites,” and peasants were often depicted in English culture “as embodiments of evil, blackened by sin, driven by lust, and hungry for murder and revenge.”⁶⁰ Jews remaining a touchstone for wickedness in English thought can be seen in the language used to malign the peasantry as “worse than Jews” or as “inept and wicked” as Jews.⁶¹

Nevertheless, English attitudes towards Jews were informed at least as strongly by Christian beliefs as to the eschatological role of Jews as they were by antisemitism. English Protestants believed that the second coming of Jesus would be preceded by specific events, such as the mass conversion of the Jews, which could prompt a degree of philosemitism. Puritan groups that emerged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were often Jewish-centered in their religious ideologies. Groups, like the Fifth Monarchy Men, favored the readmission of Jews to England “on the apocalyptic assumption that the conversion of the Chosen People of the Old Testament would initiate the millennial kingdom on Earth.”⁶² Various groups believed that Jewish readmission would facilitate conversion and ultimately succeeded in persuading Oliver Cromwell to informally revoke Edward I’s expulsion. However, as Puritans debated Jewish readmission, massive conversions of Jews, and the supposedly imminent return of Jesus to establish the millennial kingdom in England, were parallel. The closely related debate was occurring among the Puritan colonists of New England regarding all issues, plus the question of whether the “Indians” were also Jews.⁶³

Indeed, the two debates often cross-pollinated, and two of the predominant supporters of readmission - the English minister John Dury and the Dutch Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel - were both proponents of the “Lost Tribes” theory; that the Indians were descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.⁶⁴ Both men either directly corresponded with or indirectly influenced through their writings, influential voices promoting

58. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 60.

59. Davis, “Constructing Race,” 12.

60. Davis, “Constructing Race,” 8.

61. Davis, “Constructing Race,” 13.

62. Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*, 118.

63. Cogley, Richard W. “John Eliot and the Origins of the American Indians.” *Early American Literature* 21, no. 3 (1986): 210–25. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25056633>. 210-211.

64. Cogley, “John Eliot,” 219.

the Lost Tribes theory, including Thomas Thorowgood and John Eliot. Consequently, the English construction of an Indian race was closely and directly influenced by an older construct of Jewish otherness and contemporary English reassessment of anti-Jewish policies. As with Spain, notions of race flowed between the English metropole and England's colonies, influencing each other.⁶⁵

Evidence that the English used their ideas about Jews when constructing an Indian race can be seen in efforts to argue that the Native Americans were Jews through the Lost Tribes theory. Like Spanish colonizers, the English relied on a wide range of supposed evidence to support claims, much of it deeply unconvincing by modern standards. Thomas Thorowgood, a Puritan minister writing in England in the mid-seventeenth century, laid out a list of such "evidence" in his book *Jews in America, or Probabilities that those Indians are Judaical*. Among his arguments is the surprising claim that "in America they eate no swines flesh tis hatefull to them, as it was among the Jewes."⁶⁶ Thorowgood's statement is not necessarily inaccurate, as Native Americans have no tradition of eating pork. Yet it somehow escaped the minister that no pork was consumed because of the absence of pigs in the Americas before European contact, as opposed to any religious or cultural proscription.

Another example of such claims can be found in *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*, co-authored by Edward Winslow (one of the founders of Plymouth Colony and a passenger on the Mayflower), the New England missionary John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew (who founded the first European settlement on Martha's Vineyard), and was published around the same time as *Jews in America*. Like Thorowgood, after listing several more or less plausible pieces of supposed cultural evidence for the Indians being Jews, they proceed to argue that "it is not lesse probable that these Indians should come from the Stock of Abraham, then any other Nation this day known in the world" due to timing.⁶⁷ According to Winslow, Eliot, and Mayhew, there was an ongoing mass conversion of Indians that coincided with "the very years, in which many eminent and learned Divines, have from Scripture grounds... foretold the conversion of the Iewes [Jews]."⁶⁸

65. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 175.

66. Thomas, Thorowgoods. *Iewes in America, or, Probabilities That the Americans Are of That Race. With the Removall of Some Contrary Reasonings, and Earnest Desires for Effectuall Endeavours to Make Them Christian*. London: Printed by W.H. for Tho. Slater, and are to [sic] sold at his shop at the signe of the Angel in Duck lane, 1660. 7.

67. Edward, Winslow. *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England Manifested by Three Letters under the Hand of That Famous Instrument of the Lord, Mr. John Eliot, and Another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Jun., Both Preachers of the Word, as Well to the English as Indians in New England*. London: published by Edward Winslow, 1649. vii.

68. Winslow, *Gospel*, viii.

Therein lies the crux of the issue. Both Old and New England Puritans were convinced that the prophesied Christian apocalypse was imminent. Key to fulfilling those prophecies was the dispersion of the Jews “to the utmost ends of the Earth,” followed by their subsequent mass conversion.⁶⁹ Jewish readmission to England helped to fulfill the prediction of a universal Jewish diaspora. In contrast, Indians descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel would theoretically complete that prediction by positing Jews truly scattered to every part of the world. To Puritan eyes, the mass conversion of Indians could be the beginning of the prophesied conversion of the Jews, even if the Jews of Afro-Eurasia had yet to begin embracing Christianity. If the Indians were Gentiles instead of Jews, their conversion fell earlier in this chronology and was of lesser eschatological importance.⁷⁰ John Eliot, in particular, was convinced by arguments placing the conversion of the Jews in the mid-1650s and believed that by demonstrating that the Indians were Jews, he could mobilize the support his missionary efforts needed to deliver their conversion; therefore, the Second Coming.⁷¹

Eliot and his fellow Puritans faced problems with the ideologies of race and Native Americans. If a race of Indians descended from the Ten Lost Tribes were either about to, or already, undergoing the prophesied conversion of the Jews, the real-world Native Americans were not interested in converting to Protestantism *en masse*. The 1650s passed without any mass conversion of either Jews or Native Americans, leaving many Puritans disillusioned with the Lost Tribes theory and forcing “The Apostle to the Indians” to reassess theories about Native American ancestry.⁷² The eruption of King Philip’s War in the 1670s comprised of Native Americans with complaints including anger over repeated English colonist attempts to convert them, further disenchanting those who anticipated their miraculous conversion.⁷³ Finally, Eliot expressed reservations about the Indians being Jews in a 1656 letter, then never mentioned the theory again.⁷⁴ Although the Lost Tribes theory did not completely disappear, it did enjoy a resurgence in the nineteenth-century United States. But while English colonists continued to compare Indians to Jews, increasingly negative terms cast the English, not the Indians, as Israelites.⁷⁵

Counterintuitive as it may be these events offer an example of how the English used Jewish otherness to racialize Native Americans. In asserting

69. Cogley, “John Eliot,” 210, 211, 219.

70. Cogley, “John Eliot,” 211.

71. Cogley, “John Eliot,” 216.

72. Cogley, “John Eliot,” 221.

73. Linford D. Fisher and Lucas Mason-Brown, “By ‘Treachery and Seduction’: Indian Baptism and Conversion in the Roger Williams Code,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (2014): p. 175, <https://doi.org/10.5309/willmaryquar.71.2.0175>, 196.

74. Cogley, “John Eliot,” 220.

75. Parfitt, *Hybrid Hate*, 110.

that Indians should be seen not as Israelites but as Canaanites, English representatives confirmed the Jews as a touchstone against which they defined a new group of others. The approach, equating the Indians with the biblical enemies of the Israelites, was initially rejected by the English mainstream. For example, the anonymous English translator of Bartolome de las Casas' *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* argued in the introduction that while the biblical destruction of the Canaanites might have been justified because of "abominations," the Indians had committed no such sins to deserve cruel treatment at Spanish hands.⁷⁶ The equally anonymous author of a memorandum found among the papers of Sir Walter Raleigh, dating from the early seventeenth century, argued similarly that while the Israelites had been directed to conquer Canaan, "God hath given no Christians any such warrant" to conquer the Indians.⁷⁷ A counter-narrative emerged simultaneously, however, and became increasingly popular as English colonists came into conflict with Native Americans.

As with Spanish racialism, English racialism might have started with Jewish otherness, but the Indian race it constructed was defined as much in opposition to the Jews as it was in relation to them. Englishmen increasingly began to argue that the Indians, like the Canaanites, could be justly conquered and deprived of their lands, starting with Sir George Peckham, who received a land grant in New England in the 1580s. Peckham argued that the English could "pursue [the Indians], subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages" and in "no whit transgresse the bonds of equitie or ciuilitie... the like hath bene done by sundry Kings and Princes, Gouvernours of the children of Israel [to the Canaanites]."⁷⁸ More influential were the writings of the clergyman Robert Gray, who wrote in his 1609 collection of sermons that God had designated Virginia to be "England's Canaan" and Indians were "worse than beasts."⁷⁹ If they agreed to become

76. Cave, Alfred A. "Canaanites in a Promised Land: The American Indian and the Providential Theory of Empire." *American Indian Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1988): 277. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1184402>. 280.

77. Cave, "Canaanites," 281.

78. Richard Hakluyt et al., *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Ouer-Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compass of These 1600 Yeres: Diuided into Three Seuerall Volumes, According to the Positions of the Regions, Whereunto They Were Directed. The First Volume Containeth the Worthy Discoueries, &c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by Sea, as of Lapland, Sckrifinia, Corelia, the Baie of S. Nicholas, the Isles of Colgoieue, Vaigatz, and Noua Zembla, toward the Great River Ob, with the Mighty Empire of Russia, the Caspian Sea, Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Boghar in Bactria, and Diuers Kingdomes of Tartaria: Together with Many Notable Monuments and Testimonies of the Ancient Forren Trades, and of the Warrelike and Other Shipping of This Realme of England in Former Ages. Whereunto Is Annexed a Briefe Commentary of the True State of Island, and of the Northren Seas and Lands Situate That Way: As Also the Memorable Defeat of the Spanish Huge Armada, Anno 1588. the Second Volume Comprehendeth the Principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Ouer-Land, to the South and South-East Parts of the World, as Well within as without the Streight of Gibraltar, at Any Time within the Compass of These 1600. Yeres: Diuided into Two Seuerall Parts, &c* (Imprinted at London: By George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599), 6-7.

79. Cave, "Canaanites," 283.

Christians and accept English rule, they would be treated reasonably. But if they refused, Gray called on the English colonists to follow the example of the Israelites, who had executed God's wrath against the Canaanites by treating the Indians similarly.⁸⁰ A sermon by the Reverend William Symonds similarly compared Indians who resisted English colonialism to the biblical foes of Israel and argued that they should be treated accordingly.⁸¹

Both England and Spain constructed ideas of race that they applied to Native Americans, drawing on ideas and experiences with Jews to do so - their consistent attempts to argue that the Indios or Indians *were* Jews demonstrate this, if nothing else. However, these constructions were starkly different, reflecting Jews differently, and resulted in different treatment of Native Americans in each respective colony.

Spain's construction of the Indio insisted that while the process might be difficult and time-consuming, the Indios, unlike Jews, could become true Spanish Catholics through multiple generations of intermarriage with Spanish colonists. At least notionally, the transformation required integration into Spanish society, and some persons of mixed-race descent were eventually recognized as white by Spanish colonists.⁸²

On the other hand, in New England, Native American converts were isolated from native and colonial society, living in special towns where they were "placed in a position of political, economic, and cultural dependence" on the English.⁸³ In theory, isolation was a transitional phase endured before the Native Americans could become part of English colonial society. It was a process of instilling Christianity and citizenship while purging their childlike nature. But while the English demanded that Native Americans stop being Indians and become English, they also denied that Indians could *ever* become truly English.⁸⁴ Contrasted to Jews, who were permitted readmission to English society, seclusion was seen as a necessary step to fulfill biblical prophecy.

Constructing ideas of race for Native Americans by using pre-existing ideas of Jewish otherness was widespread among both Spanish and English colonizers. This is demonstrated in the frequent attempts by Europeans to claim that Native Americans were Jews by ancestry. Also, by the relationship between European policies towards Jews and the policies they adopted towards Native Americans, and by the efforts by Spanish and English writers to describe how Native Americans were different from Jews and so

80. Cave, "Canaanites," 286.

81. Cave, "Canaanites," 283.

82. Earle, "Pleasures," 445.

83. Neal Salisbury, "Red Puritans: The 'Praying Indians' of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (1974): p. 27, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1918981>, 42.

84. Neal, "Red Puritans," 46.

should be treated differently. Although similarities existed, neither European colonial power constructed Jewish otherness identically, and the ideas of race applied to Native Americans were distinct from those applied to Jews.

While Spain and England were not the only European powers to colonize the Americas, they were the two most successful. Practices common between the two should be thought of as typical. Indeed, the Europeans engaged in similar practices in Africa, Asia, Australia, and Polynesia. They also insisted that the people they encountered were descended from Jews or Israelites and racialized indigenous similarly.⁸⁵ By studying this phenomenon in the Americas, it can be better understood how race is applied to Native Americans and Jews and to indigenous people generally in contemporary and historical contexts.

Although research seeks to prove that this phenomenon occurred, there is no explanation for why. However, a few scholars have attempted to come up with answers. For example, Tudor Parfitt argues in *Hybrid Hate* that European colonizers identified indigenous peoples with the Jews to insert “colonized or soon-to-be-colonized people into a category of known and understood otherness, as well as a category of inferiority and subjugation.”⁸⁶ David Brion Davis suggests that it was simply because “the most immediate and sometimes threatening Others in the eyes of literate western Europeans were, first, the small minority of... Jews.”⁸⁷ Maria Elena Martínez theorizes in *Genealogical Fictions* about Spanish motives for discriminating against the New Christians, as well as Spanish motives for their treatment of Native Americans. Still, despite demonstrating the apparent relationship between these two processes, she stops short of theorizing why they happened in concert.

The apparent oversight of why otherness classifications occurred offers the most obvious direction for future research in this topic – seeking to uncover why Europeans relied so heavily on Jewish otherness when constructing Indio and Indian race. Another apparent direction for future research is to compare this phenomenon generally, not merely towards Native Americans, but also towards Africans, Australian Aborigines, Polynesians, and Asians. Because the construction of a “Black” race, in particular, also drew heavily on antisemitic tropes and ideas of Jewish otherness, as Parfitt attests, how this construction relates to that of Indians is an important topic for further study.⁸⁸ Indeed, given the close relationship between how Native Americans and Africans were racialized in European colonies at the same time in the same physical space, it is vital that they

85. Parfitt, *Hybrid Hate*, 168.

86. Parfitt, *Hybrid Hate*, 168.

87. Davis, “Constructing Race,” 12.

88. Parfitt, *Hybrid Hate*, 2.

be assessed together. Further work in this area seems promising and will hopefully yield more significant insights into the thorny problems of race that remain an important part of our past and a central part of our present.

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The Military Problem: East and Southeast Asian Military Prostitution and American Imperialism in the Twentieth Century

Katia Kevorkian

Abstract: Military prostitution and sex work within military camps was prevalent in many wars, especially during the US occupancy in the Korean war. This research examines the United States' military presence and compares military sex work in multiple regions. The topic of this paper will focus on military prostitution during the mid-twentieth century. More specifically, my research will examine the U.S military presence in East and Southeast Asia. The paper will begin with a historiography of discussions surrounding military sex work and then will compare different characteristics between the countries that the U.S military occupied. This paper argues that the military prostitution complex which emerged from hypermasculine ideals is a direct continuation of imperialism and increased the gender imbalance through commodifying women.

The military-industrial complex peaked between World War One and the Cold War. The term, famously coined by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, refers to the United States military's economic and political control of foreign nations.¹ During his farewell speech in 1961, Eisenhower critiqued the establishment of a military-industrial complex and the abuse of power that came with it. Scholars have studied how the US military complex affects the nations on the receiving end. The discourse regarding military bases and their relationships with their host countries has grown over the past decade.

The institutionalized prostitution complex that emerged from the military-industrial complex led to using women as commodities and created an unequal power balance between American GIs and East and Southeast Asian women.² US military bases created and affected legal prostitution in East and Southeast Asia and spread American imperialism and hard power. Military prostitution and legal sex work near military camps increased during World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. As a result, there emerged a significant rise in marriage between Asian women and

1. "Farewell address by President Dwight D. Eisenhower," January 17, 1961, (1), Box 38, Speech Series, Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President, 1953-61, Eisenhower Library; National Archives and Records Administration.

2. Eugenia L. Weiss, Annalisa Enrile, "The US Military-Prostitution complex, Patriarchy, and Masculinity: A Transnational Feminist Perspective of the Sexual Global Exploitation of Women," in *Women's Journey to Empowerment in the 21st Century: a Transnational Feminist Analysis of Women's Lives in Modern Times*, ed. Kristen Zaleski, Annalisa Enrile, Eugenia L. Weiss, Xiying Wang (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 405.

American GIs, childbirth, and the spread of venereal disease. In some cases, the United States military actively recruited women sex workers for industrialized prostitution centers which served the troops. In other areas, prostitution was not explicitly organized by the military but was arranged by host nations to serve American troops while protecting the female civilian population from rape. Women who became sex workers were mostly impoverished and had few other options. Sex work was presented as lucrative, yet in practice, sex workers were rarely able to earn enough to improve their financial situation.

Although prostitution is illegal in the United States and socially taboo, the creation of the military prostitution complex in East and Southeast Asia was positively received by the GI population, even as its existence was hidden from the American public by the US military. All the host nations examined, Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines, considered prostitution illegal and taboo but were pressured to provide legal prostitution areas for American GIs. To better understand the factors which led to and allowed a widespread and legal prostitution complex, an analysis of masculinity in the military is required. The article “An Examination of Emerging Adult Military Men: Masculinity and US Military Climate,” by Richard Karley and Sonia Molloy, discusses the concept of hegemonic masculinity in the US Military. “Hegemonic masculinities are identities that are constructed within a social system that privileges one over another.”¹ The privileging of one type of masculinity over others reinforces patriarchal systems. The authors analyze how hegemonic masculinity and a combination of hypermasculine ideals reinforced this power-based masculine identity in the military. Although the study specifically focuses on the US military, the authors point out that the same hegemonic masculine identities are found in almost every military. The hypermasculine nature of the military, especially during the Cold War era, led to a concept of masculinity that celebrated male dominance over others.

Scholars have also analyzed the connection between hegemonic masculinity and sexual violence. Since the beginning of recorded history, rape and sexual violence have been used as tools of control and dominance in war. Prostitution offers similar opportunities for control and dominance within a consensual framework. Military scholars have noted that buying sex contributes to maintaining masculinity.² The history of US military conflicts demonstrates that with or without legal sex workers, GIs still look

1. Karley, Richard, and Sonia Molloy, “An Examination of Emerging Adult Military Men: Masculinity and US Military Climate,” *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 21, no. 4 (2020): 686–98. <https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000303>.

2. Seungsook Moon, “Camptown Prostitution and the Imperial Sofa: Abuse and Violence against Transnational Camptown Women in South Korea,” in *Over There: Living with the US Military Empire from World War Two to the Present*, ed. Maria Hohn, Seungsook Moon (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 350.

for sex even if that necessitates sexual violence or rape. Some scholars have argued that the hypermasculine nature of the military and its need for sexual dominance was effectively controlled through legal prostitution, allowing the US military to fight for long periods of time.³

To adequately address sex work and sex workers, scholars have debated the terms used to discuss prostitution. The terms “sex worker” and “prostitute” have different connotations. Some have argued that using the term “prostitute” rather than “sex worker” further reinforces the toxic and damaging views of women who engage in that work. The term “sex worker” is used to represent women’s choice and empowerment within that field. Scholars have used the terms “prostitute/prostitution” to signify the commodification and exploitation of women’s bodies for sexual gratification and power. This paper will use the term “prostitution” to address the overall transaction of selling sex, while “sex workers” will be used when discussing women engaged in that line of work.

The historiography of the military-industrial complex has grown over the past two decades. These works have examined the military prostitution complex with a gendered analysis exploring how masculinity intersects with the military and eventually leads to sexual violence and sex work. Scholars studying prostitution around military bases include Sandra Pollock, Brenda Stoltzfus, Ji-Yeon Yuh, and Seungsook Moon. Their work contributes to our understanding of the effects the military prostitution complex had on government relations, policies, sex tourism, and women. Important works include, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*, “The US-Military Prostitution Complex,” “Looking Beyond the Frame: Snapshot Photography, Imperial Archives, and the US Military’s Violent Embrace of East Asia,” and “Redefining Security: Women Challenge US Military Policy and Practice in East Asia.” It is important to note that historical and sociological studies have confirmed that hypermasculinity and the conquering nature of the military have consistently led to mass sexual violence against women from opposing nations.⁴

The prostitution complex also aided in maintaining and spreading American power and imperialism. In instances such as the Korean War, red-light districts and brothels were allowed to prevent rape and sexual violence.

3. Sandra Pollock Sturdevant, and Brenda Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the US Military in Asia*, (New York: New Press, 1992).

4. Elissa Bemporad, “Memory, Body, and Power: Women and the Study of Genocide,” in *Women and Genocide: Survivors, Victims, Perpetrators*, ed Elissa Bemporad and Joyce W. Warren, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2018); Sanford, Victoria, Sofia Duyos Álvarez-Arenas, and Kathleen Dill, “Sexual Violence as a Weapon during the Guatemalan Genocide.” in *Women and Genocide: Survivors, Victims, Perpetrators*, edited by Elissa Bemporad and Joyce W. Warren (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2018), 210. Although these are studies on genocide, they argue that sexual violence is a recurring crime against women in instances of warfare and genocide. Mass sexual violence is not confined to a specific region or group; women in areas with ongoing war are victims.

