CLIO

Vol. 35 — 2025

Clio

Volume 35, Spring 2025

The Annual Publication of Phi Alpha Theta, Rho Xi Chapter
Department of History, College of Arts & Letters
California State University, Sacramento

Clio

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Letter from the Editors

Dear Readers,

We are proud to present the 2025 *Clio* Student History Journal. This journal is the joint product of the *Clio* editorial staff who labored over it for a semester, authors who submitted their work for publication, and many others involved in the varied and arduous process of publishing an academic journal. We feel confident that their hard work has resulted in a volume that embodies the very best of what CSU Sacramento is capable of and provides a model for future editions.

At the heart of the thirty-fifth volume of *Clio* are nine articles written by Sac State students and alumni. While these articles cover a range of topics, we believe that all of them are relevant to the concerns of the present day. We have chosen these articles for their novel perspectives, rigorous research, and interest to diverse readers. In addition, *Clio* is excited to publish the winners of the 2025 Anansi Prize. A project of Freedom Seekers, Anansi explores the experiences of runaway slaves from the antebellum South, reconstructing the stories of people whose voices would otherwise be lost to history. Readers will also find the winning papers from the California History Day competition 2025. These excellent high school papers showcase the talent and intelligence of young people in our state. *Clio* staff have also put together book reviews, artwork, and a special features section covering history-related academic events on campus. Taken together, the contents of this journal speak to the values and commitments of our contributors.

Though many people deserve gratitude for getting this edition of *Clio* across the finish line, we can only name a few. First, we want to thank the College of Arts and Letters and our other financial supporters, without whom this journal would not exist. Our amazing editorial staff dedicated so much time to this issue, taking it from a stack of submissions and an idea to a finished product. Amy Davey's tireless support has enriched the journal and done tremendous good for us personally during the most hectic phases of production. Finally, Dr. Aaron Cohen, our advisor, has made us better historians, with a deeper appreciation of our profession. Beyond that, his kindness and humility have earned him the respect and friendship of the entire staff. We cannot imagine a mentor we would rather have.

At a time when the study of history is under great pressure from technological and societal forces, our own experience of producing *Clio* demonstrates that there is still widespread interest in engaging with the past in a fact-based, academic manner. Our community—from high schoolers to university students to volunteers to faculty—have come together yet again to continue the *Clio* tradition.

Devon E. Hayes and Julian Quinn
Editors-in-Chief

Discredited Monuments: Analyzing the Afterlife of Confederate and Soviet Era Monuments in Richmond and Budapest

David Keenan

Abstract: This study analyzes the forces by which resolved and unresolved conflicts over collective memory impact the "after-life" of monuments and argues that the status of change in collective memory determines the disposition of discredited monuments. This comparative study examines to locales and eras, Richmond, Virginia, in 2020, and Budapest, Hungary, in 1989. The two cities had markedly different outcomes in the disposition of their discredited monuments. In Richmond, Virginia, the former Confederate memorials were removed, dismantled, and placed in storage. By comparison, in Budapest, Hungary, with the collapse of communism in 1989, memorials were relocated, and narratives were added to explain and provide context. The examination of primary sources such as popular mass media accounts and polling data reveals that the key to this disparate dynamic is societal conflicts over collective memory.

In Richmond, Virginia, off Interstate 95, in a dusty lot owned by the Black History Museum and Cultural Center of Virginia, the dismembered statues of J.E.B Stuart, Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, and other Confederate heroes are located. According to a museum spokesperson, it will likely be five to ten years before decisions are made on what to do with the remains.[1] Meanwhile, 4,600 miles away, in Budapest, Hungary, a former Warsaw Pact nation, Soviet and Hungarian Communist Party memorials, which once graced the boulevards of Budapest, are gathered in a public park-like setting in the outskirts of the city. The Budapest city council almost immediately determined after the fall of communism that the monuments would be retained in a park when they were removed from their public locations in the city.[2]

Cultural conflicts over collective memory often result in the removal of sites of memory from public spaces. This study analyzes the forces at work by which resolved and unresolved conflicts over collective memory impact the 'after-life" of monuments and argues that the status of change in collective memory determines the disposition of discredited monuments. The experiences of Richmond, Virginia, the former capital of the Confederacy, and in Budapest, the capital of Hungary, are two examples of an ongoing phenomenon and the focus of this comparative study. The two cities were selected because both were capitals of countries on the losing side of a war. The cultures of memory also developed over similar timeframes, in the case of Richmond from 1865 to the 1960s, and in Budapest from 1848 to 1989. Both had a conflict of memory with a more dominant state. However, there were markedly

[1] Iker Seisdedos, "A City Took Down its Racist Statues. Where Do They Go Next?," *The Guardian,* February 28, 2023.