That is not to say those sex workers involved in military prostitution did not face violence, but the idea was to protect civilians from rape. The prostitution complex created a power imbalance between the US and the host nations. Not only did the countries have strained relationships, but the gender dynamics between US GIs and Asian women were also affected. For instance, we can see how this period fetishized Asian women by perpetuating stereotypes.

R&R

The rest and recuperation (R&R) program directly affected host nations and forced them to allow legal prostitution in certain districts. Prostitution eventually led to an array of issues, such as disease and thousands of children born to US soldiers. Before examining the effects that sex work had on women and the host nations, it is important to understand American views of sex work in East and Southeast Asian countries. Early in the Korean War, the R&R program launched as an official United States sponsored program.⁵ The R&R program gave soldiers a five-day furlough period and by the Vietnam War, allowed travel to nearby countries such as Japan and Thailand. Scholars have noted how R&R not only legalized sex work in various countries but also boosted sex tourism.⁶ In order to meet the demands of US GIs, Japanese men pimped and trafficked women and children.⁷ Interviews with American veterans that went to Thailand and Japan for R&R leave suggest how easy it was to find prostitutes. Eventually, when the R&R program allowed travel to Germany, soldiers used their time for recreational activities rather than sex.⁸ This distinction is important because it shows how soldiers looked for sex in East and Southeast Asian countries rather than in Western countries.

US Military and the Korean War

When discussing military prostitution and military camp towns, Korea has been thoroughly covered because of the widespread sex work. This section aims to answer a few questions: What was the legality of having “*kijichon*” (Korean word for prostitute/camp towns) around military bases?⁹ Were women forced to participate in sex work? Did the sex work complex lead to an increase in marriages and childbirth? Understanding Korean prostitution requires a comparison with Japanese comfort women, which

5. Caroline Norma, “The Operation and Impact of the American Military’s ‘R&R’ Programme in Japan During the Korean War,” *Asian Studies Review* 44, no. 3 (2020): 365–81. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2020.1721433>.

6. Norma, “Operation and Impact of the American Military’s ‘R&R’ Programme,” 366.

7. Norma, “Operation and Impact of the American Military’s ‘R&R’ Programme,” 366.

8. Norma, “Operation and Impact of the American Military’s ‘R&R’ Programme,” 366.

9. Donna M., Katherine Y. Chon, and Derek P. Ellerman. “Modern-Day Comfort Women: The US Military, Transnational Crime, and the Trafficking of Women.” *Violence Against Women* 13, no. 9 (2007): 901–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801207305218>.

is a term applied to those who were kept in sexual slavery by the Imperial Japanese Army. Comparing the US military to the Japanese military shows a difference in comfort women sent to Japan compared to the sex workers in US military camps. In both cases, more so in Japan, there were instances of forced prostitution. There was still the social stigma of being involved in sex work, and women involved often faced social death. Social death refers to women being shunned and stigmatized in their families and communities.

The R&R stations were a collaboration between the United States Armed Forces and the Republic of Korea and operated between the 1950s and 1970s.¹⁰ The “kijichon” surrounding US military bases that resulted from this policy were closed to South Korean citizens and allowed only US troops and those who provided services to enter. Although prostitution is officially illegal in South Korea, at the time of this study in 2002, the sex industry around US military bases was thriving, with an estimated 20,000 sex-workers.¹¹ Korean men were not allowed to go to military camp town brothels which shows how these areas were created solely to entertain American men. The total estimated number of women involved by the end of World War II was over one million.¹² Not all women involved in sex work in Korea were willing; in some instances, peasant girls as young as sixteen years old were taken from trains and forced into brothels.¹³ Bruce Cumings, an American Peace Corp Officer, stationed in Korea during the late 1960s, wrote about his experience and exposure to prostitution around military camps. His argument and explanation of his experience question the difference between comfort women and sex workers for Americans. He inquires whether exchanging money for sex, especially when many women started working young, was different from the forced sex work in Japan.¹⁴ In order to differentiate or compare the American and Japanese occupations, the difference between comfort women needs disclosing.

No formal reparation from Japan has been made regarding Korean women’s sexual slavery.¹⁵ Japanese occupation and the forced sexual labor of Korean women occurred between the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries.¹⁶ Many women sent to become comfort women did not know they would be forced into prostitution. “Comfort women” is the term used

10. Hughes, Chon, and Ellerman, “Modern-Day Comfort Women,” 903.

11. Hughes, Chon, and Ellerman, “Modern-Day Comfort Women,” 903.

12. Hughes, Chon, and Ellerman, “Modern-Day Comfort Women,” 904.

13. Bruce Cumings, “Silent But Deadly: Sexual Subordination in the US- Korean Relationship,” in *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the US Military in Asia*, ed Sturdevant, Sandra Pollock, Brenda Stoltzfus, (New York: New Press, 1992) 170.

14. Cumings, “Silent But Deadly,” 171.

15. Keith Howard, *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies / Compiled by the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan and the Research Association on the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan*, translated by Young Joo Lee, ed by Keith Howard, (London: Cassell, 1995) vi.

16. Howard, *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women*, 2.

to describe the thousands of Korean women Japanese soldiers used in Korea, Japan, and China as prostitutes. Sociologist Chin Sung Chung argues that sexual labor during the Japanese occupation of Korea was a thought-out and planned enterprise.¹⁷ The research shows that the Japanese military ran the system, and soldiers were instructed to get rid of documents.¹⁸ The Japanese government did not want to acknowledge its role in creating a prostitution ring. Although some poorer women felt it necessary to provide income for their families, many women did not willingly participate in prostitution. Accounts from testimonies show that girls as young as seventeen were taken from Korea. One account from Kim Haksun states that while traveling to China for work with her foster father, she was forcefully separated from him, raped, and then made to become a sex slave to Japanese soldiers.¹⁹ Another account by Kim Tokchin discusses how at seventeen years old, she was recruited by a Korean man to be sent to Japan in order to work in a factory and ended up in a brothel.²⁰ These interviews portray that many women recruited or forced to work as comfort women did so unwillingly.

Scholars have discussed the difference between comfort women during the Japanese occupation and later military prostitution. Women who were comfort women did not often speak about their experiences due to societal stigmas, especially in patriarchal societies. The social death mentioned earlier references the backlash women have faced after being victims of sexual violence or participation in sex work. Scholar Chung-hee Sarah Soh argues that “in an effort to deny state responsibility, some Japanese-including veteran politicians and cabinet members- have intermittently asserted that the ‘comfort women’ were licensed prostitutes engaged in commercial transactions.”²¹ Soh argues that the terms “comfort women” and “sex slave” do not convey the entirety of the situation and that the operation was fueled by “patriarchal fascism.”²² Forced patriarchy was evident in comfort women and the later implementation of the American military prostitution complex.

17. Chin Sung Chung, “Korean Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan,” in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies / Compiled by the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan and the Research Association on the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan*, Keith Howard, (London: Cassell, 1995) 11.

18. Chung, “Korean Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan,” 11.

19. Kim Haksun, “Bitter Memories I Am Loath to Recall,” in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies / Compiled by the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan and the Research Association on the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan*, Keith Howard, (London: Cassell, 1995), 34.

20. Kim Tokchin, “I have Much to Say to the Korean Government,” in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies / Compiled by the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan and the Research Association on the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan*, Keith Howard, (London: Cassell, 1995) 43.

21. Chung-hee Sarah Soh, “Prostitutes versus Sex Slaves: The Politics of Representing the ‘Comfort Women,’” in *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II*, ed Stetz, Margaret D., Bonnie B. C. Oh, and Margaret D. Stetz (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 2001), 70.

22. Soh, “Prostitutes versus Sex Slaves,” 73.

Examining military prostitution could be a step towards helping destigmatize sex work and the reporting of sexual violence. The US entered Korea in 1945 after the Japanese occupation ended. During the Korean War, Korean officials adopted the comfort women policies to cater to US and Korean soldiers to “protect respectable women and reward soldiers for their sacrifices.”²³ Women in the lower economic class were involved in sex work. Although by the mid-twentieth century, prostitution was illegal in both the United States and Korea, special districts were allowed to serve American soldiers. Moon argues that the cooperation to create a prostitution complex in Korea “is an essential component of expanding and maintaining the American empire...and it is sustained through the collaboration of local elites, at the expense of lower-class women, to serve their political and economic interests.”²⁴ Women were cast off and often silenced regarding their experiences, while the country deemed this field of work necessary to avoid sexual violence.

The experiences of sex workers vary. The book *Let the Good Times Roll* documented interviews with women from Korea, Japan, and the Philippines. The interviews and statements altered some women’s names to protect privacy. The account of Nan Hee discusses how her family was poor, and after being forced to marry her rapist, she got pregnant and could not afford an abortion.²⁵ She eventually worked for American and Korean bars where the owners could sell and buy women to work for them. Depending on the bar, their monthly allowance was about \$80 a month. When sold to a bar, the women had to work to pay off their debts, which was a combination of the price they were bought for and the housing they received.²⁶ The cycle of poor women entering clubs was cyclical in that they could rarely leave until their debts were settled. Some women kept Americans as boyfriends in hopes that they were less violent, but most found themselves working as sex workers.

Another woman, nicknamed Ms. Pak, began working as a sex worker at age 25. Her interview began by comparing Americans and Koreans, and she argues that the Americans are not helping; they are in Korea for money. She discusses how sex workers had to get weekly checkups for diseases and pay a monthly fee for the clinic. It was illegal for women not to get checked up. Later, she discusses how unfortunate circumstances made her turn to

23. Seungsook Moon, “Regulating Desire, Managing the Empire: US Military Prostitution in South Korea 1945-1970,” in *Over There: Living with the US Military Empire from World War Two to the Present*, Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 41.

24. Seungsook, “Regulating Desire, Managing the Empire,” 41.

25. Sturdevant, Sandra Pollock, Brenda. Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the US Military in Asia*, (New York: New Press, 1992), 180–188.

26. Sturdevant, Sandra Pollock, Brenda. Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the US Military in Asia*, (New York: New Press, 1992), 180–188.

prostitution and how American men knew they could not behave indecently back home. However, they did not care how they acted in Korea.²⁷

The US military camps led to a growth in marriages between Korean Women and American GIs. The documentary “The Women Outside: Korean Women and the US Military” portrays how Korean women took classes to practice becoming American housewives. The women who married and immigrated to the United States were a combination of sex workers and women who were not. “Korean military brides” is a well-known term that alludes to Korean women who married Americans to escape poverty.²⁸ Between 1950 and 1990, 100,000 Korean women became military brides.²⁹ US soldiers already had a stigmatized view of Korean women due to the constant sexual conquest of their bodies, and as a result, their marriages began with a cultural and gendered perspective. The study by Ji-Yeon Yuh, *Immigrants on the Front Line: Korean Military Brides in America, 1950-1996*, examines Korean military brides in the context of American domination. Yuh argues that although not all military brides were affiliated with the prostitution complex, “its very existence and the presumption that military brides are former military prostitutes deeply influences their life experiences.”³⁰

The effects of militarized prostitution can be noted as it created and perpetuated a stereotype that assumed Korean women who married American men were all sex workers. Their life experiences were then shaped by this assumption, and the soldiers’ views on Korean women often led to a marriage with a large power imbalance. Yuh states that a lack of statistics prevents us from knowing how many brides were involved in camp towns; however, interviews with women insinuate that most of the women who immigrated were involved. One wife told a researcher that at least 90% of Korean women met their American husbands at clubs, although many women might deny it- this was also an assumption because there are no statistics to back this claim.³¹ A soldier interviewed in 1991 looked at Korean women as subservient and considered them property and disposable, which partly was caused by the effects of prostitution.³² The military brides that participated in research for Yuh’s study claim that they expected they would come to America for more freedom and economic reasons. The women discussed how racism and segregation in America were expected. Yuh used the husband-wife relation in the context of the imperial nature of

27. Sturdevant, Sandra Pollock, Brenda. Stoltzfus, 209-220.

28. Ji-Yeon Yuh, *Immigrants on the Front Line: Korean Military Brides in America, 1950-1996* (University of Pennsylvania, 1999), xii.

29. Yuh, *Immigrants on the Front Line*, xii.

30. Yuh, *Immigrants on the Front Line*, xxvii.

31. Yuh, *Immigrants on the Front Line*, 7.

32. Yuh, *Immigrants on the Front Line*, 13.

the US-Korean relationship. She argues that the image of power dynamics, gender dynamics, and the fetishization of Korean women can be studied through husband-wife relationships.³³ American imperialism during the mid-twentieth century was not called imperialism, but instead, America viewed itself as a world power with allies instead of colonies.³⁴ Koreans creating and continuing a system of prostitution that prayed on lower-class women specifically designed to cater to American GIs shows how the American military complex was indeed a continuation of imperialism which thrived on domination both militarily and sexually.

As stated before, language is important when examining military prostitution, not only from the end of scholars but also from Koreans themselves. The derogatory terms used for sex workers include “*yang galbo* (Western Whore), *yang gongju* (Western Princess), and *yang saeksi* (Western bride).”³⁵ The derogatory terms for sex workers reflect the social stigma and the racist element of serving American men. Sex workers were viewed negatively and cast out of society despite the fact that many of them were sold into prostitution by their own families or forced into it by economic circumstances.

Examining US desire and Korean-enforced prostitution perpetuated American imperialism and hard power in Korea. The sexual dominance and commodification of Korean women led to a stereotype, a dismissal from society, and a fetishization of Asian women by American men. The effects are seen through the derogatory language used against sex workers, the Korean administration’s willingness to exploit lower-class women to protect reputable and respected women, as well as the thousands of marriages and immigration that occurred between the 1950s and 1990s. Whether or not the relationship between the military and prostitution was unique to Korea, comparisons to other regions are necessary. Although prostitution was illegal in Korea, special measures were taken to have legal redlight districts in cities such as Itaewon. The host nation’s laws and cooperation need to be considered.

Japanese Sex Work

The Japanese relationship with military policies and imperialism differed from Korea. One of the significant distinctions between them was the Japanese imperial and colonialist occupation of South Korea. As previously stated, before American involvement, Japan had used Korean women as comfort women. Eventually, South Korea adopted the same tactics as the Japanese, creating a prostitution complex during the Korean War. American

33. Yuh, *Immigrants on the Front Line*, 333.

34. Yuh, *Immigrants on the Front Line*, 331.

35. Ji-Yeon Yuh and Sealing Chen, ““Foreign” and “Fallen” in South Korea,” in *On the Move for Love: Migrant Entertainers and the US Military in South Korea* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 63.

involvement shifted power dynamics, so Japanese women eventually were commodified similarly to Korean women. The R&R policies allowed American soldiers to travel to Okinawa and parts of Thailand and mainly used that time to look for sex. American military bases were all over Japan, but most were in Okinawa.³⁶ The Okinawan and Korean women who stayed after being comfort women for the Japanese were sex workers for Americans.³⁷

In 1969 around 7,000 women were working as prostitutes, and by the mid-1980s, Filipino women became the majority of sex workers in Okinawa.³⁸ Marriage between Americans and Japanese people was initially illegal in the 1940s; however, marriage rates grew by the cold war era. In 1965, there were 1,592 marriages between Japanese women and American men.³⁹ By 1970, there were 1,571.⁴⁰ Marriage numbers declined in the 1980s. By the early twenty-first century, there were divorces between interracial couples, with 2% being in Okinawa.

Even if they were imported from the Philippines, the women working in Okinawa had to pass auditions. Later they also had to go through clinical examinations to ensure they were healthy. Women interviewed about their experiences in Okinawa from *Let the Good Times Roll* had similar experiences as Korean sex workers in Korea. The pay was based on commission, and the owners of the bars would deduct expenses, such as abortion fees, from the women's paychecks. Another similarity between Japanese and Korean women was the housewife classes offered. Japanese women took classes on how to be American wives and mothers. A short film about the American military in East Asia showed a segment from the classes.⁴¹ The school was set up by American women training brides on how to be American housewives and mothers. Other than the unique American housewife schools found in Japan and Korea, the experiences women and governments had in the countries examined in this essay are similar.

US Hard Power in Vietnam

To further understand the extent of American imperialism and how the US military prostitution structure enforced imperialism, hypermasculinity,

36. Saundra Sturdevant, "Okinawa Then and Now" in, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the US Military in Asia*, (New York: New Press, 1992), 251.

37. Sturdevant, "Okinawa Then and Now," 251.

38. Sturdevant, "Okinawa Then and Now," 251-252.

39. The table describes marriage rates in Japan from 1965-2009 and includes different nationalities. Format by Crissey, Etsuko Takushi, Steve Rabson "International Marriages in Japan 1965-2009," in/from Crissey, Etsuko Takushi, Steve Rabson, *Okinawa's GI Bride: Their Lives in America* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018), 98, Table 1.

40. Format by Crissey, Etsuko Takushi, Steve Rabson "International Marriages in Japan 1965-2009," in, *Okinawa's GI Bride: Their Lives in America* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018), 98, Table 1.

41. The Big Picture. Japan - Our Far East Partner / National Archives and Records Service. Place of publication not identified: National Archives and Records Service, 2011, 21:41.

and prostitution, comparing multiple regions is necessary. By comparing Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and to a smaller degree, the Philippines, Thailand, and Taiwan, it is evident that women's experience in Korea with American GIs was not unique. All the nations mentioned had higher instances of prostitution, brothels, and intermarriages after US military bases were established. Sex tourism also grew due to American influences. This section will discuss Vietnam and Korea and conclude that women had similar experiences in both countries.

The US involvement in the Vietnam War roughly occurred between 1957 and 1975. Scholars have analyzed the ideologies that fueled the Cold War and have found that rhetoric pushed men to protect ideals, such as American women and traditional gender roles. Similar to the effects that the US had on South Korea, Vietnamese people felt the US presence in all aspects of life. US military presence in Vietnam led to the "Americanization of sexual and social policy" during the Nixon era.⁴² Westernizing sexual policy alludes to how the Nixon administration dealt with military prostitution, rape, and orphaned half-American children, all of which stemmed from problems derived from prostitution. By 1969 around 75% of American soldiers were engaging in prostitution, which led to the rise of issues surrounding sex work.⁴³ A New York Times newspaper article from 1972 had a small section headlined "U. S. Now Admitting Prostitutes to Some of Its Vietnam Bases." The article discussed how prostitution on military bases was only permitted in areas near Saigon; however, a year after soldiers were banned from entering towns in Binh Dinh Province, sex workers were allowed to enter bases with Vietnamese IDs.⁴⁴ Bars and other brothels were open to US soldiers before 1972; however, the military made it more accessible for soldiers to engage in buying women. To combat the problems that arose due to prostitution, US officials passed legislation.

Children born to American fathers were called "Amerasians" or "GI babies."⁴⁵ In 1965, new legislation regarding immigration law was passed and allowed citizenship through marriage. Soldiers who engaged in prostitution and frequented bars sometimes married the women they met there. The 1965 act allowed East Asian and Southeast Asian women to be granted citizenship in the US. The legislation did lead to overall population growth.⁴⁶ Although the legislation did make a difference, the "Amerasian

42. Amanda Bozcar, "Uneasy Allies: The Americanization of Sexual Policies in South Vietnam," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 22, no. 3 (2015), 189.

43. Bozcar, "Uneasy Allies," 213.

44. "U. S. Now Admitting Prostitutes To Some of Its Vietnam Bases." *The New York Times*, January 25, 1972. <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/01/25/archives/us-now-admitting-prostitutes-to-some-of-its-vietnam-bases.html?smid=url-share>.

45. Bozcar, "Uneasy Allies," 189.

46. Sue-Je Lee Gage, "The Amerasian Problem: Blood, Duty, and Race," *International Relations (London)* 21, no. 1 (2007), 86.

problem” still needed attention. The Amerasian act of 1982 allowed immigration visas to children born to American fathers between 1950 and 1982 in Vietnam, Korea, Laos, and Thailand.⁴⁷ During the passing of the legislation, President Ronald Reagan gave a speech regarding children born to American GIs.

During the last three decades, when tens of thousands of our airmen, soldiers, marines, and sailors went to Southeast Asia and Korea to prevent aggression and protect the vital interests of our country, several Amerasian children were born. When the fathers returned to the United States, far too often, innocent children were left without a parent or a country. Through no fault of their own, these children have frequently lived in the most wretched circumstances and often have been ostracized in the lands of their birth.⁴⁸

The speech later states how the issue of children was a moral obligation that required measures to fix it. His statement that these children were left in horrible circumstances did not reference how many cases were due to legal visits to brothels and other prostitution sites. The speech did not place any blame on soldiers who were engaging in sex that resulted in thousands of childbirths. Between 1982 and 1991, approximately 67,000 children and relatives, most likely mothers, immigrated to the US after the legislation was passed.⁴⁹ During the decades of military wives and children immigrating, the term “Asian war brides” was also used. Many women faced social death and ostracization from both the Vietnamese and American communities. The data and analyses of military brides in the twentieth century are lacking in many areas; however, between 1947-1975, approximately 8,000 Vietnamese women immigrated through marriage.⁵⁰

Accounts from women who immigrated to America show similar experiences as Korean women when working in bars and catering to American soldiers. The book *Children of the Enemy: Oral Histories of Vietnamese Amerasians and Their Mothers* by Steven DeBonis is a collection of interviews that recount the lives of the interviewees and their connection to American soldiers in Vietnam. One account by a woman nicknamed Dung stated that she was working in bars near Saigon because she was poor, and she, along with many of the other women, had American boyfriends. Dung had two children from two different men and was ostracized from

47. Sue-Je Lee, “The Amerasian Problem,” 87.

48. Ronald Reagan “Remarks on Signing a Bill Providing for the Immigration of Certain Amerasian Children.” *Reagan Library*, October 22, 1982. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/remarks-signing-bill-providing-immigration-certain-amerasian-children>.

49. Steven DeBonis, *Children of the Enemy: Oral Histories of Vietnamese Amerasians and Their Mothers*, (NC: McFarland, 1995), 3.

50. Saenz, R, S S Hwang, B. E. Aguirre, “In Search of Asian War Brides” *Demography* 31, no. 3 (1994): 549–59. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2061757>.

society. When one of the children's fathers allowed her to go to America, she did not because of distrust. She eventually ended up in the US later.⁵¹ Other accounts discuss how some men with Vietnamese "girlfriends" had wives and children in the US.⁵² Although prostitution was found easily, soldiers still raped women. Even if a woman was raped and became pregnant by an American, she would still be shunned from her community for being with a foreigner and having intercourse before marriage.

Interviews with veterans also show the casualness with which they discuss patronizing sex workers. For example, an interview with Stephen W. Dant in 2005 discusses sex workers, along with R&R. He discusses prostitutes in Vietnam and Bangkok while on leave for R&R. One term he uses for a woman in Vietnam is a "hooch maid."⁵³ Dant goes on to say how many of the women would try to find American boyfriends and husbands as a way to leave Vietnam. His discussion about his R&R leave in Bangkok started by stating how Thailand was known as a party country. He states, "Bangkok was just a party town for GIs on R&R. It was sin city. When you got there ... before they turned you loose, you got the lecture about VD and all the sexual diseases that you could catch by screwing these whores without any condom on."⁵⁴ His interview suggests that many men were often looking for sex in Vietnam and abroad while on R&R leave. Although prostitution was a legal and available exchange, soldiers still raped Vietnamese women. One was interviewed by a woman named Anh who worked as a secretary for Americans on a base and would frequently take rides home from an American soldier. The soldier raped her, got her pregnant, and later went back to the US. Anh was shunned and later talked about her struggles with having a half-American baby.⁵⁵ Instances like this portray how placing American soldiers' bodies onto East Asian and Southeast Asian women was an indirect extension of American imperialism and hard power. Soldiers may have discussed their involvement with sex workers casually; however, it led to the creation of legislation both in the US and abroad.

By the late 1960s, the US had to deal with rising rates of prostitution, venereal disease, and childbirth. The Nixon administration had a "brothel debate" in 1966 to discuss solutions for the rising problems.⁵⁶ The US

51. DeBonis, *Children of the Enemy*, 250-256.

52. DeBonis, *Children of the Enemy*. Several women use the term girlfriend or boyfriends instead of customers or men they were serving. The Korean women who were sex workers did not use those terms.

53. "Hooch Maid Definition," [encyclo.co.uk](https://www.encyclo.co.uk/meaning-of-Hooch_maid). https://www.encyclo.co.uk/meaning-of-Hooch_maid. Hooch/hoochie maid refers to women employed by American soldiers to take care of their residents, cook, and in some cases have sex. The small housing units were called hooch hence the term hooch maid.

54. Stephen W. Dant, "The Vietnam Archive Oral History Project," interview by Richard Burks Verrone, transcribed by Brooke Tomlin, *Vietnam Archive at Texas Tech University*. no. OH0418. (March/April/May 2005): 109.

55. DeBonis, *Children of the Enemy*, 257-261.

56. Bozcar, "Uneasy Allies," 190.

military did not want to do anything to lower American soldier's morale, even if it meant going against Vietnamese officials closing redlight districts and bars. Under Diem, prostitution was illegal. The article "Uneasy Allies: The Americanization of Sexual Policies in South Vietnam" examines how western men already had a sexualized narrative of Asian women. Bozcar argues that if the US wanted to stop prostitution, they would have to change their sexualized attitudes toward Asian women. The article also notes how during the 1960s, Saigon was referred to as a "US brothel" or "American brothel."⁵⁷ These nicknames for Vietnam portray how Americans viewed it. The derogatory terms emphasize that Vietnam was literally and figuratively a place where Americans could purchase women's bodies. The terms also perpetuated sexualized stereotypes of Vietnamese women. Naming a nation "American Brothel" paints the picture that the majority of the country's women were engaged in prostitution. The power relationship is also apparent in these names and further contributes to how the US spread imperialism and hard power.

US Military in the Philippines, Taiwan, and Thailand

A large number of soldiers and their demand for sex led to new policies being created by the US and host nations. Some of these policies came willingly, like in Korea and Okinawa, whereas policies in Vietnam were forced onto the Vietnamese government. Women from these countries have been directly and indirectly influenced by prostitution policies. Sex workers faced abuses and routine check-ups and had to pay their way to freedom after being purchased by bar owners. Non-working women had to deal with the effects of being sexualized and used as mail-order brides. The situation in the Philippines, Taiwan, and Thailand was similar to Korea, Vietnam, and Okinawa.

As previously mentioned, Filipino women eventually went to Okinawa and other countries to become sex workers. Yet, as military bases began to rise in the Philippines, sex work among poorer, lesser-educated women became an issue. In 1986, Filipino official Corazon Aquino stated that the government would do its best to create jobs to help women avoid having to engage in prostitution.⁵⁸ No action was taken however since the US military required prostitution for its troops. The Bush administration did not mention prostitution in the draft created between the two nations. Again, the military and its connectedness with hypermasculinity and patriarchal ideologies will always put the needs of men before the needs of thousands of women and against other countries laws. Prostitution is illegal in the

57. Bozcar, "Uneasy Allies," 199.

58. Aida F. Santos, "Gathering the Dust: The Bases Issues in The Philippines," in *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the US Military in Asia*, Sturdevant, Sandra Pollock, Brenda. Stoltzfus, (New York: New Press, 1992), 38.

Philippines and redlight districts are only allowed in certain areas, such as the city of Olongapo.⁵⁹ The women are again faced with low wages, poverty, and rising rates of venereal disease.

One woman named Madelin shared her experiences as a sex worker. She grew up in a low-income family, and at the age of nineteen, she moved to Olongapo to work as a waitress. At first, she did not know that entertaining men meant that she had to have sex with them. Like all other working women, not having sex and causing other issues would add to their debt. Madelin goes on to describe how she, along with many other women, ended up pregnant and could not always afford abortions. She had negative sentiments against American GIs because they dodge their responsibility as fathers. They have children worldwide but do not recognize or support them.⁶⁰ Many women who went to work did not tell their parents or let their parents think they were working as maids. Many girls began working at clubs as young as 14 years old. These experiences portray how prostitution directly affected poor young girls and women who had no option but to work in bars.

Taiwan also had a similar experience with camp towns and redlight districts. During Japanese occupation of East and Southeast Asia during WWII, comfort women and stations were created to please Japanese soldiers. As the Korean War progressed, the Japanese comfort stations began to be revived to support Taiwanese troops and later American troops. In the article “Resurrection of the Japanese Military ‘Comfort Stations’ in East Asia: Focusing on the Taiwanese Military Brothels, Special Assignment Teahouses (teyuechashi)” by WooKyung and Grant, they argue that America tried to hide its role in the resurrection of these brothels. Although the brothels in Taiwan were created for Japanese and Taiwanese soldiers, they were also used by the American military-prostitution ring that started to rise during the Korean War. When Americans set up bases in Taiwan, the same pattern of passing legislation to allow brothels, a rise in marriage rates and childbirth can be seen. The Taiwanese government commissioned bars and “would license a bar if the enterprise paid its annual tax to set up its business, which included “legal nuptial chambers” for bar girls and their American GI customers.”⁶¹ Taiwanese women also married American GIs and immigrated to the US.

Southeast Asia has been depicted as a place with many brothels, especially Thailand. As mentioned, many US soldiers took their R&R leave in Thailand and visited redlight districts. Although prostitution was

59. Sturdevant, Sandra Pollock, Brenda. Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the US Military in Asia*, 45.

60. Sturdevant, Sandra Pollock, Brenda. Stoltzfus, 48-59.

61. Lin, Che-Wen Cindy “Taiwanese Military Brides in America” *Chinese America, History and Perspectives*, (2017), 13.

illegal in all of the host nations, brothel revenue bolstered the economy. The example from Taiwan of the government charging fees for bars was one way they generated profit. "Tourism and leisure policies were initially aimed at capturing the R&R market of US military personnel."⁶² There were also sex tourism packages sold to those on R&R leave. By the 1980s, 73% of international tourists visiting Thailand were male.⁶³ While these figures are not proof that the men traveling to Thailand did so for the prostitution industry, the data on revenue from sex work indicates that most tourists did partake in the sex industry. The effects of prostitution again led to social stigmas and strained gender roles. Overall, sex tourism perpetuated stereotypes and preyed on young, poor women to be bought and sold to different customers and employers.

Conclusion

Comparing military prostitution in Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Thailand, and the Philippines illustrates how similar the effects of prostitution were in each region. All of the women involved had similar backgrounds and experiences working in bars and brothels. Many women had to take mandatory disease checkups either from regular clinics or at military base clinics. The rise of venereal disease in both men and women was directly linked to the rising rates of prostitution. According to a woman from Okinawa, her view of venereal disease was that the Americans brought it. According to her, prior to their arrival, disease such as AIDS was not found in Japan.⁶⁴ Women who ended up pregnant found themselves shunned from family and society, even in instances of rape. Korean officials allowed for redlight districts that catered to American men to prevent rape and protect proper women; however, that thinking has been proven false. In all regions, there were cases of rape and abuse against working women. Some of the children born to American fathers were also due to rape. Americans also did not combat or stop prostitution because they did not want to take any measures that might negatively affect American morale.

Another widespread effect that came from American imperialism in the form of prostitution was the legislation that countries created in order to appease the United States. All the countries examined had legislation that made prostitution illegal. These laws came from a moral and religious standpoint. The imbalanced power relationship between the United States and East/Southeast Asian Governments forced them to allow certain regions and bars to host brothels against their own laws and cultural values.

62. Thanh-Dam Truong, *Sex, Money, and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in Southeast Asia* (London: Zed Books, 1990), 99.

63. Truong, *Sex, Money, and Morality*, 173.

64. Sturdevant and Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll*, 47.

Through interviews, it is proven that poor women who grew up in dire circumstances ended up as sex workers. Some women went to work at bars knowing what was expected of them, while others did not know they would be used as prostitutes. These women were working in order to improve their economic status. Studies have shown that many women, unless they got married and immigrated, did not end up in better financial situations. Disease and pregnancy made their economic situations harder. The US created laws to deal with the issues that arose, such as marriages, rape, and childbirth but did nothing to ban soldiers from seeking out sex workers.

The final effect that resulted from this is the sexualization of East and Southeast Asian women. Movies such as *Full Metal Jacket*, *Sayonara*, *Austin Powers*, and countless other films, as well as the terms “yellow fever” or “Asian fever,” contributed to Americans’ sexualization of Asian women. The accessibility of sex workers, mail-order brides, and derogatory names for Asian women are deeply rooted in issues caused by US imperialism during the Cold War. The patriarchal structure of the United States military, paired with hypersexuality and the ideology of dominance and victory during the Cold War, influenced an expansion of a prostitution complex spanning East and Southeast Asia.

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Ballet, Political Resistance, and Soviet Policy in the Twentieth Century

Harpreet Kaur

Abstract: This paper explores the history of ballet in the Soviet Union and how it was utilized as a political tool by the state in order to promote Soviet policy. This paper will examine the defection of many high-profile ballet dancers from the Soviet Union and the ways in which the Soviet policy influenced ballet companies such as the Bolshoi and the Kirov Theaters through regulations and restrictions.

Ballet in the Soviet Union was an important cultural and political tool, both nationally and internationally. The state sought to use ballet to promote Soviet nationalistic ideology and to showcase the successes of the revolution through dance. The government's financial support was crucial to the survival of ballet in the Soviet Union, which included training for dancers from childhood to adulthood as well as the dance companies in which they performed. To present a unified and state-sanctioned version of ballet to the world, it was necessary to control the individual artistic expression of the ballet dancers themselves.

High-profile ballet dancers worked to covertly resist the state's attempts to turn their art form into a vehicle for nationalistic propaganda and struggled to maintain their artistic freedom. Resistance was risky, as the state controlled most aspects of the dancers' lives and careers. One of the ways high-profile ballet dancers resisted the state's censorship and regulation of the art form was through defecting and attempting to gain asylum in the West. Over time, the defection of high-profile ballet dancers from the Soviet Union affected Soviet domestic politics and cultural diplomacy. Ballet performance was a potent means of cultural exchange between the Soviet Union and the United States. Each nation projected something of its own national character through the art form. The ballets presented by the Soviet Union displayed uniformity, happy endings, revolutionary heroism, and incredibly trained dancers. In contrast, the ballets presented by the United States displayed the individualism and creativity of its dancers and choreographers. This cultural exchange thrilled the international dance public and demonstrated how the art form ultimately brought people together.

The discussion of ballet in Soviet Russia involves three supporting arguments. The first section will introduce background information on ballet tours and argue their importance as a diplomatic and cultural

tool in the Cold War years. The second section will examine the careers, achievements, and struggles of ballet defectors and their resistance to Soviet censorship and control over their art. Specifically, the defection of Soviet dancers Rudolph Nureyev, Mikhail Baryshnikov, Valery and Galina Panov, and Natalia Makarova will be discussed in detail. The third section will discuss the topic of Soviet censorship and control over ballet companies, directors, choreographers, and dancers and will examine how and why Soviet policy influenced and censored ballet in the twentieth century. Lastly, the perspectives of contemporary dance critics, historians, and onlookers of the Soviet ballet will be analyzed to understand if Soviet censorship was successful in using the ballet to portray the state in a specific, 'Soviet' light.

Ballet as a Political Tool

Ballet tours were an important cultural and diplomatic tool during the Cold War era. Dance connected the state and ballet companies with choreography, serving as the medium of influence both in the Soviet Union and the United States. Where the Soviet Union was trying to portray socialist realist ideas through its ballet, the US was attempting to display more freedom in its form. The US sent the New York City Ballet (NYCB) performers to the Soviet Union on tour, and the audience fell in love with the Balanchine choreography immediately. The Balanchine choreography was fast and rhythmically complex, exemplifying the American performance style. Seats had sold out before NYCB had even arrived in Moscow. Audiences were enthusiastic, and the company performed nightly encores throughout their eight-week tour of the USSR.¹ Another company that toured the USSR, the American Ballet Theater (ABT), included two "American" works in their repertoire: *Rodeo*, which is about cowboys and cowgirls, and *Fancy Free*, which is about American sailors on shore leave.² Inspired by what they witnessed of Western ballet companies, many dancers decided to leave the USSR or not come back from their own international tours.³ Each dancer had their own reasons for leaving. These included fear for the future of their career in the USSR, lack of inspiration, or frustration with artistic limitations imposed by the state. So, it was not only the audience who were mesmerized by foreign performers but also the professional dancers of Soviet dance companies themselves.

Despite the love the foreign dancers received from the audience and Russian dancers, the Soviet authorities were suspicious, and kept close tabs on them throughout the duration of their visit. For example, the American

1. Clare Croft, *Dancers as Diplomats: American Choreography in Cultural Exchange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 37.

2. Prevots, Naima, and Eric Foner. 1998. *Dance for Export Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War*, Introduction by Eric Foner. Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1998, 77.

3. Stacey Prickett, "Taking America's Story to the World": Touring Jerome Robbins's Ballets: U.S.A. During the Cold War." *Dance Research Journal* 52, no. 2 (2020): 4–25.

dancers in Russia found themselves constantly under the surveillance of Russian authorities and had very little freedom to move about the cities. The constant presence of the military also made the American dancers feel nervous as tanks would be seen in the street passing through with guns. Although nothing really threatening occurred, these small details made Soviet everyday life different from that of the US, and dancers tended to be a bit unsettled.⁴ It is important to note how although the American dancers were only visiting for a short while, they noticed something restrictive about the Soviet authorities in the country. This was the daily reality for many artists, ballet dancers, and choreographers at the time and would be a major factor in the defection of certain dancers from the Bolshoi and Kirov companies. The NYCB toured the USSR in 1962 and 1972 and ABT would also tour the USSR. The Bolshoi and Kirov ballet companies would travel to the US many times throughout the sixties and seventies.⁵ This was significant because, despite the global political turmoil, dance connected nations and people together.

Dancing Resistance

Beginning with Rudolph Nureyev, the first and most famous defector from the Soviet Union, this section will aim to shed light on dancers' early life, experience with Soviet policy over ballet, the process of defection, and the years after. Nureyev was born on a train that was heading along the banks of the Baikal Lake near Irkutsk, Russia to a Tartar family in March of 1938.⁶ He did not come from an affluent background and sometimes did not have enough to eat at home. Despite this, Nureyev was a quick learner and could easily retain information, a strength that would be helpful in his future career as a dancer. He began dancing in his school group in Ufa and would often perform at hospitals to entertain wounded soldiers. Nureyev went on to join the Ufa Opera corps de ballet and from there went on to study in the Vaganova Academy of Russian Ballet of Leningrad in August of 1955.⁷ When it came time to choose between dancing for the Bolshoi Ballet company in Moscow, Russia or the Kirov Ballet, now formally known again by its pre-Soviet name, the Mariinsky Ballet, Nureyev chose the Kirov because he viewed the Bolshoi as too restricting for its dancers to be able to fully and truly express themselves through their art form. He says the exception was Galina Ulanova, whom he describes as immune from all the theater intrigues and corruption.⁸ Nureyev claims that the same was not

4. Croft, *Dancers as Diplomats*, 50.

5. Clare Croft, "Ballet Nations: The New York City Ballet's 1962 US State Department-Sponsored Tour of the Soviet Union." *Theatre Journal* (Washington, D.C.) 61, no. 3 (2009): 421–42.

6. Rudolph Nureyev, Richard Avedon, Michael Peto, Anthony Crickmay, and Alexander Bland. *Nureyev: An Autobiography. With Pictures by Richard Avedon, Michael Peto, Anthony Crickmay, and Others. Introduced by Alexander Bland.* [1st ed.]. (New York: Dutton, 1963), 24.

7. Nureyev, 68.

8. Nureyev, 88.

true for other dancers in the Bolshoi and that the policy of the company was harmful since it turned them into “mere athletes, record breakers with marvelous muscles of steel but no heart, and no deep sensitive love for the art they serve.”⁹

Nureyev argues that the Bolshoi was turned into a national showplace with the goal of impressing foreigners and tourists visiting the capital. He saw the Bolshoi as a reflection of the government’s policy, required to adhere to every rule. He states that the repertoire of the company consisted of ballets that promoted the official viewpoint of the government in a simplified form, easily interpreted by the public.¹⁰ In contrast, the Kirov was in a different position with its physical distance from the capital, allowing it to be free from much of the control and censorship that the Bolshoi endured. In fact, many at the time mentioned how the Bolshoi lacked a certain sophistication that was present at the Kirov. For these reasons, as well as Nureyev’s own history with the company, he chose the Kirov.

For the first six months, Nureyev was uncomfortably lodged in a “*kollektiv*” with eight people in each room. Following an injury, he began to live with Alexander Pushkin, dancer and ballet master at the Kirov, and his wife in their apartment. Thanks to their hospitality, he was able to recover very quickly.¹¹ During his time at the Kirov, Nureyev was viewed with suspicion, and according to him, he was not seen as a member of the “*kollektiv*,” likely referring to other influential members of the company. Nureyev recalls one instance in Moscow in which he preferred to rehearse alone to distance himself from the political meetings that usually occurred during rehearsals. One of the instructors criticized his behavior and began a discussion about conformism, or his lack of it. Nureyev responded to him in front of the entire company saying that, “it was people like him who tried to make us all dance alike and in the style of forty years ago who were the reason that ballet was dying today.”¹² Every day, there was news of another “outrage” he had committed. He was constantly criticized for not conforming, including the way he dressed, what he said, or what he liked. For example, he refused to be a member of the *Komsomol*, the junior organization of the Communist Party, of which many of his colleagues were members, paying no heed to school rules.¹³ Nureyev’s statements and reactions speak to the constrained conditions that Soviet ballets and schools were under at the time. Shortly after his arrival at the Kirov, Nureyev began receiving anonymous denunciations from company members and was even accompanied by policemen every time he went to shows performed by

9. Nureyev, 88.

10. Nureyev, 88.

11. Nureyev, 94.

12. Nureyev, 96.

13. Nureyev, 45.

foreign companies. The suspicion and tensions surrounding his behavior were clearly rising.