[2] Maya Nadkarni, *Remains of Socialism: Memory and the Futures of the Past in PostSocialist Hungary* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020), 32.

different outcomes in the disposition of the discredited monuments. In Richmond, numerous statues which once lined Monument Avenue were removed, dismantled, and placed in storage in 2020. In contrast, Budapest instigated the removal of many Soviet era monuments when communism collapsed in 1989; however, many of the Budapest monuments were relocated, and narratives were added to explain and provide context. The key to this disparate dynamic may be found in societal conflicts over collective memory. This paper demonstrates that the Richmond experience was driven by an unresolved conflict of memory in comparison to Budapest where no such conflict of memory existed in the period 1989-1991. An analysis of the political polarization of American society demonstrates that no unified collective memory existed. The US.polity remained at war with itself over the meaning of the Civil War and the validity of white supremacy.

The different outcomes are highlighted by comparing the two circumstances and identifying the factors that led to the divergent results. The study examines the theoretical basis of collective memory and sites of memory, conducts an analysis of the "Religion of the Lost Cause" periods of Confederate monument building, and analyzes current US attitudes towards the Confederacy and the removal of memorials. It also analyzes Soviet memorial and communist monument building in Hungary, the removal of memorials in 1989, and examines the Hungarian attitudes towards the Soviet Union which enabled Budapest's disposition of its memorials. The study reveals that the historical memory of the Confederacy underwent a major revision when the Confederate Religion of the Lost Cause (hereafter known as the "Lost Cause"), was challenged by a more accurate recounting and understanding of the moral decay at the heart of the Confederacy. The revision was incomplete, as white supremacy remained a potent force in American political and cultural life. In contrast, the dominant Soviet memory in Budapest dissolved with the 1989 revolution. It is critical to understand this dynamic because while there is a large amount of research that explains how sites of memory are created, what they mean, how they transmit cultural values and collective memory, there is very little about the afterlife of fallen idols.

It is important to examine the theoretical basis of collective memory and sites of memory to understand the causes of the disposition of discredited memorials and monuments. Monuments are typically material structures that commemorate a person or event. Memorials are sites of memory that memorialize a loss or death. Memorials and monuments are interchangeable to the extent that they are both products of a society's collective memory. For the purposes of this study memorials and monuments will be considered interchangeable and will focus primarily on the memorialization of individuals. The theories of memory, collective memory, sites of memory, societal discourses, and remembrances, developed by Pierre Noah, Maurice Halbwachs, Jurgen Habermas and Nancy Fraser, form the theoretical basis for understanding the dispositions of the Richmond and Budapest monuments.

Nora and Halbwachs have addressed the dynamic between memorialization and the formation of collective memory. Nora invented the concept of "sites of memory", or "lieux de memorie," when he argued that history and memory are two different concepts. A site of memory memorializes a historical event after the event occurs and reflects on it so that it becomes part of societal discourse. A site of memory may

be, for example, a monument, a memorial, a book, or a song that memorializes the event.[3] Individual memories are formed by a person's experiences and influenced by historical events and interactions with others of their group.[4] Individual memories then form the basis of a society's collective memory. Halbwachs theorizes that collective memory "represents currents of thought and experience within which we recover our past."[5] Similarly, he notes that "a remembrance is a reconstruction of the past borrowed from data from the present."[6] A society's collective memory may then be formed by the dominant discourses of the era which are formed by individual and collective remembrances. These collective memories are subject to change and evolve.[7] The process of collective memory formation leads to the creation of a dominant discourse, and a site of memory may be constructed that memorializes the event, or memory for the group.

This process is not without tension and conflict. For example, there is a conflict of memory that has endured for eighty years in Babyn Yar, the World War Two Nazi murder site of over 35,000 Jewish, Roma, and Russian citizens.[8] Jay Winter notes that remembrances which form collective memories may be contested "as a result of whose memory is being used."[9] Therefore, this contest of memories results in how a site of memory is created, and occurs as a result of collective memories being produced within the public sphere where public opinion is formed.[10] As a result, competing memories create conflicts in the creation of monuments and memorials to past events.[11]

The dynamic of competing memories creating conflict is critical to understanding the Richmond and Budapest cases. Specifically, various sub-groups, in the United States in the case of Richmond, and in Hungary in the case of Budapest, competed with each other's representation of events in history and created memory conflicts. A "memory war" occurred as the competing entities battled each other to remove, retain, replace, contextualize, or destroy the current sites of memory. A culture's dominant collective memory does not typically change overnight. Instead, battles over memory are the result of an evolving slide toward a new culturally dominant collective memory. Ernest Hemingway, in the *Sun Also Rises*, stated that one goes bankrupt "gradually, then all at once". The dynamic is the same as when a modification of a culture's collective memory slowly builds to a critical mass and then changes, resulting in a spasm of site-of-memory revision.[12]

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[3] Pierre Noah, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memorie," *Representations* 26 Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): 8.