Despite the campaigns against him, Nureyev was selected to go to Paris to perform at the Paris Opera. On May 11, 1961, Nureyev left for Paris and would not return to the Soviet Union until 1987 to visit his family. Once in Paris, he became friends with many dancers whom the Kirov officials deemed as “undesirable”.¹⁴ Soon after, he was told not to visit his “French friends” and a policeman was placed outside his hotel with orders to follow him should he leave.¹⁵ At last the day came where Nureyev made his decision to stay in Paris. This decision was a spontaneous reaction to the events that took place at Le Bourget airport. He and the company were leaving to perform in London, however once at the airport Nureyev was told by Konstantin Sergeyev, the Kirov ballet master and principal dancer from 1931-1961, that he would be returning to Moscow to perform at the Kremlin and joining the rest of the company in London later.¹⁶ Nureyev knew what this really meant – he would not be allowed to tour again, nor would he be allowed to make principal dancer at the company. He telephoned one of his close friends, Clara Saint, who came quickly to the airport and informed two inspectors that there was a Russian dancer who wished to stay. He then placed himself under the protection of the French government.

After the events at the airport, Nureyev was hosted by friends in an apartment overlooking the Luxembourg Gardens and noted how the press began to run his story as “a leap to freedom.” On his first day out, Nureyev noticed Soviet agents following him. Thereafter, his host provided him with two private detectives to follow him everywhere.¹⁷ Despite the difficulties that Nureyev faced in staying, he did not regret it and was happy that he would finally be able to have artistic freedom.

In his autobiography, Nureyev concludes by stating that his reason for leaving the Soviet Union was not because of politics or ideology but because of the personal pressures that he faced. However, it appears that many of these pressures were rooted in the government’s control over ballet in Russia. After reading his autobiography, Nureyev clearly desired the artistic freedom to perform on his own terms, something that was not allowed in the Soviet Union. Headlines boasted of Nureyev’s “leap to freedom” and it in fact was, for his defection would allow him the freedom he wanted to pursue his career in his own way. His decision to stay would inspire other Russian ballet dancers to do the same.

14. Nureyev, 106.

15. Nureyev, 108.

16. Nureyev, 18.

17. Nureyev, 111.

Mikhail Baryshnikov was another Soviet-born ballet dancer who, like Nureyev, defected to the West. Baryshnikov was born on January 27, 1948, in Riga, Latvia. He began his ballet training at the Riga Choreographic Institute and later at the Agrippina Vaganova Choreographic Institute under the direction of Alexander Pushkin, graduating in 1967 and dancing his first solo when he was only fifteen. His first appearance with the Kirov Ballet showcased the “technical perfection and artistry of this young boy but also by the fact that he already had the stage presence of a mature soloist”.¹⁸ He made his debut at the Kirov in the ballet *Don Quixote* in 1969. Nina Alovert, a ballet journalist, recalls his performance as Don Quixote as daring and superb in terms of technique. However, she states that it was only in the United States that she witnessed him dance this role at his technical best.¹⁹

Barshnikov defected from the Soviet Union on June 29, 1974, while he was on tour in Canada and requested political asylum from the American consulate in Toronto.²⁰ On July 1, 1974, Alovert received a phone call from a friend stating that Baryshnikov had ‘disappeared.’ The thought had not yet crossed her mind that he intended to stay in the West by his own will.²¹ Later that same morning, an unknown man called Alovert and requested her presence at the KGB Leningrad headquarters for a conversation. Once there, he asked her who had called her earlier and told her that Baryshnikov had disappeared and whether she knew that Baryshnikov would be staying abroad. She then realized that the KGB was tapping her phone calls, an inconvenience she mentioned she eventually became used to.²² The KGB worker then asked her what she thinks of Baryshnikov’s friends and how they persuaded him to stay abroad. Alovert responded that Baryshnikov was a mature and independent person who did not need to be persuaded to do anything. The chief gave her a paper to write her testimonial down and left only to return two hours later regarding her calm composure as proof that she knew. Alovert later found out that Larissa, a friend, was in the other room crying and had agreed to write a letter to Baryshnikov. Alovert knew that to keep the KGB away from her, she had to be reluctant to cooperate. She was right, for Larissa began to receive visits from quiet and rather polite young people asking if she had heard back from him.²³ The investigation into Barshnikov’s disappearance continued for about three days, and soon after, the army began drafting boys from the Kirov ballet for compulsory military service. When asked why they were doing so when ballet dancers are often exempt from this service due to their training, one officer replied,

18. Nina Alovert and Irene Huntoon, *Baryshnikov in Russia*, Text and Photographs by Nina Alovert; Translated by Irene Huntoon, (1st ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1984), 19.

19. Alovert, 53.

20. Alovert, 1.

21. Alovert, 2.

22. Alovert, 3.

23. Alovert, 6.

“You won’t be running off like Baryshnikov!” Fortunately, the story received much publicity, and they were soon allowed to return to the theater.²⁴

What these events regarding Baryshnikov’s disappearance show is that the KGB were genuinely trying to uncover this “conspiracy” among the nonconformists and intellectuals in Baryshnikov’s close circle of friends.²⁵ They were serious in their pursuit of bringing the dancers back to the USSR, finding and disciplining family and friends of the defectors, and quelling the rumors of the scandal in the Soviet Union. The KGB themselves began spreading their own rumors that Baryshnikov had received permission to stay in the West and dance for two more years. Soon after, rumors were spread in the press that he was homesick and so regretful of his decision that he was practically living outside the Soviet embassy in America begging to return home. Aloverv knew these rumors to be false since she had some contact with Baryshnikov and heard about his life from other people.²⁶ Unfortunately, these rumors began to worry many of his friends and family, and they started to wonder if they could be true. The goal of these rumors, interrogations, phone tapings, etc., by the KGB was to “neutralize” the situation regarding the defection. The drafting of the boys from the Kirov to join the army is an important example of how worried Baryshnikov’s defection had made them since his defection might set an example for others. In fact, Aloverv states that people loved him so much that they, too, left Russia after him.²⁷

The Soviet Union clearly viewed the act of leaving, thinking about leaving, and other non-conforming ideas as a criminal act against the state. The defectors were treated as criminals and enemies of the Soviet Union and anyone who seemed to have any relation with them as well. Both Nureyev and Baryshnikov’s defections were acts of resistance against Soviet censorship, conformism, and control. For them, staying in Russia would cost them any artistic progression that they could gain from being able to dance and choreograph freely and on their own terms. For example, in the seven years that Baryshnikov worked in Russia, he danced about sixteen roles, including *pas de deux* (a dance for two) and *pas de trois* (a dance for three). He routinely danced in the ballets *Giselle*, *Don Quixote*, and *The Creation of the World*. In contrast, once in the West, Baryshnikov was learning five or six works in one season alone.²⁸ Nureyev and Baryshnikov were arguably the most high-profile, but not the only dancers to defect from the Soviet Union to pursue their art form.

24. Aloverv, 7.

25. Aloverv, 8.

26. Aloverv, 16.

27. Aloverv, 17.

28. Aloverv, 131.

Valery and Galina Panov were also principal dancers with the Kirov Ballet before they defected to Israel in 1974. Valery Panov was Galina Panov's husband and the two danced many roles together at the Kirov before their defection. Valery Panov was born in 1938 less than a hundred miles away from the Polish border. In August of 1940, he and his family moved away as tanks began coming in. They left in a packed railway car from Vitebsk to Moscow.²⁹ He excelled at ballet from a young age, and his mother enrolled him in summer classes held by the lead dancer, Bronius Kelkbauskus, at the Palace of Culture. After some months, his ballet master recommended him for a place at the opera theater school. He was coached by Niola Grigorievna for about a year and then asked his mother to enroll him at the Leningrad Academy, where she had studied herself.³⁰ He was accepted soon after.

Panov soon joined the Kirov Ballet, where he was a popular and successful dancer. However, he was still unsatisfied with this and felt imprisoned. He stated that dancers from other countries could leave a theater if they did not prefer the artistic atmosphere however, "all our theaters play the same broken records."³¹ For Soviet dancers and artists, the only two options were to quit their careers or defect. However, defection was not easy as it was dangerous and required many sacrifices, including the loss of contact with family and friends. Panov states that many people who had the potential to be very creative had their best ideas killed before they were even born. Soloists who came back from their travels abroad would tell him that the West's theaters are not great and that there are no coaches or academies. But this did not matter to Panov who argued that at least they offered a chance to grow as a dancer. Panov was exhausted with, "being able to predict every rehearsal and production, of knowing in advance what might be possible and what I "categorically" must not try."³² Panov's words show that he was clearly feeling the weight of the artistic restrictions placed upon him by the authorities. Interestingly, it also points out the duality evident in the relation between the state and the ballet; that although there were restrictions, the state majorly helped ballet become what it was in Russia in the twentieth century. Compared to the theaters in the West at the time, the ones in the Soviet Union had a more organized structure with academies, studios, funding, and state support.

Unlike the defection of Nureyev and Baryshnikov, Valery Panov attempted to leave the Soviet Union through an emigration application. Both he and his wife had been denied visas to Israel to which they had

29. Valery Panov and George Fifier, *To Dance*, (1st ed. New York: Knopf, 1978), 1.

30. Panov and Feifer, 29.

31. Feifer, 270.

32. Feiffer, 271.

applied in 1972.³³ In fact, Valery Panov was not even allowed to go on tour and had not been abroad for almost thirteen years. Panov stated that he had originally been allowed to go on tour before this, but the Soviet authorities revoked this privilege after they stated that he had been becoming friends with “new” people too easily.³⁴ Panov began a hunger strike to protest his situation. A newspaper article from by *The New York Jewish Week* in 1973 states how Valery Panov’s visa application to emigrate to Israel had been accepted by Leningrad authorities out of fear that he might die of starvation during his hunger strike. Their situation speaks to the difficulty artists faced in trying to leave the Soviet Union. The attempts to leave did not go unnoticed by the authorities, and there were repercussions for this. After Panov had made his attempts to leave public knowledge, he was banned from performing at the Kirov.³⁵

Another newspaper article by officials from *The New York Jewish Week* states that one of the reasons for the cancellation of the Kirov tour in 1974 was because the Soviet authorities had failed to offer an emigration visa to Galina Panov. Valery Panov had been allowed a visa; however, his wife was denied one, so he refused to leave the Soviet Union without her. Panov was also afraid of further imprisonment. He had been imprisoned before in 1972 during President Nixon’s visit to Russia on the charges of parasitism and had been unemployed since.³⁶ This source serves as a follow-up on their emigration application request from the 1972 newspaper and shows how not much had changed since. More importantly, it shows just how serious the repercussions were for attempting to leave the Soviet Union. One could lose their career and be imprisoned for even thinking about leaving or associating with the “wrong” people. In the eyes of the Soviet authorities, this situation of dancers and artists defecting weakened their state in the eyes of the public. When one leaves, others follow, which is exactly what the Soviet state was trying to avoid.

Natalia Makarova was another famous defector. Born in Leningrad on November 21, 1940, she was an only child raised by her grandmother in her early years of life. When she was twelve years old, Makarova joined the ballet club at the Pioneer Palace in Leningrad. The Pioneers is a youth organization of the Communist Party, and every child was required to join. She did not know that she would pick ballet and later make it her career, as she only went to classes in her free time three evenings a week, more as a hobby. She decided on it to relax after school and meet new

33. Panov’s visa bid accepted during his hunger strike. *The New York Jewish week*. 1973.

34. Panov and Fifer, 30.

35. *The New York Jewish Week*, “Kirov Ballet Tour Cancelled: Panov Protest Called Factor,” 1974, Manhattan edition.

36. Richard Austin, *Natalia Makarova: Ballerina* (Brooklyn: Dance Horizons, 1978), 28.

friends.³⁷ When she was thirteen, on a whim, she decided to present herself at the Vaganova School of Ballet in Leningrad without consulting anyone or even letting her family know. It was an impulsive decision and would be the first of many that shaped her career. She eventually moved straight into the role of principal dancer at the Kirov Ballet without spending a long time as an apprentice, which is odd, especially for a Russian company where the training is longer than in the West.³⁸

Makarova defected from the Kirov Ballet on September 5, 1970, and this news made the headlines of almost all the papers. The decision was made impulsively while she was on tour with the Kirov company in London. She states that she was exhausted from losing roles to 'lesser dancers' who had close party ties and affiliations. Makarova was also unfulfilled with repeatedly dancing classics and Communist 'nonsense' with titles such as *Russian Boat Coming to Port*. She was afraid that she, too, would eventually lose her spontaneity and creativity and decided to tell her English friends that she was going to call the police and stay. This decision made her the first Soviet ballerina to defect from the country.³⁹ Soon after her defection, she received many letters from the Kirov asking her to return. Some letters were genuine from her friends, while others were written in a rather forced language composed as a company directive.⁴⁰ The artistic director of the company, Konstantin Sergeyev, wrote a genuine and sincere letter asking her to consider her decision and her artistic career. She responded to him by saying that as an artist, he could understand her better than anyone why she had to make that decision. After that, she was free, and a new creative life had become open to her.⁴¹

Her first performance after her defection was on television in a pas de deux, with Rudolph Nureyev, performing the third act of *Swan Lake*. The two had both defected from the Kirov and this drew much publicity. Soon after this, Makarova accepted an invitation to join the American Ballet Theater as a company member.⁴² Makarova had a wider range of dance activities available to her in the West, specifically in New York where modern dance and free dance, due to the influence of artists such as Martha Graham and Merce Cunningham, were well established.⁴³ Makarova was most impressed by the openness and freedom of creative ideas in the dance world, no matter how unexpected. It was an environment where

37. Austin, 41.

38. Sarah Kaufman. "Ballerina Natalia Makarova: 'Being Spontaneous, It's What Saved Me' 'I Never Had a Crisis of Identity,' the Soviet Defector Says of Her Career as a Storied Interpreter of Great Ballets." *The Washington Post*. 2012.

39. Austin, 55.

40. Austin, 55.

41. Austin, 56.

42. Austin, 56.

43. Austin, 57.

she could thrive and experiment, in contrast to the Soviet Union, where ballet was more fixed or narrow in its aesthetic.⁴⁴ After defecting to the West, Makarova was able to experience more opportunities for growth and inspiration in her art unhindered by the restrictions of the Soviet state. She resisted the authorities' control over ballet by defecting and dancing on her terms.

Censoring Ballet

Ballet in Russia originated as an aristocratic court culture but survived the early years of the Bolshevik Revolution and came to hold an important place in the Soviet Union. In her book, *Swans of the Kremlin*, Christina Ezrahi analyzes the first fifty years of the Bolshoi and Kirov companies as well as the Khrushchev era and how they maneuvered through the restrictions placed on them by the state. Ezrahi centers her book around the question of how Russia's formerly imperial ballet was situated in the Soviet cultural project. Ezrahi's work is significant because it is one of the first archival studies of the two ballet companies. An important term that she coins is 'artistic repossession' which helps explain how the dancers creatively adapted to Soviet policies over their art. The artists were forced to accept the new government and laws. However, they learned to exploit them for their own needs against the state's goals and values. Ezrahi argues that this was a form of resistance because what they are doing is essentially systemic subversion, "[embodying] tactics that operate within the system but seek to use the system to promote goals foreign to it."⁴⁵ Maintaining artistic autonomy under Soviet rule was no easy feat. As Ezrahi states, artistic autonomy, in this case, can be defined generally as the ability to maintain independent professional ideas and values, and being able to push the boundaries of artistic pursuit as far as possible in this case. This form of everyday resistance against the state was a subtle but effective strategy that was used to survive during this time. The survival of the Kirov and Bolshoi ballets through the tumultuous period of political, social, and economic turmoil in twentieth-century Russia is itself a form of resistance. As stated earlier, the Imperial ballet was an aristocratic art form, something that stands in stark contrast to the Soviet regime's ideology. The new regime attempted to use ballet as a political tool as a part of the state's goal to re-educate the masses and create a new civilization. Thus, the companies were required to create a new repertoire that would help accomplish this goal.⁴⁶

The prerevolutionary ballet was performed primarily for the privileged few, but after the October Revolution, the very purpose and audience of the

44. Austin, 57.

45. Christina Ezrahi, *Swans of the Kremlin: Ballet and Power in Soviet Russia*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 7.

46. Ezrahi, 30.

art had been changed.⁴⁷ There was fear that the ballet, which was symbolic of the “old”, could not withstand all the sudden changes that were occurring during the revolutionary period. A speech made by Anatoly Lunacharsky, the first Soviet Commissar of Education responsible for guiding the theatrical arts, in March of 1921 states, “to lose this thread, to allow it to break before being used as the foundation of a new artistic culture—belonging to the people—this would be a great calamity.” He then goes on to state that, “we need the old art not only because it is valuable in itself... because new candles are lit from this torch and because new generations, growing around such artists, thus inherit the traditions of the school.”⁴⁸ This quote is important for many reasons. Firstly, it shows just how early on after the revolution this project of cultural re-education took place. Secondly, it speaks to the logic behind what many in power were thinking regarding the future of ballet. Its potential as a weapon for political propaganda was seen from the beginning, but so was its cultural importance in Russian society. This duality is present throughout the relationship between the Soviet state and the ballet companies.

Prerevolutionary ballet, as well as other art forms, were to be reinterpreted through the lens of Marxism with new themes and techniques to express it. Soviet choreographers, although differing on many subjects regarding the future of classic dance, agreed that the three to four-act ballet should remain, as anything less would be “beneath the traditions of the Russian ballet.”⁴⁹ Their common goal was to find themes and stories that would portray the new life, philosophy, and social structure of the Soviet public while also maintaining a dictionary for dance that would work well with mime to accurately portray the themes. Specifically, mysticism was asked to be taken from the ballets, which was pronounced in the classics, and replaced with socialist-realist themes. It appeared to be successful in the 1920s when revolutionary sailors were more fashionable than princesses and fairies. The *Red Poppy* is one example of a contemporary revolutionary ballet that was quite successful. However, soon after, directors were looking for something new besides contemporary settings and looked to history and literature for inspiration. Thus, romantic and naturalistic ballets came to rise, such as *Heart of the Hills* and Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* with music by Prokofiev.⁵⁰

As Ezrahi notes, there were many problems with this goal. First, there was the issue that ballet was originally from imperial Russia’s aristocratic court culture, and many argued that it would not be able to offer any real

47. Natalia Roslavleva and Ninette De Valois. *Era of the Russian Ballet*, with a Foreword by Dame Ninette de Valois. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1966, 190.

48. Roslavleva, 191.

49. Morley, Iris. *Soviet Ballet*, by Iris Morley. London: Collins, 1945, 16.

50. Morley, 19.

contributions to the new regime. Second, realism in art necessitates the representation of things in life. However, classical ballet has very little in common with realism or the way that “normal” people move. Third, in contrast to other art forms, classical ballet did not have a nineteenth-century realist model to follow. For example, nineteenth-century writers wrote about what was wrong with society and what needed to be fixed, whereas ballet did not depict this. If anything, as an aristocratic form of entertainment, it did exactly the opposite by keeping itself distant from the rest of society.⁵¹

The potential of the ballet’s dramatization was a debate existing in prerevolutionary Russia as well. Originally, it was performed as entertainment for nobility in the courts of the Italian Renaissance and was performed by aristocrats and royalty in Europe. Ballet had particularly flourished in France under the reign of Louis XIV, often depicting mythological or symbolic matters which represented royalty and their power. It eventually became a professionalized dance performed in the theater during Louis XIV’s reign as well, and in 1699, he founded the Academie d’ Opera, which would become the Paris Opera Ballet. The ballet moved from the court with aristocratic dancers into a professional theater with professional dancers. Drama was not one of the genres that could be seen in ballet then, however in 1760, the choreographer Jean-Georges Noverre published a highly influential theory of ballet detailing it as a dramatic spectacle that expressed drama not in words but in dance, thus creating an important role for the choreographer in ballet.⁵² It is clear that the debate over ballet has been in existence since ballet was first formed, and the discussion regarding its reform existed in Soviet Russia as well.

In the context of the Soviet cultural project, nineteenth-century progressive thought stressed the artist’s social responsibility and art as a transformative social force.⁵³ Ezrahi uses the term “Soviet cultural project” in order to “avoid the traditional emphasis on ideological control as a force that crushed artistic creativity the Soviet Union, and instead to emphasize the complexity of the relationship between the art and politics in the Soviet Union which is the cultural transformation of Soviet society as well as the educational goals of the regime.”⁵⁴ The ballet companies benefited much from state policy that encouraged high culture as an important part of Soviet values but the political and ideological demands from the state restricted freedom of choreography.

However, the Soviet regime knew the strong cultural influence ballet had in Russia and decided to recast it in a Soviet light anyways, despite the

51. Ezrahi, 31.

52. Ezrahi, 34.

53. Ezrahi, 36.

54. Ezrahi, 3.

obvious problems with this idea. The demands of the government were implemented by bureaucrats, which restricted autonomy in the theater's repertoire. On the other hand, the theaters also benefited from the state's involvement since the government actively worked to promote ballet as a cultural project in Soviet society.⁵⁵ Despite the efforts of the government, this complex relationship between the state and the ballet companies did not completely succeed in its goal of using ballet as a medium for Soviet re-education. The regime expected the ballet to provide them with cultural diplomacy and act as a tool for the regime's consolidation of power through the creation of ballets based on Soviet life and topics. A decree issued by the cultural minister of the USSR on December 31, 1957, brings attention to the clear goal of popularizing ballet in the regime. This decree also specifies measures that popularize the art form in the Soviet Union. For example, before the revolution, the Mariinsky and the Bolshoi and its schools were the only public, state-funded ballet schools. By 1947, "there were thirty-one state opera and ballet theaters and fifteen state choreographic institutes (state ballet schools) across the Soviet Union."⁵⁶ The decree also emphasized the importance of the use of ballet as a propaganda tool as well as the shortcomings of the Soviet Ballet in achieving this goal and reprimanded the artistic directions and management of the ballet companies for not bringing in more composers and writers to work on themes relating to contemporary life in the Soviet Union.

The government soon realized that their new Soviet-inspired ballets were not as popular as the originals and concluded that if they wanted the audiences' attention, they would need to create more interesting and enjoyable ballets. The decree ordered all ballet companies to produce at least one new ballet every year on a contemporary or historical topic on Soviet life. Another measure from the decree was that the best ballets produced on contemporary Soviet themes would be performed for the public in Moscow and the capitals of the union republics from 1958-1959. Furthermore, the ministries of culture were ordered to provide the necessary funds to the ballet companies for this endeavor. The decree also required that an annotated list of recommendations be sent to opera and ballet theaters listing successful Soviet ballets as well as a list of sheet music and recordings which accompanied the respective ballets. The other half of the decree focused on promoting ballet across the Soviet Union, improving research and criticism of the art form. One way the decree stated this should be done was through the screening of ballet films, particularly Kirov's *Sleeping Beauty* and the Soviet original ballet, *The Red Poppy*, performed by the Bolshoi dancers. The Department of Film Production was specifically asked by the state to create educational films on *Romeo and Juliet* and *Swan Lake*

55. Ezrahi, 68.

56. Ezrahi, 69.

and ensure that they were shown widely throughout the Soviet Union.⁵⁷ This decree speaks to the restrictions ballet companies faced, particularly regarding choreography, but also the benefits they received in this complex relationship with the state, in that ballet in the Soviet Union today is one of its most important cultural achievements.

This decree, as well as the other order regarding the ballet companies, were typically implemented in the same way at the Kirov and Bolshoi companies. However, the state favored the Bolshoi over the Kirov partly because the Bolshoi was in Moscow, the capital, and the Kirov was in Leningrad, which was viewed with suspicion and as a potential rival of Moscow.

One example of a Soviet ballet with a revolutionary theme is *The Red Poppy*. It was first performed in 1927 and was seen by the government as the first successful attempt at creating a ballet with a revolutionary theme.⁵⁸ It is an attempt to create a modern ballet and present the theme as a national liberation movement. The ballet begins in a semi-colonial port in China in the 1920s and tells the story of a young Chinese dancer who falls in love with a Soviet naval captain after he takes the side of local dock workers over the British. After he is threatened by the British imperialists, the young dancer sacrifices her life to save him.⁵⁹ The ballet was re-created after the victory of the Chinese civil war in 1949 and the story portrayed American imperialism as the enemy and the leading male as a Chinese revolutionary with the story ending with the victory of China's Communist revolution. Although the ballet was a success in the Soviet Union, Mao Zedong did not attend the showing for this ballet during his trip to the USSR on the advice of the ambassador who stated that the ballet shows a distorted view of the role of the Chinese Communist Party and that the dancers themselves portray Chinese people as "distorted" and even "monstrous." One of Zedong's close associates also stated that the title of the ballet itself made them uncomfortable because in China, the poppy plant, which produces opium, is symbolic of an enemy of China.⁶⁰ Ultimately, the story failed to resonate with the Chinese audience but was widely performed in the Soviet Union.

Another ballet the Soviet state created was *Partisan's Days*, which was based mostly on character dancing with its subject taken from the Russian Civil War and was the first ballet performed in character shoes instead of pointe shoes, signaling a change in longstanding ballet traditions. It

57. Ezrahi, 72.

58. Yury Slonimsky. *The Bolshoi Theatre Ballet*; Notes. Translated from the Russian. Moscow: Foreign Languages Pub. House, 1956, 20.

59. Edward Tyerman. "Resignifying the Red Poppy: Internationalism and Symbolic Power in the Sino-Soviet Encounter" *Slavic and East European Journal* 61, no. 3 2017, 445.

60. Tyerman, 447.

connected the story with that of the struggle of partisans in the North Caucasus and White Guard Cossacks. One of the most intense and dramatic scenes of the play was when Nastia, a beautiful yet poor peasant, was forced to marry the wealthy Cossack. Meanwhile, drunk men were making fun of her poor love interest, Fedor. She then decided to break away from this life on her wedding day and was despised for it. The partisans, headed by a Caucasian named Kremin, found their way into the village and freed Fedor. With Nastia joining them, they headed off to war. Fedor was later shot by the White Guards; however, Nastia and the partisans eventually gained victory and united with the Red Army units.⁶¹ This Soviet ballet incorporates character dancing and drama ballet and was first performed on May 16, 1937, at the Kirov Theater. It was a significant event because it brought new heroes into the theater and a spirit of heroism regarding the early revolutionary days, which moved the audience deeply.⁶² This successful attempt at a new Soviet ballet achieved its goal of instilling national and patriotic ideas into the minds of the audience and public.

While many new ballets were created, old ones were also modified to the preference of the authorities. For example, the classic ballet *Swan Lake* had its ending altered to a more optimistic outcome and ending. A fourth act was added to the ballet to incorporate this change. The fourth act includes a huge flood that destroys the magician, Rothbart, who puts Odette under a spell that transformed her into a swan. She then becomes human again and marries the prince, living happily ever after.⁶³ Another ballet that changed was *Coppelia*. In the original story, a man falls in love with a mechanical doll, and the story ends in a tragedy. However, in the Soviet version, the ballet becomes a love story in which a real girl imitates a mechanical doll to tease her lover, and Dr. Coppelius is a kindhearted and funny old man.⁶⁴ Clearly, the authorities were trying to make sure that the endings of the ballet were optimistic. One reason for this could be that the, “drabness of Soviet life makes the people want a bright and shining good in their theater...Another is that the government likes its citizens to be constantly reassured that everything if not actually at the present, at least will ultimately be worth-while.”⁶⁵ What these examples show is that the government was attempting to speak their propaganda and ideas through the medium of ballet.

Despite the efforts of the state to use ballet as a political propaganda tool, the plan was not completely successful. Ballet had become popular in

61. Roslavela, 238.

62. Roslavela, 239.

63. Faubion Bowers, *Broadway, U.S.S.R.: Ballet, Theatre, and Entertainment in Russia Today* (New York: Nelson, 1959), 32.

64. Bowers, 33.

65. Bowers, 34.

Soviet culture, but the reeducation aspect of the plan did not really come to fruition as relatively few Soviet ballets were produced that were received with much interest from the audience.⁶⁶ Ezrahi states that the very fact that the two companies did not produce the desired Soviet ballets of the state is an act of resistance within the system. She states the artistic creativity and spirit of the companies could not be fully controlled even with the state's close involvement.

Even ballet critics from the Soviet Union realized the limitations placed upon artists by the authorities. Throughout the history of the state, the Bolshoi was presented as the primary opera house, and they moved many dancers and choreographers - such as Galina Ulanova - from Leningrad to Moscow. As mentioned before in Nureyev's autobiography, Ulanova was one of the only dancers at the Bolshoi who was able to resist the restrictions placed on the dancers and, thus, display something unique and beautiful. In fact, one of the most distinguished ballet critics wrote an entire monograph dedicated to the analysis and critical assessments of her interpretations.⁶⁷ Ulanova was able to create her own artistic individuality even while remaining at the Bolshoi.⁶⁸ Berezovsky states that "the sketchy outline of the ballet master's conception had to be given life and emotional fullness by Ulanova...When self-constraint is imposed, there is often a particularly strong burst of creative activity. So, it was now."⁶⁹ Despite the limits placed on her creativity and the "sketchy dance resources provided by the producer, Ulanova achieved an astonishing variety of nuances in her movements."⁷⁰ Arguably a symbol of resistance as well, many dancers did their best to keep limitations from affecting their creativity and expression. Ezrahi states that this may have been a likely reason that the Kirov became a center for choreographic innovation during the 1950s and 1960s instead of the Bolshoi.⁷¹ Artistic autonomy is also why Nureyev decided to dance with the Kirov and not the Bolshoi. Despite these few differences, both companies had similar restrictions and measures placed upon them by the Ministry of Culture. The repertoire had to be approved by the ministry, and the general director of the theater was required to be a political appointee who answered to the authorities.

The Bolshoi and the Kirov were not the only companies whose dancers and choreographers had measures placed upon them. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, the rise of amateur dance companies in the

66. Ezrahi, 73.

67. V.M. Bogdanov-Berezovsky. Valerian Mikhaylovich, 1952. *Ulanova and the Development of the Soviet Ballet*. Translated from the Russian by Stephen Garry and Joan Lawson. Foreword by Cyril Beaumont. London: MacGibbon & Kee, 6.

68. Berezovsky, 28.

69. Berezovsky, 85.

70. Berezovsky, 85.

71. Ezrahi, 73.

Red Army eventually led to the creation of the Red Army Song and Dance Ensemble. The development of art in the Red Army and Navy was unforeseen, and there was not a single unit without an amateur art group. The group usually consisted of an elocutionist, a dancer, a singer, and an accordion player and performed anti-fascist programs. Armies, divisions, and regiments each had their own song and dance ensembles which consisted of musicians, a chorus with about 15 singers, and a dance group of four to five dancers. Larger ensembles included anywhere from forty to sixty people and had full-time professional choreographers to direct training and put on shows. In one month, there would be fifty or sixty major concerts performed.⁷² The dances were often performed to the tune of a popular waltz or song incorporating various skillful dances. Comic, satire, and parody dances were also very popular among them, especially the dances that ridiculed fascists. One example of this was a dance that showed a sarcastic pantomime of the German campaign in Stalingrad where the Germans retreat soon after the Red Army arrives.⁷³ These dancers and the group's developments were greatly supported by professional dancers. The tradition continued throughout the war period. The Bolshoi Theater itself supported many Red Army amateur ensembles. For example, Susan Zvyagina was one of the professionals who also performed for the Red Army groups and was awarded the Order of the Red Star for her services. The Kirov Theater also sent many of its ballerinas, such as Vecheslova, to perform in the ensembles. These dance ensembles became very popular during the war and an important tool of ideological and political education.⁷⁴

In conclusion, ballet in the Soviet Union was an important cultural and political tool that played the dual role of both promoting and resisting Soviet policy. The Soviet state attempted to convey revolutionary and nationalistic ideas to the public, and artists had to struggle to maintain artistic freedom amidst state censorship. Stories like the dancers' defections offer a glimpse into what state policies led Soviet dancers to defect to the West as well as the positives and negatives of the regulations on the theaters and dancers. This research is significant because it examines how an art form was used to promote state policies and nationalistic ideology. It is important to understand how it was used as a political vehicle to advance the goals of the Soviet state as well as how these artists came to protect their art form while also having to work through the regulations and state censorship. Ballet in Russia remains a widely popular and prestigious art form today, and much of this is to be credited to the Soviet policies that promoted it. The defection was clearly a form of resistance against strict Soviet policies

72. Slovinsky, Jury and Others. *The Soviet Ballet*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970, 164.

73. Slonimsky and Others, 165.

74. Slonimsky and Others, 166.

and measures, and dancers had to learn to navigate or leave this complex relationship between them and the authorities.

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Sacramento's Leland Stanford Mansion: Progress Through Technology

Ella Cross

Abstract: The Leland Stanford Mansion in Sacramento, California, is a Second Empire-style mansion that was enlarged three times between 1856-1872 while preserving the architectural style and adding a mansard roof. As the only surviving Stanford home, it is an important piece of architectural history. In order to contextualize the architectural style of the mansion, the crisis of style experienced by nineteenth-century architecture is discussed. In an effort to understand why Stanford and his partners in the transcontinental railroad all chose to build in this modern French style, the urban revitalization of Paris under Napoleon III is examined. The technological advancements of the era, due to the industrial revolution, are also examined.

Located a few blocks from the State Capitol, the 1872 Leland Stanford Mansion is Sacramento's largest and most elegant nineteenth-century residence. The house is the only one of Stanford's several mansions still in existence. The architecture and interiors of the Stanford mansion are heavily influenced by the Napoleon III era (1852-1870) in France. It was built in what was then called the modern French style, which today architectural historians in America refer to confusingly as Renaissance Revival, Italianate, or more precisely, Second Empire, as it was shaped in France during Napoleon III's Second Empire.

The house has a complex architectural history. Built in 1856, it was enlarged three times in fifteen years. In 1871/72 the existing house was expanded from eight rooms to forty-four.¹ Interestingly, the architectural style of the house was not changed. All the architectural features of the original house, except for the roofline, were preserved and copied in the expanded mansion. Leland Stanford's wealth would have made it easy for him to demolish the original house and build in any style he chose, yet the original Second Empire style of the house was preserved, with the addition of a mansard roof.²

1. Diana Strazdes, "The Visual Rhetoric of the Leland Stanford Mansion in Sacramento," *Stanford University Museum of Art Journal*, Vols XXIV-XXV, (1994-1995): 16.

Patricia A. Turse and Leslie L. Hartzell, "The Curious Architectural Evolution of the Stanford Mansion," *Sacramento History Journal of the Sacramento County Historical Society*, Vol. IV no. 2 & 3 (2004): 21.

2. Turse and Hartzell, "The Curious Architectural Evolution," 21.

During the nineteenth century, architectural pattern book authors, such as A.J. Downing, normalized the Victorian idea that the morals, intelligence, and character of people were affected by the architecture of their homes. This widespread ideology of the era should be considered when analyzing the Stanford mansion.

The Sacramento mansion was the first attempt by the Stanfords to signal their newly gained wealth and social position to the world, moving forever out of the working class into the upper class. The elegance, modernity, and aura of solidity that the renovated mansion broadcast to the public in its time was seen as a reflection of the character of the family that lived within it.³ The Stanfords chose to preserve the old house and its distinctive Second Empire style, making it seem as if the whole structure had simply grown. The expansion turned what was once rather optimistically referred to as a mansion into a convincing replica of a modern Parisian bourgeoisie “petit chateau.”⁴ (figure 1)

I argue that Stanford, like his partners in the Central Pacific, chose the Second Empire style for his home because it was seen as the most modern style of its era, successfully resolving the crisis of style experienced by nineteenth-century architects while also incorporating new technology that made life more luxurious, healthy, and comfortable than ever before possible. By choosing the French Second Empire style, Stanford was presenting a very specific image to the world, associating himself with contemporary French architecture and the power of progress through science and technology. This image was well understood by the people of his time, even in Gold Rush era Sacramento, California.

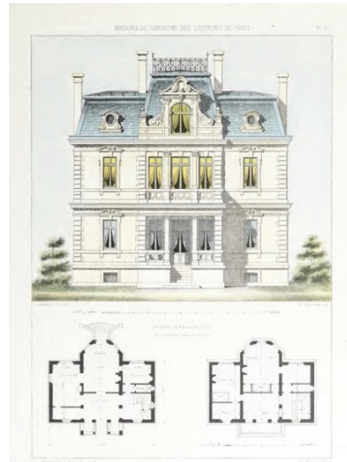


Figure 2 Victor Petit, illustration of 1850 Parisian petit chateau

The Evolution of the Nineteenth Century’s Crisis of Style

In the eighteenth century, classical architecture, the dominant European architectural style since the Renaissance, was thought of as absolute and unchanging beauty based on mathematical proportions and classical orders. As such, classical architecture was something outside of time, not

3. Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 1.

4. Victor Petit, *Maisons de Campagne des Environs de Paris: Avec Plans, Dessinées D’Après Nature*, (Los Angeles: The Getty Institute, 1999), Illustration 80.

subject to the history of the time in which it was built.¹ With the advent of the Enlightenment, however, the primacy of classical architecture was challenged.

During the late eighteenth century, two European architectural styles were vying with each other; the Classical and the Rococo. The naturalistic Rococo style signaled an ideological shift in artistic thought. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Rococo gave birth to the Romantic movement, which lasted roughly from 1800 to 1850.² In architecture, Romanticism required a new approach to buildings and their place in the landscape, which is called the Picturesque. The goal of this new approach was to create a pictorial scene, akin to a painting, where the architecture in combination with the natural environment, created a “constant connection... between the sign and the thing signified.”³ This required the architect to understand the natural environment of a site and respond to it by placing appropriately evocative architecture in it.

With the birth of Romanticism, the choice of style moved into a new realm of allegory and metaphor, engaging the imagination of the viewer by enabling a type of time travel as well as geographic travel.⁴ For the first time, the architecture of the Picturesque enabled buildings to reference different historical epochs and different architectural traditions from around the world. A reproduction Egyptian pylon-fronted temple might be placed in a garden near a reproduction Chinese temple, and the knowledgeable visitor, navigating this landscape of fantasy, would be aware of the associations, allegory, allusion, and metaphor which the architect wished to evoke in service to the identity of the client.⁵

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Romanticism and the Picturesque had given way to a world of eclectic historical references with which architects attempted to construct a unique new style of architecture for their own time. Architectural writing of the nineteenth century is rife with architects and architectural historians bemoaning the lack of a nineteenth-century style.⁶ Instead of one style, there were blends of many historical styles in each structure. It was an era that viewed architectural eclecticism as an attempt to improve upon historical models by combining significant bits of the past in an attempt to create the future.⁷

1. Caroline A. Van Eck “Par le style on atteint au sublime: the meaning of the term ‘style’ in French architectural theory of the late eighteenth century,” in *The Question of Style*, ed Caroline A. Van Eck (London: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 89-107.

2. J. Mordaunt Crook *The Dilemma of Style; Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*, (London: John Murray Ltd, 1989), 19.

3. Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 13.

4. Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 16.

5. Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 18.

6. Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 100-101.

7. Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 99.

The Middle Ages was a particularly inspiring era for mid-nineteenth-century British architects to mine for ideas. This certainly had something to do with ideas of national identity and pride in a glorified past age. In the UK, the romanticization and nostalgia for the Gothic resulted in fifty years of architecture that mixed English, Early French, Venetian, and Italian Gothic details into a hybrid “Gothic” whole. It would take a trained eye to recognize these buildings as being from the nineteenth century, as they sought in every way possible to appear ancient, even though they invisibly incorporated cutting-edge technology in the form of iron beams, trusses, sash windows, and commercially made brick into their construction. As a colonizing empire, the UK exported its architecture as part of the colonial enterprise, building far-flung Gothic buildings in India, New Zealand, and Canada. This retrograde style of an imagined past was used to emphasize British historical power and Christian tradition.⁸

In France, a similar mid-nineteenth-century yearning for the architecture of a glorified past age resulted in two streams of architectural revival, the revival of late French Renaissance architecture, which became known as Second Empire, such as Hector-Martin Lefuel’s Nouveau Louvre (Figure 2) and a French Gothic revival led by the Anglophile, Viollet-le-Duc.⁹ Both styles incorporated the technological advancements in building material of the era. In contrast to the British revival styles, which freely mixed elements from many different nations’ Gothic architecture into each structure, the French revival styles, both Gothic and Renaissance revival, only utilized French precedents. In the French Renaissance Revival, which concerns the topic of this paper, the historical references were the late French Renaissance with touches of the Louis XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, and Empire styles; in other words, French architecture from 1600-1810.¹⁰



Figure 2. Pavillon de Flore at the Louvre, built 1610, remodeled by Hector Lefuel in 1868. Photo by unknown

8. Strazdes, “The Visual Rhetoric,” 20.

9. Joanna Richardson, *La Vie Parisienne: 1852-1870*, (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 222. Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 69.

10. A. Jolles, F.J. Cummings, H. Landais, et al, *The Second Empire in France: Art in France Under Napoleon III*, Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978. Exhibition catalog.

In the search for a unique nineteenth-century style, the French were consciously trying to build on the styles of their immediate past in order to naturally develop a nineteenth-century style. Author and art historian Henri Clouzot in his important work on the era, "*Des Tuileries A Saint-Cloud; L'Art Decoratif du Second Empire*," explains that French styles have always evolved out of what came before them. In France, the style called "Second Empire" or "Napoleon III" first came into being during the reign of his predecessor, Louis Philippe (1830-1848), reaching the apex of its popularity under Napoleon III.

These reworkings of historic styles were a conscious attempt by British and French architects to blend past styles into a new and unique style of their own age that would then reside forever in the canon of historic architectural styles.¹¹ As theorized by Carolyn van Eck, this quest for a new style "was a quest for the impossible, because the two notions of style that were underlying it are irreconcilable. It is impossible to develop a style which is both immutable, universal, and eternal, like the classical style, and at the same time a historical, and therefore a changeable expression of the age in which it developed." From the comfortable distance of our own era, the architecture of the mid-nineteenth century seems to fall into the "historical" category rather than the "universal".

In an effort to create a modern nineteenth-century style, architects tried a variety of tactics. When it became apparent that building exact reproductions of historical styles was not the way to create a modern style of their own, architects began remixing historical details, from many eras of history, into single buildings. This resulted in one of the defining characteristics of the era's architecture – historical eclecticism.