[4] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Mary Douglas (New York: Harper Row, 1980), 50.

[5] Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 64.

[6] Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 69.

[7] Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 72.

[8] David Keenan, "Memory War: How Conflicting Collective Memories Impact Holocaust Remembrances in Babyn Yar", *Clio* Volume 31, (2021): 121-128.

[9] Jay Winter, "Sites of Memory," *Memory*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010): 314.

[10] Jurgen Habermas, Sara Lennox, Frank Lennox, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article," *New German Critique*, No. 3 (Autumn, 1974), 49-55.

[11] These concepts were previously discussed in Keenan, "Memory War."

[12] Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York: Quality Paperback, 1993), 136.

The struggle over the collective memory of the Confederacy began with the end of the Civil War. The South, stricken and battered, formed a collective memory over several decades known as the Lost Cause. Gaines Foster defines the Lost Cause as "postwar writings and activities that perpetuated the memory of the Confederacy."[13] The Lost Cause religion occurred in a revivalist moment, driven by Southern ministers and churches to achieve the rebirth of Southern white culture.[14] It portrayed the South as a moral and religious society that produced saints such as Jefferson Davis, who fought to preserve freedom and the Southern way of life against the atheistic North.[15] It propagated a vision of the chivalrous Southern way of life that was in direct opposition to the North.[16] All religions must have a Mecca, and Richmond, Virginia became the center of the Lost Cause. As Charles Wilson states, "Richmond was the Mecca of the Lost Cause and Monument Boulevard was the sacred road to it."[17] The new collective memory of the South posited that the Civil War was not about slavery, but rather an existential struggle of good versus evil, of State's rights, and the fight between a moral and religious society against a godless one. Wilson notes that the Lost Cause religion, "enacted the Christian story of Christ's suffering and death, with the Confederacy at sacred center."[18] Leaders argued that Southern values were prophetic in nature and were the true American values, arising out of the Revolution and the Civil War and that Southerners were the true defenders of liberty in the United States.[19]

Religions must have sacred ceremonies, rituals, and sites of memory, and the South was no different. The myth's founding sacred ritual was the unveiling of the statue of Jefferson Davis in Richmond.[20] The statue was erected with great pomp and circumstance, and others were to follow. The reburials of Confederate dead became ritual events and energized the first period of Confederate monument building. Funerals of wartime heroes who died after the war also became sacred and ritualized events. Confederate monuments are diverse in that they were erected on battlefields, cemeteries, in courthouse squares, and on state grounds.[21] Monuments erected in public spaces became a facet of state-sponsored speech. To date, the Southern Poverty Law Center has identified over 1,503 symbols of the Confederacy in public spaces across the country.[22] Three periods of Confederate monument and memorial construction followed the development of the Lost Cause. Monument building began as the collective memory of the Lost Cause solidified in the South and organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy ramped up fund-raising. Prior to that period there were few monuments erected because Southern communities had

[13] Seth Weitz, "Defending the Old South: The Myth of the Lost Cause and Political Immorality in Florida, 1865–1968," *The Historian* 71, (2009): 80.

[14] John A Simpson. "The Cult of the 'Lost Cause," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1975): 352-353.

[15] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 8.

[16] John A Simpson, "The Cult of the 'Lost Cause." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1975): 351.

[17] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 29.

[18] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 24.

[19] Simpson, "The Cult of the Lost Cause," 355.

[20] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 18.

[21] Andrew Valls, "What Should Become of Confederate Monuments? A Normative Framework," *Public Affairs Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 3 (July 2019): 190.