As a former British colony, American design, up to the mid-nineteenth century, most closely followed British models. By exploring the nineteenth century's crisis of style and contrasting the architecture of Britain against that of France, some light will be shed on the improbable construction of Stanford's French mansion in Northern California.

Historians theorize that the nineteenth century, with its newly wealthy bourgeoisie, its rapid industrialization, and technological advancements, fostered a feeling of insecurity which historians refer to as the crisis of style.¹² This insecurity was reflected in the arts, including architecture, by clinging to past historical styles which semiotically referenced time periods in which the nation was powerful and secure. In the UK, this was the Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages, an era of Christianity and

11. Van Eck, "Par le style," 101.

12. A. Jolles, F.J. Cummings, H. Landais, et al, *The Second Empire in France*, 13.

agrarianism ruled by feudal lords.¹³ In France, a roughly chronological progression of luxurious and classically influenced styles encompassing Henry IV, Louis XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, and Empire became the basis of nineteenth-century style.¹⁴ The deep ideological differences in the “idealized past” of the UK and France are significant. It can be argued that the newly wealthy industrialists of America, such as Stanford and his partners, overwhelmingly chose the more luxurious and pleasant “imagined past” of France over the Christian feudalism of the UK.

By the mid-nineteenth century, architects in Britain and France were incorporating new building technologies into their work, including brand-new modern conveniences like hot and cold running water and huge skylights. The technological advancements of the era improved the standards of living for all classes of society, although the wealthy benefited the most.

Industrial Revolution

The effects of the industrial revolution on all aspects of nineteenth-century life are important to note. One such effect was the creation of a new upper class of industrialists, like Stanford, who became extremely wealthy and powerful as a result of their ability to identify and successfully use the technological advancements of the time. Some contemporary historians argue that Stanford’s business success was not the result of personal genius, but rather of his ability to recognize and utilize new technologies created by other people. This is apparent in the construction of the transcontinental railroad, in his mining ventures, and in his agricultural pursuits. His taste for the modern and technologically advanced is also reflected in the mansion.

The birth of corporations as legal entities enabled men like Stanford, around the world, to build huge infrastructure projects such as the transcontinental railroad. This new class of business, the corporation, was able to borrow vast sums of money from governments and investors. Through another new invention, the stock market, corporations were able to make money by issuing stocks, bonds, and options. In the absence of legal regulating mechanisms, early corporations around the world, such as Stanford’s Central Pacific Railroad, were able to manipulate stock prices for their own benefit. The birth of corporations and their exploitation of new technology affected the world.

The United States was rapidly industrializing in the nineteenth century and still looked to Britain and Europe for technological innovations and as

13. Crook, “The Dilemma of Style,” 47-49; Richardson, “La Vie Parisienne”, 149.

14. Isabelle Dubois-Brinkmann, Emmanuel Starcky, et al, “Folie Textile: Mode et decoration sous le Second Empire”, Paris: Palais de Compeigne, 2013, Exhibition catalog.

a market for its raw materials. Through the exploitation of resources and labor, both in their home countries and the extensive colonial possessions of the British and European nations of the time, the Victorian era saw the birth of mass production. Low-cost, mass-produced goods flooded the world. The fast pace of technological advancement was pulling the world into the modern era.

Beginnings

The house was built in 1856 for Shelton Fogus as a plastered brick two-story house with a side hall. The builder and architect of what we now know as the Stanford Mansion are unknown, although most historians credit early Sacramento architect Seth Babson with the original design and both subsequent expansions.¹⁵ It originally had two rooms upstairs and two rooms downstairs, with a two-story wooden frame service building at the rear. From the street elevation, there were three windows upstairs and two windows, and a front door downstairs. There are no extant images of this first iteration of the house.

In less than a year, Fogus doubled the size of the house, widening the front elevation to five windows upstairs and four windows with a central front door downstairs.¹⁶ (Figure 3) The builder and architect for the expansion are also unknown. From the image, we can see that it was designed in the modern French style, although from contemporary newspaper accounts, it was simply described as a “two-story brick dwelling house, finished in a costly manner inside and out”.¹⁷ Even before its expansion, the house was considered one of the finest in the young state.¹⁸ By 1861, the house was sold for \$8,000 to Leland Stanford, President of the Central Pacific Railroad and Republican candidate for Governor of California.

Stanford was elected Governor in November 1861. He served as Governor for a two-year term and did not seek reelection. By 1869, the Central Pacific Railroad reached Promontory Point, Utah, and the



Figure 3: Photograph of Stanford Mansion, Sacramento, before expansion, 1868. Photo Hart.

15. Regnery, *An American Treasure*, 5.

16. Turse and Hartzell, “The Curious Architectural Evolution,” 23.

17. Turse and Hartzell, “The Curious Architectural Evolution,” 18.

18. “Governor Stanford’s Residence.” *California Farmer*, July 4, 1862, 1.

transcontinental railroad was completed. Having made a fortune through the Central Pacific, the Stanfords, now a family of three, decided to greatly expand the mansion in 1871.¹⁹ Again, the architect and the builders are unknown.

The foremost historian of the mansion, Dorothy Regnery, theorizes that while Babson may have been responsible for the original design, William Turton and William Knox, partners in an engineering and architecture firm who worked extensively for Stanford in Sacramento, were responsible for the expansion.²⁰ Regnery cites a September 20th, 1871, Sacramento Union article that states

Turton and Knox
 “have begun the work
 of raising Governor
 Stanford’s building at
 the corner of N and
 8th Streets” to support
 her theory that they
 were responsible for
 the architecture and
 construction. Given
 what historians today
 know about the
 financial manipulations
 of the Central Pacific

Railroad, it is possible that the reason no architect or construction bills exist for the final expansion is that these costs were illegally hidden by Stanford and his business partners as business expenses.

The choice was made to lift the two-story brick mansion and insert it between a new upper and lower floor. All the exterior architectural details beside the roof and the entrance portico were preserved and copied for the new construction.²¹

A brand new 20-foot by 73-foot four-story addition was attached to the south side of the house, and the small one-story governor’s office was also lifted and sandwiched between a lower floor and a top floor contained in the new mansard roof.²² (Figures 4 and 5). The existing front entry was demolished, and a new, larger portico was built along with a new curving, double staircase.²³ The renovation brought the square footage of the house



Figure 4: 1874 photograph of expanded Stanford mansion (completed in 1871). Photo Muybridge.

19. Roland De Wolk, *American Disruptor: The Scandalous Life of Leland Stanford*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 130.

20. Regnery, *An American Treasure*, 18-19.

21. Turse and Hartzell “The Curious Architectural Evolution,” 21.

22. Turse and Hartzell, “The Curious Architectural Evolution,” 23.

23. Turse and Hartzell, “The Curious Architectural Evolution,” 21.

to just over 19,000 square feet. The house expansion also served to showcase the engineering skills that Stanford, as the president of the Central Pacific Railroad, commanded.²⁴

The interior of the mansion was finished with elaborate plaster moldings, etched glass imported from Europe and Minton encaustic tiles from the UK.²⁵ White Italian marble fireplace mantels surmounted by large mirrors of gilded wood were installed throughout the house.²⁶ Besides these coal burning fireplaces, a coal burning central furnace also heated the mansion.²⁷

The first floor of the Fogus house, now the second floor of the main wing, mostly preserved its original interior functions as parlors and a library. The former 17-foot by 18-foot dining room however changed function and became a music room, as the addition included a huge new dining room of 20 feet by 51 feet.²⁸ (Figure 6) The interior of the main entry and its staircase were upgraded with highly-realistic faux painting on softwood imitating walnut, burl, and mahogany decorated with hand-painted Pompeian designs.²⁹ The Stanford mansion was now a respectable petit chateau in the modern Second Empire style.



Figure 5: Modern view of the Stanford Mansion. Photo Unknown.



Figure 6: 1874 photo of dining room. Photo Muybridge.

24. Strazdes, "The Visual Rhetoric" 16.

25. Regnery, "An American Treasure," 26.

26. Regnery, "An American Treasure," 22.

27. Regnery, "An American Treasure," 22.

28. Strazdes, "The Visual Rhetoric," 18.

29. Cross, conversation with Tim White, California State Parks Restoration Specialist, responsible for the Stanford Mansion panelling.

Paris and Progress

In order to contextualize the very specific architectural style of the Stanford mansion, it is necessary to examine why Paris was so important in mid-nineteenth-century architecture. Under Napoleon III, first as elected president and then as Emperor, the economy of France entered the modern era, and it became a major world power.³⁰ The Napoleon III period saw the construction of modern sewers, water treatment plants, the great park system of Paris, and a nationwide railroad network.³¹ The decades-long reorganization of Paris, under the urban planner Baron Hausmann, modernized the city, creating the great railroad stations as well as paving its roads and expanding its ports.³²

The renovation of Paris made it the most modern city in Europe at the time.³³ From 1853 to 1870, Hausmann destroyed the unsanitary, crowded, Medieval center of Paris in order to cut large boulevards through the city.³⁴ The modern French architecture which was then built along these new boulevards was in the style which we now call Second Empire. The architectural style, building materials, hierarchical organization, and building height along the boulevards were all mandated by Hausmann so that the new construction would unify the look of the city.³⁵ The organization of these new buildings followed traditional French models, with a hierarchical organization of desirability, from the bottom (most desirable) to the attic space at the top (least desirable) as elevators had just been invented and were rare.³⁶ The ground floor and the half height mezzanine level above it were generally retail and storage space. The “first” floor, which we Americans would think of as the second floor, was the most expensive and desirable level for apartments. Reached by one flight of stairs, it was above the street noise and had the highest ceilings of the building. The first floor has been known as the *Piano Nobile* or noble floor in European buildings since the Renaissance. The Stanford Mansion was remodeled with this in mind, with its front door and grandest rooms located one floor above the street level.³⁷

Contemporary accounts of Paris refer to these modern buildings as healthy and sanitary. This was not hyperbole, these new buildings offered previously unimagined modern conveniences, benefiting from Hausmann’s infrastructure improvements to Paris. These included modern sewers and

30. A. Jolles, F.J. Cummings, H. Landais, et al, “The Second Empire,” 11.

31. Richardson, “La Vie Parisienne,” 21.

32. Richardson, “La Vie Parisienne,” 21.

33. A. Jolles, F.J. Cummings, H. Landais, et al, “The Second Empire,” 37.

34. Richardson, “La Vie Parisienne,” 204.

35. Richardson, “La Vie Parisienne,” 221.

36. Richardson, “La Vie Parisienne,” 216-221.

37. Strazdes, “The Visual Rhetoric,” 14.

protected city water sources which delivered clean water for drinking, unlike the bacteria-ridden, untreated water from the Seine, which was the previous alternative. The new buildings were constructed of solid limestone on new wide boulevards, which let in light and air to the crowded city. They were lit with modern gas lighting, had coal heat, the first widely available flushing toilets, and in some luxury buildings, the first elevators.³⁸ These houses, like the Stanford mansion, were centrally heated with furnaces powered by coal and supplementally heated by coal-burning fireplaces.

Although the French preferred large windows that doubled as doors and swung outward to open, in America, the window of choice was the sash window. At the Stanford mansion, these are very large, allowing lots of light and fresh air into the mansion. Sash windows themselves were a modern invention, as they operated on a weight and pulley mechanism that allowed the very heavy windows to be opened easily with one hand. The Stanford mansion, much like its Parisian counterparts, had hot and cold running water in each bedroom instead of washstands with a pitcher and a wash bowl. Water at the Stanford mansion is supplied by the top floor cistern and was also used for its bathrooms with flushing toilets and permanent bathtubs. These were technological advancements that older construction could not compete with. The health effects of warmth, clean water, plumbing, and fresh air are still compelling today. These advancements and the elegant, modern look of the new French architecture of Paris inspired people. The Stanfords not only remodeled the Sacramento mansion in the Second Empire style but also built their 1874, 40,000 square-foot San Francisco mansion in the same style. (Figure 7) This seems to indicate that they understood and identified with the modern French Second Empire style.



Figure 7: Hopkins' and Stanford's SF mansions. Note: on the left is Hopkins's 1878 French Chateausque style mansion which was built after the temporal scope of this paper. Both were destroyed in the 1911 earthquake and fire.

The Dissemination of Ideas, Styles, and Technology

The nineteenth century witnessed the birth of industrialized capitalism and, as a result, the triumph of the bourgeoisie, who grew as wealthy as the

38. Richardson, "La Vie Parisienne," 222.

nobility and, in many cases, became nobility themselves.³⁹ It was an era marked by vastly increased consumerism and an unshakable belief in the idea of progress through technology.⁴⁰

Cutting-edge British and French designs were exported to America, through the emigration of foreign craftsmen, through export of goods, and by travel to urban centers like New York City.⁴¹ Also crucial to promoting new technology and designs were the British Great Exhibitions of 1851, 1862 and 1871 and their French counterparts the Expositions Universelles of 1844, 1855 and 1867. America held smaller versions in 1853, 1858 and 1874. These expositions showcased advances in technology and the industrial arts in particular. Millions of people visited the expositions and millions more read about them in the deluge of illustrated publications that were sent around the world. Besides the various magazines about the expositions, the mid nineteenth century architect and interior designer in America would have been familiar with design publications such as J. C. Loudon's "Encyclopedia" of 1833 and A.J. Downing's "Country Houses" of 1850 which disseminated the latest European furniture and architecture designs. Although high style architecture was only built for clients of means, like the Stanfords, vernacular versions of the Second Empire style were adapted for clients of more humble circumstances by substituting less expensive materials like wood for cut stone and marble.⁴² The pattern books presented a variety of homes, from the economical to the opulent. Our own native architects, furniture makers, and builders were able to stay informed about the latest design developments in the UK and Europe through these publications and offer a range of options to their clients. Although rare in California today, largely due to changes in fashion and the disastrous 1911 San Francisco earthquake and fire, the Second Empire style was very popular in the USA from the 1850s to the early 1870s.

A Signifier for the Stanfords

By comparing photographs of the mansion commissioned by Leland Stanford from Alfred Hart in 1868, before the renovation, and from Eadweard Muybridge in 1872 with pattern books such as Desiree Guilmar's "Le Garde Meuble" and the furniture section of A.J. Downing's Country Houses of 1850, it is clear that the Stanfords were also modern in their furnishing tastes. (Figure 8) Although their furniture appears to be of American manufacture, all of it is in the modern French style, such

39. A. Jolles, F.J. Cummings, H. Landais, et al, "The Second Empire," 13; Richardson, "La Vie Parisienne," 229. Richardson, "La Vie Parisienne," 229.

40. Strazdes, "The Visual Rhetoric," 21.

41. K. S. Howe, et al, "Herter Brothers; Furniture and Interiors for a Gilded Age" (Houston: Houston Museum of Fine Arts, and New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), Exhibition catalog, 61.

42. Virginia Savage McAlester, A Field Guide to American Houses: *The Definitive Guide to Identifying and Understanding America's Domestic Architecture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2021), 286.



Figure 8: 1872 photograph of the formal parlor from the opposite direction. Photo Muybridge



Figure 9, view of the formal parlor looking north. Photo by Muybridge

as the ebonized and gilded center table in front of the mantle, which is Louis XV's inspiration. (Figure 8) The heavily turned chairs at the left of the photograph, with their deeply tufted upholstery, are of French Renaissance inspiration. The plant stands located near the Corinthian columns at the left and right are of Louis XVI inspiration and would have been deemed "Neo-Greco" in America in recognition of the classical inspiration of the Louis XVI style. (Figure 9)

Architectural historian Delves Molesworth famously nicknamed mid-nineteenth-century French furniture "*Le Style tous-les-Louis*", not without accuracy.⁴³ If compared with actual models from the historical eras they reference, certain similarities can be perceived, but these are not copies of earlier examples. The era's most significant trend, historical eclecticism, affected interiors as well as architecture. Historical details were sampled and remixed in new ways in an attempt to create a new nineteenth-century style.

Technological advances such as steel upholstery springs enabled furniture to be fully upholstered and comfortable for the first time.⁴⁴ Improvements in power loom technology increased the durability of fabrics and the diversity of woven designs.⁴⁵ Inventions such as roller printing revolutionized the printing of fabric.⁴⁶ Chemical dyes were invented that

43. Thornton, *The Authentic Décor*, 216.

44. Dubois-Brinkmann, Starcky, et al, "Folie Textile," 66-67.

45. Dubois-Brinkmann, Starcky, et al, "Folie Textile," 64.

46. Dubois-Brinkmann, Starcky, et al, "Folie Textile," 39-40.

made vibrant color a reality.⁴⁷ Natural fibers; silk, wool, cashmere, velvets, linen, and cotton were the textiles of the era, as there were no synthetic fibers yet. The mid-nineteenth century was an era of comfort and luxury, and in many ways, technology was the driving force of design.

In the views of Stanford's sitting room off the dining room (Figures 10 and 11), we can see a table in the center of both photographs. This table, as pointed out by Dr. Diana Strazdes in her excellent "The Visual Rhetoric of the Leland Stanford Mansion in Sacramento," is not a table at all. It is, in fact, the base for an unusual early photographic viewing device, invented by the Venetian photographer and optometrist Carlo Ponti and manufactured in 1866-67.⁴⁸ The improbably named Megaethoscope provided a three-dimensional view of specially prepared photographs. The large, curved photographic plates were of European grand tour landmarks and famous works of art and, therefore, it functioned as a type of educational device. It also functioned as an example of the modernity and technological sophistication of the Stanfords to their visitors. The original Stanford Megaethoscope (Figure 12) remains in the mansion.⁴⁹

As Dr. Strazdes discusses, the public rooms of 1870's homes, especially homes of the wealthy, were conservative spaces devoid of mechanical



Figure 10: Photo of the Stanford's sitting room off the dining room. 1872. Photo Muybridge



Figure 11: Sitting room off the dining room from the opposite angle. Photo Muybridge.

47. Dubois-Brinkmann, Starcky, et al, "Folie Textile," 12.

48. Strazdes, "The Visual Rhetoric," 21.

49. Strazdes, "The Visual Rhetoric," 22.

gadgets. To display a cutting-edge mechanical device, which pushed the limits of new technology, photography, into the third dimension, was unusual and designed to impress guests with the tech-savvy of their hosts.

In the images of Stanford's library, another technological novelty is displayed to the left of the image. (Figure 13) Although initially seeming to be a small table, it is actually an early aquarium on a gilded stand. Positioned in the light of the window, this may have held marine plants and a few fish. Aquariums, terrariums, and Wardian cases (for the raising of ferns specifically), were educational devices designed to foster a love of natural science. This display of a scientific device showed Sanford's interest in biology, and as the parents of a young son, it emphasized their commitment to educating Leland Junior. The aquarium is still in the mansion today.

What's in a Name? Italianate, Renaissance Revival, or Second Empire?

Architectural historians seem to have a difficult time classifying the style of the Stanford Mansion. In the Historic American Buildings Survey, the published research of the nation's first federal preservation program, written by the historians of the State Parks and Recreation Department, the 1983 entry on the Stanford mansion claims that it is "an archeologically correct version of an Italian Renaissance residence."⁵⁰ In her 1994 article on the mansion, published in the Stanford University Museum of Art Journal, Diana Strazdes calls the style "Second Empire Baroque."⁵¹ The Stanford Historical Society's 1987 publication "An American Treasure, The Stanford House in Sacramento" by Dorothy Regnery calls the house "Second Empire blended with Renaissance Revival."⁵² The most current scholarly publication on the mansion, the Sacramento History Journal of the Sacramento County



Figure 12: Megalethoscope.



Figure 13: Stanford's Library. Photo Muybridge.

50. *Inventory of Features. Stanford Home*, 12.

51. Strazdes, "The Visual Rhetoric," 14.

52. Regnery, "An American Treasure," 19.

Historical Society, 2004, says that the “Renaissance Revival detailing of the Fogus structure was continued and blended with some fashionable Second Empire details.”⁵³

The 2021 revised edition of the standard American architectural history guide, Virginia McAlester’s *A Field Guide to American Houses; The Definitive Guide to Identifying and Understanding America’s Domestic Architecture*, attempts to separate Italianate (and therefore Renaissance Revival) from Second Empire as well. McAlester claims that although the two styles were contemporaneous and shared the same visual characteristics, sometimes up to and including the mansard roof, the Italianate style was English, influenced by the Picturesque movement and “looked to the past for inspiration”, whereas the Second Empire style was not based on the Picturesque and instead “was considered very modern, for it imitated the latest French building fashions.”⁵⁴ However, this characterization is not supported by the author’s own illustrations, the historiography, or primary source material in France, England or America. Perhaps a future scholar will research if this modern American urge to attribute “Italianate” to England is a reflection of English language hegemony or Anglocentrism.

In consulting the many French pattern books printed in the 1850s through 1870s, which offered the plans of recently constructed homes to the public, it is clear that homes, farmhouses, villas, and public buildings in the same architectural style as the Stanford mansion were extremely popular in France during the Napoleon III period. In Victor Petit’s *Maisons de Campagne des Environs de Paris: Avec Plans, Dessinees D’Après Nature* of the 1850s, one hundred illustrations of recently built homes in the Paris area are given. Of these, one hundred forty-eight have mansard roofs with dormers in them. As to the question of style, according to the book, this group of buildings varied widely in style. They are variously listed as being in the Renaissance, Louis XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, “Bourgeoise,” and even “Genre Moderne” styles. Of the books remaining fifty-two illustrations, twenty-four closely resemble what is called “Italianate” or Second Empire without a mansard roof. Regarding their styles, the book lists the same variety of styles as in the mansarded examples.

The pattern books printed in America, such as Calvert Vaux’s “Villas and Cottages” (1857) and “Bicknell’s Village Builder” (1872), also show many designs for homes built in the Second Empire style, both with and without mansard roofs, but they do not offer a term for the style. If the building has a mansard roof, some of the pattern books call attention to it by calling it

53. Turse and Hartzell, “The Curious Architectural Evolution,” 21.

54. McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 286-318.

exactly that – a mansard or “French” roof.⁵⁵ No architectural style for the buildings themselves are provided.

In other contemporary books which describe mansions in this style, writers refer to it as “Modern French”.⁵⁶ It is my assertion that the style today is more aptly described as Second Empire, regardless of whether it has a mansard roof or not. My argument is that it is more precise to call the style Second Empire, since the style, regardless of which roof type it bears, is the style of the Napoleon III era in France. It is apparent that contemporaneously, French architects were simply working in the modern architectural style of their country, and a consistent name for this style had not yet developed. Its subtle and eclectic mixing of French historical references, so important in its day, is no longer apparent to modern eyes. Where once people would have recognized a modern French house in the “Louis XV” (or Renaissance, Italian, Villa, Louis XIII, XIV, XVI or “Bourgeoise” style!) now we see Italianate and Second Empire, depending on its roofline. It is notable that none of these sources indicate an English origin for the style.

Conclusion

The Leland Stanford Mansion in Sacramento was designed in the Second Empire style, directly influenced by the modernization of Paris under Napoleon III. The technological advancements of the modern French style resulted in a quality of life that older construction could not match. Hot and cold running water, flush toilets, permanent bathtubs, central heating, light and airy interiors, and luxuriously upholstered and comfortable furniture were some of the modern conveniences the mansion offered. The style was a continuation of the past 300 years of French architecture and exhibited historical eclecticism, the defining trait of nineteenth-century architecture and design.

Stanford, a man whose success and wealth came from his ability to capitalize on new technologies created by other people, logically chose the modern French Second Empire style for his own home. The nineteenth century's preoccupation with architecture as a reflection of the type of people who lived within it certainly indicated that Stanford's morals would be judged by the home's style. The image that the Stanfords were projecting to the world with their home was one of wealth, progress, and sophistication. Instead of demolishing the earlier house, Stanford chose to use advanced engineering technology to raise the home and vastly enlarge it.

55. *Bicknell's Victorian Buildings*, (Dover Publications, New York, 1979, reprint of 1872 original), plate 13.

56. *The Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age; all 203 photographs from Artistic Houses, with New Text*, (Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1987), 33.

It was as if the house simply grew several stories larger on its own, as all the architectural details remained the same, with the addition of a mansard roof.

For a little over 20 years the style most popular in American architecture and the decorative arts was based on French instead of English models, which had been the norm since the colonial period. This short-lived moment coincided with the reign of Napoleon III in France and was inspired by the large-scale modernization of Paris under Baron Hausmann.

The search for a new style, a style of the age, tormented architects and designers of the nineteenth century. In the early years of the century, it seemed that all architecture and design had to be an exact imitation of historic models, reducing architecture to a tool of allegory and metaphor rather than a new modern style. By the mid-nineteenth century, this had evolved into a historical eclecticism that remixed historic references creating layers of meaning for the sophisticated viewer.

In the war for design supremacy, England and France each took their own path. England, with its dreary Gothic revival styles, is more suited for churches than for homes. France with its modernized, healthy, new Parisian architecture, subtly sampling the buildings of its immediate past. In a quickly industrializing modern world filled with life-changing inventions, a certain segment of the wealthy, including Stanford and his partners, chose the city of the future, Paris, over the depressing Gothic styles of England.

The Second Empire style was popular worldwide. Its associations with France were well understood by contemporary viewers, as we can tell by the various names the style was referred to in architectural pattern books. While not everyone could afford to travel to England or Europe, through books and the many Universal Exhibitions of the era, people around the world were well aware of current trends in architecture and design.

Industrialists like Stanford and his associates, Hopkins, Huntington, and the Crockers, all embraced the Second Empire style for their San Francisco area mansions. (See Figures 7 and 14) The style had firm associations with modernity, luxury, and sophistication. It also represented two important



Figure 14: Mid 1870's San Francisco mansions of Stanford's partners, Crocker and Huntington, in the Second Empire style. Both were destroyed in the 1911 earthquake and fire.

Victorian ideas, historical eclecticism as a way to create the future from the past and secondly, progress through technology.

The Second Empire style as popularized by Lefuel, Hausmann, and other Napoleon III-era architects, was hugely popular around the world. In contrast to the failed British attempt at establishing a unique nineteenth-century style through their work in the Gothic revival, the French succeeded and actually did create a unique style. Even the eminent British architectural historian C. Mordaunt Crook, who by referring to the style only as Italianate, patriotically obscures its true French origin, concedes that “Italianate has perhaps the strongest claim of all to be considered *the* Victorian style.”⁵⁷

Author Biography: Ella Cross is a graduate student of history at California State University, Sacramento. She received her undergraduate degree in Art History with a focus in Architectural History from UC Davis in 2021. Her research interests include historic interiors and architecture in the long nineteenth century. She recently completed a curatorial internship in San Francisco with the Society of California Pioneers. She is currently an intern with the City of Sacramento's African American Experience Project, where she is researching the history of structures associated with Sacramento's Black community.

57. Crook, “The Dilemma of Style,” 204.

Special Features and Book Reviews

Disco Playlist

Anita Ward – Ring My Bell

Sylvester – You Make Me Feel (Mighty Real)

The Brothers Johnson – Stomp!

A Taste Of Honey – Boogie Oogie Oogie

Sister Sledge – He's The Greatest Dancer

Grace Jones – Pull Up To The Bumper

Sweet – Love Is Like Oxygen

Donna Summer – I Feel Love

The Bee Gees – Nights On Broadway

Diana Ross – Upside Down

The Pointer Sisters – Automatic

Chic – Good Times

Love Unlimited Orchestra / Barry White – Love's Theme

Donna Summer – Last Dance

Boney M. – Daddy Cool

K.C. and the Sunshine Band - That's The Way I Like It

Chic- Le Freak

The Bee Gees – You Should Be Dancing



Snap the QR code to go to an expanded YouTube playlist.

Sneak Peek: “Professional Wrestling in Northern California”

Robert Hennecke

Professional wrestling is, at its heart, a performing art. It is a morality play disguised as legitimate athletic competition, in which representatives of good and evil battle in a televised spectacle enjoyed by millions on a weekly basis. From a young age, something about the colorful characters and over-the-top drama caught my interest to the point that I began studying the history and cultural impact of professional wrestling. I was fascinated by the origins of wrestling in the carnival. It is so rooted in the funfair that wrestling is often referred to as a “carny business” by both fans and detractors. Wrestling was so popular at the turn of the twentieth century that even Theodore Roosevelt was once quoted as saying, “If I wasn’t President of the United States, I would like to be George Hackenschmidt.” (Hackenschmidt was recognized as one of the first international stars in professional wrestling, as well as one of the first world champions).

I parlayed this interest into my thesis project: the history of professional wrestling in Northern California, and how it has reflected issues of diversity and inclusivity in American culture in the form of a digital exhibit. This project has three main goals; the first is to tell a

new story that has been absent in the public history field. The second is to highlight the diverse nature of professional wrestling by showcasing some of the more prominent individuals that practiced the crafts and inspired their communities through their actions. Finally, I wanted to rehabilitate the popular image of professional wrestling by proving that it was a subject worthy of serious academic study. In a way, this project is more than an analysis of professional wrestling’s history and how it has reflected and



Hank Renner interviewing Kinji Shibuya before a match with Pat Patterson for the U.S Title. Source: Viktor Berry.

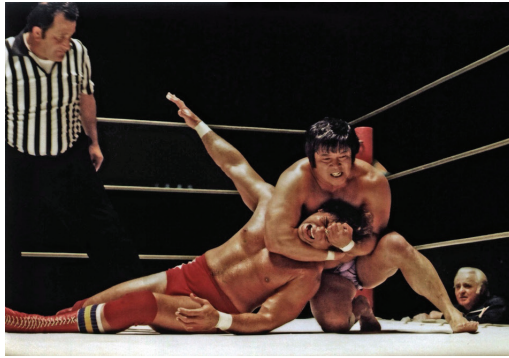
influenced American culture. It is a love letter to professional wrestling as an art form and a rebuttal to detractors.



A sold-out show at the Sacramento Memorial Auditorium. Standing room only.
Source: Viktor Berry



Lars Anderson and Paul Demarco at a Big Time Wrestling TV Taping wearing the BTW Tag Team Championships.
Source: Viktor Berry.



Ed "Strangler" Lewis defeats Cossack giant. Lewis is seen applying the deadly headlock to Ivan Linow at the International Championship Wrestling Tournament. Source: Public Domain

Robert Hennecke obtained his BA in History from Sac State in the spring of 2019 and will be graduating with his MA in Public History in the summer of 2023. As a lifelong fan of professional wrestling, Hennecke always wanted to write something academic about it. He finally got the opportunity when his original plan for a thesis topic fell through in late 2021. After graduation, Hennecke plans to continue working in the California Railroad Museum's archive while also looking for more permanent work in the field of study as either an archivist or creating exhibits.

Faculty History-Cache

Members of Sac State's history faculty were asked what about this year is important enough to be commemorated. So, fifty years from now, when readers look to this edition of the 2022-23 *Clio*, a glimpse into the department's heart can be reviewed.



Dr. Patrick Ettinger
Professor
23 years at Sac State

“Two things come to mind when thinking about the year's historical impact. First, the end of COVID and discovering what it means for students. Second, technology's impact on higher education. Will face-to-face culture erode? Time will tell.”

“Sac State students are my favorite part of this school. Undergraduates, and especially graduate students, do such quality work. I am consistently amazed.”



Dr. Tom Clarke
Lecturer
23 years at Sac State



Dr. Mona Siegal
Professor
20 years at Sac State

“My Global feminism class has been affected by our discussion of misogynistic political culture regarding reproductive rights. When places like Argentina are expanding rights, but America is restricting them, students notice and voice their concerns. What will the future hold?”

“The year has been one of reflection. Specifically, awareness needs to be brought to border crisis issues. Public history projects can channel the spirit of BLM to bring the border crisis into the mainstream. It is essential and urgent.”



Dr. Maria Quintana
Assistant Professor
2 years at Sac State



Dr. Michael Vann
Professor, Graduate
Program Coordinator
17 years at Sac State

“Honestly, AI is making life as a historian and educator miserable. It may be an existential crisis for history as a discipline. For students, it takes away the learning process and hands-on experience of researching and writing. My deepest hope is that I am wrong.”

“A reckoning with the Charles Goethe history at Sac State is needed. We started the conversation this year, and I hope that it continues. We need to understand everything about Goethe’s involvement – who was impacted and why – and decide what it means at the university and department levels. Action is imperative.”



Dr. Rebecca Kluchin
Professor
18 years at Sac State



Dr. Serpil Atamaz
Associate Professor
6 years at Sac State

“The introduction of AI into our lives and the fact that we have not been prepared for this in any way, personally or professionally, has made the year challenging. No one really has an idea of how to deal with it right now. There is a lot of talk about how we should incorporate it into our classes and how we should take advantage of it, and yet we are dealing with students who are using it to avoid doing their own assignments. It is a new problem that no one has a solution for yet, and we are trying to navigate this without help.”

U-Create at The Verge

The *Clio* editorial student staff organized its portion of the 6th annual U-Create Event at The Verge Center in midtown Sacramento, CA. The highlight of our event was to showcase the *Clio* journal authors' work and inform guests about the topics of interest written about. Students created displays to convey the thesis of each author's academic article. Guests voted for the cover of the 2023 *Clio* Journal and were encouraged to participate in trivia about Sacramento State and the displays to win prizes. The night had a Disco influence, complete with a disco ball and a playlist of prominent artists from the genre. The evening culminated with a silent auction where the featured prize was the opportunity to pie *Clio* supervisor Doctor Cohen in the face. In the end, he was a very good sport.



Clio staff with authors at The Verge event.



Dr. Cohen after receiving a pie in the face.

A haiku from ChatGPT on the night's main event.
Prompt: write a haiku about Dr. Aaron Cohen, a historian of Russia,
receiving a pie in the face.

Russian scholar, shocked,
Pie in face, sweet history,
Laughs echo, research.

***John Sutter: A Life on the North American Frontier.* By Albert L. Hurtado. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. 412 pp. Illustrations, Preface. Acknowledgements. Epilogue. Abbreviations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. Hard Bound.**

John Sutter: A Life on the North American Frontier by Albert L. Hurtado is perhaps the most comprehensive biography written about the frontier entrepreneur, compiling information from what is known about his early childhood up to his passing and legacy. Dr. Hurtado is an esteemed historian and professor emeritus at the University of Oklahoma who has published award-winning books and articles about the American frontier and Native American history, with works such as *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (1999), *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (1988), and *Major Problems in American Indian History* (2014). As the book's acknowledgments states, he first began committing substantial research on John Sutter in 1974 as a graduate student at California State University, Sacramento, to learn more about Native American history in central California (xv).

His research for this significant biography is evident through the extensive application of manuscripts and newspapers as well as published primary and secondary sources, all of which are listed in these categories in the bibliography. The outline of the book reads like a typical biography through a linear narrative of John Sutter's life from birth to death and his following legacy, following along his entrepreneurial highs and lows. Pages 177-188 contain black and white photographs, including several portraits of Sutter at different stages of his life, portraits of his family, drawings of landmarks such as Hock Farm, Sutter's Fort, and Fort Ross, along with photographs of the Sutter's later home in Lititz, Pennsylvania, the ruins of Sutter's Fort circa the 1880s, the Sutter sculpture previously located on 28th Street in Sacramento, California across from Sutter's Fort National Park, the Hock Farm Monument circa 2010, and of a restored Sutter's Fort circa 1940.

Dr. Hurtado does not frame John Sutter's life as a hero's journey, as many romantic twentieth century historiographies had done. Instead, Sutter is presented as a three-dimensional historic figure whose whole life was a struggle in obtaining status and respect (xiv). His mortal failings and ethically questionable actions are not hidden here, whether it be family abandonment, rampant alcoholism, his exploitation of and violence against Native Americans, deceiving of others to get his way, business failings that landed him in perpetual debt, and so on. Yet, this book is not some kind

of historical hit piece created to destroy the image of John Sutter either. It is an attempt to portray a fuller picture of his life for those who want to understand him and his actions on a deeper and more nuanced level: “There is no way to ‘balance’ his flaws against the virtues that often reinforced his defects. Sutter has to be swallowed whole: hook, line, bait, and sinker. Remove a part of him, and you have a different person who could not have done what he did” (xiii). Dr. Hurtado also asserts that Sutter is a man defined by his contradictions (344). One example laden throughout the book is the dichotomy between his roles as a humanitarian to desperate immigrant families, for whom he provided sanctuary with his New Helvetia colony, and as an enslaver of Native Americans when it suited his goals, exerting extrajudicial force on those who refused. All in all, the book is a significant development in both academia surrounding John Sutter and of frontier California. Providing a nuanced and complex portrait, Dr. Hurtado puts forth *the* definitive biography of John Sutter.

Xavier Bauer-Martin

***The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* by Andrew C. Isenberg. Cambridge University Press, 2000.**

Andrew C. Isenberg explains the decline of the North American bison from an estimated thirty million in 1800 to fewer than one thousand a century later in his book *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920*. Isenberg argues that cultural and ecological encounter between both Native Americans and Euro-Americans in the Great Plains region was the central cause for the near-extinction of the bison in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This book details the decline of the American bison brought by various factors of the exchange between Indians and Euro-American settlers including the re-introduction of the horse by the Europeans after its extinction in the Americas, the transition into a nomadic lifestyle, and the emergence of gendered divisions of labor in nomadic societies. Isenberg begins by detailing the environment of the bison and how each benefited the other before the economic and cultural shift brought Euro-Americans. The importance of the nomadic shift by Native Americans and the ascendancy of the market for bison is greatly discussed and used by the author to support his argument.

Isenberg began work on this project as a doctoral candidate at Northwestern University, and his main purpose for persuading this research was to showcase the consequences of the central transformation brought by the exchange between Indians and Euro-Americans in the Great Plains. This book is a history of the Indian and Euro-American interaction among

ecology, economy, and culture that lead to the near-extinction of the dominant species of the historic Great Plains.

The author organized the book in such a way that gives the reader a great background of the bison population and their environment prior to the re-introduction of the horse. The advantage of the horse greatly facilitated and completely changed Native Americans' approach to bison hunting. Bison hunting transformed from a pedestrian approach on foot, to one fully reliant on the horse. The horse became essential to the newly nomadic tribes that migrated to the great plains and became the primary way of transportation, was used for raiding and trading, and most importantly, was vital to hunting. The re-introduction of the horse greatly contributed to the nomadic lifestyle of the Native Americans in the Great Plains region and transformed the diversity of Indian resources into one solely reliant on the bison.

The author supports his argument throughout the book by providing a historical background that led to the near destruction of the bison. The ecological encounter between the nomads and the Euro-Americans brought the horse into the bison hunt. Social changes developed because of the introduction of the horse and the shift to a nomadic style primarily reliant on bison hunting. The advantage of the horse resulted in social structures becoming decentralized and tribes breaking into small bands, each assigned to roles in the community based on gender. Bison hunting became associated with males, forcing a decline of women's status. Women in nomadic societies experienced a decline in their economic autonomy, the horse allowed for bison hunting to become a male-dominated task, and women acquired neither a share in the bison-skin robe's ownership nor the goods purchased by the trade of the robe. The horse became essential in the bison hunt and was one of the primary factors in the near-destruction of the bison, with other factors including the spread of diseases such as smallpox and the fur trade resulted in the decline of the North American bison.

The use of graphs like the one showing the mortality in the Great Plains between 1780-1877 were intriguing because it clearly shows the decline of the nomadic tribe's population in massive numbers. This provides evidence that the decline in the population of Native Americans was a result of the devastating epidemics of smallpox and cholera. The use of data greatly persuades the reader by providing a visualization of the devastating lives taken by the diseases introduced in the encounter between Native Americans and Euro-Americans. This data supports the author's argument by demonstrating that other factors such as disease contributed to the destruction of the bison, not just overhunting. The organization of each chapter into sections simplifies the reading experience by providing a separation from each topic discussed in the chapter, each supporting the author's argument in their respective category. Each

chapter flows easily to the next and enhances the reader's knowledge of the destruction of the bison.

The re-introduction of the horse, the devastating epidemics of European diseases, and the rise in demand for bison resulted in the near-destruction of the bison. The horse and the rising market for bison pressured tribes to rely exclusively on hunting. This book does a great job of detailing both the Euro-American and Native American experiences that led to the decline of the American bison population in the Great Plains region during the eighteenth century. The near-destruction of the bison was a result of the cultural and ecological encounter between Native Americans and Euro-Americans.

Hugo Fernandez

***Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation.* By Karl Jacoby. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014. xx, 305 pp. Illustrations. Tables. Chronology. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Paper.**

Karl Jacoby's *Crimes Against Nature* challenges traditional conservationist historiography by attempting to look at environmental history from the bottom up. Focusing on the years of the "conservation movement" during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jacoby draws on archival records of court documents, diaries, letters, newspapers, magazine journals, and photographs to focus on three areas – the Adirondack Mountains, Yellowstone, and the Grand Canyon. With seven chapters split into three parts, one for each location previously mentioned, Jacoby argues that humans and nature are interconnected. The conservation movement upset the long-standing natural balance between human "beliefs, practices, and traditions," which, in turn, produced negative consequences on the natural world (xv-4). Jacoby's examination effectively demonstrates that the US government's conservation policies were the primary issue in all three places.

Part I focuses on the Adirondack Mountain range in modern New York State, where George Perkins Marsh advocated for its conservation. Jacoby points out that the early conservation movement was connected to Marsh's claims of environmental and social crises, specifically due to deforestation and urbanization (16). Yet, Jacoby displays that Marsh's beliefs were highly prejudiced against those in the "lower classes," specifically the rural poor, because of their perceived ignorance towards nature, as displayed in living practices (14). Hence, some may see Marsh's movement as one against rural life and its "primitive" and "backward" state of being, bringing to question Marsh's real motives and the effectiveness of Jacoby's reveal.

Implemented policies affected the poor population in the Adirondacks, as wealthy sports gamblers used the ethic of the government as a right to their land; the “usufruct rights” claimed unused and unoccupied land was “unnecessary and therefore open to settlement” (33). Additionally unconsidered by Marsh were the native peoples that called the Adirondacks home.

Part II guides readers into the marvel of Yellowstone Park and investigates the US government’s role in “taming” its natural beauty and lawless essence. Jacoby dissects the creation of a federally funded land, proclaiming that Yellowstone’s establishment fostered new policies making the government the permanent and primary manager of its beauty (83). The failure, however, was in the government’s disregard for the indigenous population, migratory patterns, customs, and ways of living, ultimately reinforcing conflict and, thus, lawlessness (85-88). Military presence within Yellowstone’s boundaries had little effect on poaching, grazing, and thieves, yet widespread corruption abounded. Despite the military’s involvement in illicit activities, lawmakers blamed rampant corruption and sub-par enforcement on the “raw frontier condition” within the park’s boundaries. Thus, yet again, the government failed to realize that issues in conservation efforts were the result of its policies.

Part III highlights the US government’s failures in examining the Grand Canyon. For example, chapter seven, “The Havasupai Problem,” may be misleading in its title, which suggests that the native people were the issue rather than the government’s inequities. Jacoby claims, though, that the grievances of Indians went beyond hunting restrictions. It was about outlawing native customs, such as hunting, foraging, using fire to regenerate the landscape, and breaking the seasonal migration cycle. Rather, Jacoby demonstrates it was an imperialist effort to rid the land of its native population and replace it with a singular way of life (150-1). Again, the government ignored indigenous peoples’ way of life when conservation policies were enacted.

Interestingly, Jacoby focuses much of the critical analysis regarding the overall effects of the conservation movement on how it disturbed rural populations. However, as pinpointed in every section, indigenous people were most affected. In the “Epilogue,” Jacoby also attempts to bring in the names of historical theorists, like cultural Marxist E.P. Thompson, yet does not follow through on an adequate connection, leaving broken conceptualizations that do not fit. If anything, Jacoby should have included the ideals of Michel Foucault, as many chapters show Foucauldian models, especially regarding surveillance state power, such as chapter six’s discussion of using local informants to learn of illicit activities within Yellowstone’s boundaries (130-42).

Even with its shortcomings, readers with no background knowledge of environmental or conservation history will finish the book with a plethora of knowledge and understanding they began without; thus, it is an excellent addition to the scholarship of said factions.

Mindy Fowler

***Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960 : The Soul of Containment* by William Inboden III. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. xi, 356. ProQuest Ebook Central.**

Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment is an exploration of religion and its impact on foreign policy following the end of the second world war, explored by William Inboden after the turn of the century. The book itself covers the period as described into the title and continues into the end of the Eisenhower Administration. While the presidency plays a primary role in the foreign policy and religious center of the nation, Inboden also brings attention to the important role that several prominent figures in American politics had in not just the Cold War that formed immediately after, but the religious sentiment that increased within the nation as well. Inboden understood that men like Harry Truman who led the first days of the Cold War viewed the war as a religious one. Religion, and the Soviet Union's aversion to it, could be used as a cause and instrument for the war simultaneously. Emphasizing the spiritual necessity of the conflict would not only galvanize the American voters against the Russian leaders, it would serve as an effective pressure point against the Soviets, whose population undoubtedly had spiritually oppressed within its population. Within this framing, different Christian denominations could coalesce politically against the atheist menace an ocean away, and bipartisan consensus on expansion of an American military-industrial complex began to permeate throughout both chambers of Congress. Harry Truman would ideologically align the religious and political interests in actions through his policies concerning containment. With containment, nations could be framed as religious allies, or atheistic adversaries that needed to be 'contained' in order to prevent their secular evil from spreading to unsuspecting nations nearby.

Though men like Truman and his successor Eisenhower, in addition to Dulles and Acheson, were publicly Christian men, their faith becoming aligned with their political interests was one of convenience, but to others like Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, their religion determined how they would operate in the world each day. Because Christianity was so deeply tied to the way many Americans would live as well, their understanding of faith influencing the government's actions as well would have been a logical

progression. Allied by the groups with a vested interest in advancing the same interest like the Moral Re-Armanent, these powerful men operating in the public eye would collaborate with the more clandestine figures behind the scenes to operate a propaganda network that would galvanize the religious center of the country. Within a matter of years the Cold War had quickly become framed as a spiritual battle that must be fought across the globe, no matter how much distance spanned between the United States and their latest foreign ally against the Soviet Union. Americans were quick to cast aside the questionable legitimacy of these conflicts or America's involvement to begin with as paranoid delusions of atheist dissidents who sought the country's implosion arose. The American mind would become enraptured in a polarized and often derogatory mindset with the communist and socialist philosophies, as well as Russia, China, or any other nations that chose to ally themselves against the American Empire.

In his summation, Inboden writes of men like George Kennan who understood the threat that a godless nation posed to the world. Despite taking up the Cold War hard line stance against the Soviet Menace, George found himself much less certain of his righteousness at the end of the 1950's than he had been at its start. While Kennan and a majority of Americans still believed that their government was honest and transparent, this was a truth that was to be shattered with the passage of time along with the actions and lies of presidents like Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson. What was to remain was a vague feeling of disillusion that increasingly permeated the country over time, while remaining uncertain and wary of the many threats overseas that needed to be fought or protected from. While the fight would never be as direct as it had been in the beginning of the Cold War, there would remain tactics and techniques that were clearly influenced by the fear-mongering of the time up into the Reagan and Bush Administrations. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the largest boogeyman is gone, but the spiritual conflict waged has dissolved into American foreign policy as a whole.

Kevin Kettering

***Comrades! A History of World Communism.* By Robert Service. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007. ix, 473. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Figures. Maps. \$27, paperback.**

The curiosity driven towards understanding humanity at its core is never wasted on researching political organization. How a government and its people interact and evolve is key to coming closer to the truths of human nature and predicting the political movements of the future. Through a diverse selection of sources, Oxford emeritus professor Robert Service

provides an expansive spread of communism, one of the most debated and controversial political governments in modern history. His research covers not only the origins of communism, but also its development and spread throughout Europe and out to Asia and the Americas. Service argues that “the foundations of the Soviet order were laid down under Lenin and lasted unreformed under his successors through to the late 1980s... communism’s characteristics have been basically similar wherever it has lasted any length of time... these commonalities make it sensible to speak of a communist order” that have defining fundamental aspects but can shift throughout its implementation and evolution (p. 8-9). Service wrote this book to explore communism in its seemingly posthumous state following the 1991 fall of the Soviet Union, but warns that circumstances that brought the infamous government style about are still very much alive in the twenty-first century.

Comrades! seeks to teach an expansive, but not necessarily all-encompassing study on communism and its numerous offspring. However, the use of a chronological narrative as seen in the table of contents provides an easy-to-follow guide for digesting such heavy and important information. The entire book is divided into six dated sections as if noting a story development, appropriately concluding with “Endings.” The maps printed after the preface create the stage upon which much abstract political theory and concrete physical harm occurs, as well as to visually describe the breadth of communism’s spread. The maps are labeled both prior to and on the printing of the maps themselves, which include specific dates and names that are contemporary to that period. Other figures include three eight-page sections of various communist propaganda posters and images varying from political candidates to nationalistic language. The images are printed in the “Development,” “Reproduction,” and “Mutation” sections to provide additional visual aid to Service’s argument.

Part of what uplifts Service’s research is his relatively moderate position on both communism and capitalism. He writes with an implied attitude that communism is incredibly violent and despotic in its implementation but does not deny the reasons why communism was considered as an option in the various countries that had or still maintain a communist regime, arguing that “there is much scope for radical movements to arise and challenge the situation” (p. 481). Consequently, he delves into how communism evolved depending on its distance from the Soviet Union and how willingly the historic dictators stooped to violence.

Despite Service’s deep well of knowledge on the communist movement, he admits in his preface that he does not cover all topics, figures, and events touched by communism. His sources include Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels essays and manifesto, various newspapers, memoirs translated from various languages, military diaries, legislation and political meeting

minutes, unmarked telegrams and much more to convey the daily life and political consequences of forcefully implemented communist states, and how citizens who grew increasingly aware of how oppressed they were in comparison to the West created the anti-communist wave that broke with the fall of the Soviet Union. This book is not intended as an encyclopedia of everything Communist, but it provides a fantastic diving board off which to explore more niche and untouched topics regarding the virulent spread of communism in the twentieth century. Though its printing occurred fifteen years after the supposed end of communism, Service does not regard it as dead, but merely dormant, sleeping – waiting.

Vanessa Moraes

***The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City.* By James R. Barrett. New York: Penguin Press, 2012. xv, 349 pp. Notes. Illustrations. Index. Maps. \$16.25, Paperback.**

James R. Barrett's *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City* focuses on second and third-generation Irish immigrants and their struggles during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in New York City and Chicago. Barrett examines the Irish community through the lens of the average person's experience, arguing it is the best way to "view the engagement of the Irish with other peoples, and appreciate their impact on the new multiethnic urban culture" (2). The book is broken into six chapters, almost overwhelmingly exploring the everyday life of the Irish American community. Extensive information about the church, work environment, stage entertainment, political setting, and national issues inundates the reader, but the book is worth the time and contemplation.

The Irish Way examines Irish American life on a local level (a great place to start), giving the reader a solid foundation and desire to read further. Hyper-focusing on the living conditions in the slums of New York City and Chicago didn't give a broader picture of the national experience. A few mentions outside the dense urban settings would have expanded the scope of the book, but Barrett does an excellent job presenting the Irish American experience in the slums. Barrett sums up what needed to be done to be American by quoting folklorist William Williams: "the Irish seemed to understand they had to succeed as a people [and] only if they could construct an identity as both Irish and American would they thrive" (5). *The Irish Way* continues after the Irish arrival with the rise of street gangs to protect their territory from outsiders and those willing to do harm like other gangs. Barrett does a great job of tying the experience back to the church throughout the book, as the clergy significantly influenced these gangs, but this is not the only area of the Irish American experience to be influenced

by the Catholic church. The flood of Irish immigrants would create a new American experience for those following in their footsteps, as they became influencers in many facets of American life.

Barrett displays the complex and often contradictory Irish experience with other ethnic groups and even themselves in chapter three, “The Workplace.” Local Irish unions recognized that integrating newcomers was the only way to maintain the intense hold on industry. Still, the Irish often instigated fights if outsiders were seen as threats to their “hard-won respectability” (109). If there was no threat to their place in society from outsiders, the Irish could relate to the struggle of the African American and Jewish communities because of their similar repression and brutality from the British. If there was no foreign issue, the trouble could become an internal struggle to keep blue-collar and white-collar Irish divided.

An example of everything going back to the Catholic church comes in “The Stage,” chapter four. The Irish could portray their experience with the theater and Hollywood. Irish Catholics found themselves in positions of power, funding, and working on projects. In Hollywood, they were driven by religious principles. The Irish created codes to ensure purity. They set the tone for what was good in American culture and what was acceptable. Barrett presents how the Irish showed other ethnic communities and the youth what it was to be American.

The “Political Machine” showcases Irish urban politics in a broader aspect, leaving the reader with an understanding of the importance of local politics. Barrett displays how the Irish used their expansive network to create and steer labor unions to their advantage using other ethnic groups. The chapter shows how these local organizations became stronger, and bigger, but also more corrupt.

Chapter six, “The Nation,” expands on the influence of Irish politicians moving from the local to the federal level. Barrett explains the desire to exclude others from the hard work of the Irish to be seen as more American. Barrett also shows the Irish fighting for the same causes these other communities were working to improve or change.

The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City is a readable contribution to Irish American history, accurately portraying the highs and lows of the Irish experience. Too many multilayered examples and jarring jumps through time periods could be overwhelming to the casual reader, but provides a great level of depth. Barrett can connect the dots of history and culture that make the Irish American story presented in the reading a fascinating study. Barrett’s work is highly recommended for the casual and professional historian interested in the Irish experience.

Keeley O’Farrell

***The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* by Elliot West. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. XI + 397. EBook.**

The Last Indian War by Elliot West sheds light on the affairs of the Indian nation - the Nez Perce - during a time that is widely known for Reconstruction in the South. The Nez Perce resided in modern-day Idaho where they would initially thrive because they were what West referred to as the “most geographically blessed people” (xv). The relations between the Nez Perce and the Americans directly parallel other interactions natives had with Europeans and later Americans. West does a good job of highlighting the similarities between these two people groups attempting to coexist and other colonized and colonizer relations. He does so by emphasizing how violence between the Americans and the Nez Perce resulted from the Nez Perce attempting to Americanize their people while simultaneously syncretizing their everyday lifestyle, political ideas, and religion with the American ones.

The first interactions between the Americans and the Nez Perce were peaceful and productive because the Americans seemed to embrace the native’s tradition of gift giving, leading the Nez Perce to believe the acceptance of the American way could be mutually beneficial. Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the Corps entered the territory of the Nez Perce in 1805. These Americans came bearing gifts that were accepted by the Nez Perce because gift-giving to establish tranquility was common among Native Americans. The Nez Perce showed their gratitude by feeding the Americans. Although the Nez Perce knew of the diseases the white man had brought to the Americas, they also knew about how European commodities, like the horse, were critical to their survival. The horse had “revolutionized Native American life” and was a useful form of transportation (198). This led the Nez Perce to see more benefits than consequences to peace with the Americans because of the potential for trade and even alliances. The first laws established between the Nez Perce and Americans were eleven rules outlining general interactions between the two groups but also for the protection of American explorers, specifically missionaries. The Nez Perce had successfully established what they believed was a friendship built on mutual respect with Lewis and Clark. However, the Americans did not view the “pledge of friendship” the same as the Nez Perce (21). The Nez Perce saw this as a peace treaty while the Americans viewed it as a temporary solution to peace with this specific tribe, which is a common mistake made by various groups of Natives.

The Nez Perce attempt to syncretize American traditions was not exclusive to American political ideology and trade but also included religion. Before the emergence of Americans in present-day Idaho, the presence of white missionaries in the Americas and the religion of Christianity from

both the Protestant and Catholic branches had continuously caused violent and nonviolent conflicts between Christians and Natives. West explains how the Nez Perce embraced the Christian God because they believed that the “whites obviously had impressive supernatural connections,” so the worship of this God was in the best spiritual interest of the tribe (37). While accepting the God of Abraham and some of the rituals of Christianity like the Sabbath, the Nez Perce continued to practice the rituals and ceremonies of their indigenous religions. Syncretism between indigenous religions and Christianity by American Indians is not exclusive to the Nez Perce but is critical in understanding how the fundamental values of the white men and the Nez Perce significantly differ and contributes to the two’s inability to coexist peacefully.

The Nez Perce’s unsuccessful attempt to collaborate the American way of life to their own ultimately contributed to the Nez Perce being forced to flee from their homeland which they did not gain back. The Americans embraced certain aspects of Nez Perce culture like gift-giving and condoned the Nez Perce’s use of their own technology such as horses; however, they were unwilling to compromise their own political agenda for the sake of Nez Perce. West does a wonderful job at explaining how the Nez Perce originally viewed the Americans as friends and willingly accepted foreign religious ideas; however, their open-mindedness and acceptance of American policies would lead to confusion and betrayal by the Americans. This book makes a clear connection between the overall problems of syncretism of American ideals and native culture.

Skylar Ojeda

***Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan.* Tsuyoshi Hasegawa. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. ix, 382 pp. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Glossary. Index. Photographs. Figures. Tables. Maps. Paperback.**

The Atomic Bomb did not end the war with Japan, a shocking claim to western historians. Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, in his book *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* claimed the Soviet Union betrayed the Japanese, which convinced them to surrender. The title implies the focus of the study. Stalin, mentioned first, is the focus of his study, and the relationship between Truman, Stalin, and the Japanese council was the basis of his thesis. His study assessed the effects of the Pacific War on American, Japanese, and Soviet nationalism and histories. Hasegawa, who is trilingual, examined evidence from the US, Japan, and the USSR about the end of the Pacific War. He concluded that the Japanese government

conceded defeat because the Soviet Union invaded, and the Atomic Bombs were minimally consequential.

The strongest part of his argument was, the Japanese relied heavily on a neutral Soviet Union to exit the war. The Japanese government-based decision making on the continuance of the Sino-Soviet non-aggression agreement. In fact, the Big Six were confident they could reach a peace deal through the Soviet Union, and cut diplomatic ties with the West in Berne, Switzerland. Army leaders planned their final defense against the United States, and assumed the Soviet Union would not invade. Finally, when Soviet troops invaded on August ninth, the peace faction, Togo, Suzuki, Yonai, and Hirohito decided they must accept the Potsdam Proclamation. Stalin exploited the Japanese desire for neutrality which exacerbated the shock of invasion. Thus, Hasegawa argued that when this assumption was proven false, the pro-war faction of the Big Six found it increasingly difficult to stall their defeat. Hasegawa left no doubt about the importance of Soviet invasion on the Japanese decision to surrender.

The weaker part of his argument was, “There is no convincing evidence to show that the Hiroshima bomb had a direct and immediate impact on Japan’s decision to surrender”. It is known that Japanese official records are incomplete. The government burnt many official documents at the end of the war, and Hasegawa failed to mention this in his book. Perhaps some relevant records to the August seventh meeting had been destroyed or lost. He argued, after Hiroshima was destroyed the Big Six met, and then made no changes to foreign policy. Then immediately after, contradicted himself, and provided evidence that news of the bomb affected Hirohito and Anami. Additionally, the bomb brought the Big Six together, and gave the pro-peace faction strength because the Konoe peace mission was more important. Finally, the use of the bombs “had a direct and immediate impact” on the Soviets decision to invade, which consequently, affected Japan’s decision for peace. His claim, the Hiroshima bomb was unimportant to Japanese policy is weak, because it contradicts itself, and may lack records.

Hasegawa wrote his book to respond to Stalinist historians, American orthodox, and revisionist historians. Firstly, Hasegawa is a Japanese-American Cold War historian who worked in an American university. Therefore, he is familiar with the historiographical debates both in the US and the former USSR. His book did not explicitly endorse prior views, but implicitly supported revisionist historians the most. He prioritized the USSR in the decision to drop the bomb, and assumed the anticommunist narrative of Truman and Byrnes. Also, in his conclusion he asserted the atomic bombs were not necessary. However, his thesis does not grandstand morality over US war crimes, instead he criticized Stalin’s expansionist policies. Additionally, he incorporated the orthodox historians

understanding that Operation Olympic would have killed many soldiers and civilians, and lightly admonished the use of the bombs on Japan. Therefore, because Hasegawa incorporated contentious viewpoints, his account is reliable, though susceptible to criticism on both sides.

Overall, I am convinced that the Soviet invasion brought the end of the war sooner, but I am not convinced that Soviet invasion was any more or less important of a factor in forcing the Japanese government to concede defeat. Instead, I favor a synthesis, the double-shock of both the Atomic Bombs and Soviet explain why the Japanese government surrendered.

Spencer Bull

Clio Staff

Xavier Bauer-Martin is a history undergraduate student at Sacramento State University. He is interested in public history, the social history of Sacramento and the United States, and archival work. He was able to apply these interests through his internship at the Sacramento Central Library's Sacramento Room, during which he researched and digitized a variety of ephemera, postcards, and photographs. Xavier plans on obtaining an M.A. in Library and Information Science.

Spencer Bull is an undergraduate at California State University Sacramento. He is passionate about early American history, and natural history. In the fall of 2023, he expects to receive his B.A. History. He is part of the 2023 *Clio* journal staff to explore his passion for the historical discipline. Spencer's dream career is to be a park ranger and apply his historical knowledge to the BLM and federal land conservation programs.

Ella Cross is a graduate student of history at California State University, Sacramento. She received her B.A. in Art History with an emphasis in Architectural History from UC Davis in 2021. She plans to complete her M.A. in Fall 2023, after which she plans on working in historical preservation and cultural resource management. Her areas of interest lie specifically in architectural history.

Hugo Fernandez is currently a senior undergraduate student at California State University, Sacramento and is soon graduating with his B.A. in History. As the advertising coordinator for the *Clio* journal, he hopes to further his knowledge in the editing and publishing processes of history. Learning and understanding the stories of the past has always been a passion of his, which is why he chose to focus his academic career on history.

Mindy Fowler is a graduate student in the history program at California State University, Sacramento. She graduated from CSUS with her B.A. in History in 2021 and expects to complete her M.A. in Fall 2023. She is serving as a co-editor-in-chief for the *Clio* journal as part of her effort to gain and share professional and academic skills. Her research interests include religious, Native American, and genocide history. Mindy plans to continue her education with a Ph.D. program, hoping to explore the intersectionality of her research interests.

Ashlee Green is a 3rd-year history student at Sacramento State University, minoring in Pan-African Studies. She is also a member of the *Clio* journal's special features team and currently works with the City of Sacramento as a Historic Preservation Intern for the African American Experience Project. Ashlee graduated from MTI College with an A.A. in Paralegal Studies, and recently graduated from American River College with an A.A. in History. Her research interests include Pan-Africanism, Black and Indigenous California history, neo-colonialism, and the contemporary effects of institutional racism in the U.S. She is projected to graduate from Sacramento State University in the Spring of 2024 and plans to attend law school.

Kevin Kettering is a student at California State University, Sacramento majoring in history with an emphasis on American history through the 20th century. Currently a senior, he plans to apply his education to a career in law, confident that his experience learning about American history will help him better represent his clients. In taking on the position of design editor with the *Clio*, he hopes that the task will be instrumental in developing his talents in publishing for his future academic pursuits.

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Skylar Ojeda is an undergraduate student at California State University, Sacramento. She plans on graduating in the spring of 2024 with a B.A. in History and continuing her education at a CSU to earn an M.A. in History. In the future, Skylar wants to teach at the community college level. Skylar is serving as the public relations and social media coordinator for the 2023 *Clio* journal. Her historical interests include the Middle East, modern Europe, and world religions.

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