[22] Valls, "What Should Become of Confederate Monuments?," 180.

little funding available in the direct post-war era to spend on bronze monuments.[23] This initial period began in the 1860s and lasted to the 1890s as the number of Confederate cemeteries grew and as the Lost Cause took hold. The establishment of the first wave of Confederate monument building spread sacred memorials throughout Southern towns and cities. Confederate Veteran Magazine wrote in 1912 that the Lost Cause movement's vindicators "have caused more monuments to be erected to the soldiers of the Confederate army than have ever been erected in any age of the world to any cause, civil, political or religious."[24] During the imposition of Jim Crow laws a second period of monument building occurred between 1890 to the 1930s. The third major construction period was from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s. [25]

Sites of memory reflect a society's collective memory and send a message to viewers of a society's values. The message of the Jim Crow era of monuments was clear: while the South may have lost the war, it remained a holy crusade with white supremacy at is core. The explicit message of the Civil Rights era was that the South resisted racial equality. Andrew Vall notes that "prominent Confederate monuments convey an unmistakable message of domination and exclusion."[26] This message was evident in the prominent monuments in Richmond on Monument Avenue. The Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and J.E.B. Stuart monuments were all built during the first period of monument building, from 1890 to 1919. Their location, substance, topic, and period of construction during the Jim Crow era, transmitted the message that the Civil War was a glorious cause, steeped in religion, whose heroes epitomized all that was good and right about white supremacy in the South. Their sheer size further served to intimidate, with the Lee statue consisting of Lee astride his horse Traveler, sitting 60 feet high and located on the central boulevard of Richmond, the former Confederate capitol.[27]

The German experience in memorializing World War Two contrasts with the Southern memorials of the Lost Cause, which glorified white supremacy and "acts of defiance" against the North, and is instructive in decoding how monuments present messages. [28] For example, the Soviet War Memorial in Tiergarten Park in Berlin was built with stones taken from the rubble of the Reich Chancellery.[29] The message was unmistakable, the replacement of the evil of the Nazi regime by the heroic Soviet Red Army. Over twenty-five memorials to deserters of the Wehrmacht were built in Germany.[30] This would be unthinkable in a society that was not cognizant of the evil it propagated. The Berlin Holocaust memorial was built on a city block in the center

[23] Valls, "What Should Become of Confederate Monuments?," 181.

[24] Simpson, "The Cult of the Lost Cause," 354.

[25] Valls, "What Should Become of Confederate Monuments?," 181.

[26] Valls, "What Should Become of Confederate Monuments?," 184.

[27] Seisdedos, "A City Took Down its Racist Statues. Where Do They Go Next?"

[28] Mark Pearcy, "Stepping Stones and Robert E. Lee – Using Memorials to Explore Contested History," *The High School Journal*, Vol. 103, No. 4, (Summer 2020): 207.

[29] National World War II Museum, accessed December 7, 2023, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/battle-of-berlin-memorial-tiergarten.

[30] Steven R Welch, "Commemorating `Heroes of a Special Kind': Deserter Monuments in Germany." *Journal of Contemporary History* 47, no. 2 (2012): 370.

of the city; it is a memorial to the Jewish victims of the German people.[31] In effect, German post-war memorials reflected its new national identity and the acceptance of societal guilt. In contrast, the South was steeped in the values of white supremacy extolled by the Lost Cause and surrounded by public monuments and memorials, and other symbols such as the Confederate battle flag, that extolled the heroes of that cause. For example, the Confederate battle flag graced race cars at automobile races held by the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing, also known as NASCAR. It also was plastered on the General Lee, the vehicle in the popular 1980s television show, *The Dukes of Hazzard*.

However, in the early twenty-first century, several connected events forced an alteration in the collective memory of the nation, resulting in the removal of an unprecedented number of Confederate monuments. The killing of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman cracked open the door, as between 2012 and 2018, twenty-seven communities in the South removed approximately thirty-seven Confederate monuments.[32] On June 17, 2015, in Charleston, South Carolina, nine Black congregants of the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church were murdered by Dylann Roof, an avowed white supremacist. The shooting precipitated a final debate over the removal of the Confederate battle flag from the South Carolina State Capitol building. The Unite the Right rally, held on August 11, 2017, in Charlottesville, Virginia, focused on support for the Robert E. Lee memorial and was attended by a variety of white supremacists consisting of neo-Nazis, Klansmen, white nationalists, and far-right militia members. Counter-demonstrators confronted the white supremacists, and a counter-demonstrator was killed. George Floyd was murdered at the hands of a white policeman in Minneapolis, Minnesota on May 25, 2020. His death sparked a period of upheaval, protests, and riots across the nation, which lasted into 2021, and the issues of police brutality and white supremacy took center stage in the American psyche. On June 10, 2020, NASCAR, one of the icons of the South, banned the use of Confederate battle flags at races.[33]

The events of the early twenty-first century initiated a change in the United States' collective memory of the Civil War because a society's collective memory is not monolithic and unchangeable. Fraser argues that within the concept of collective memory there are public spheres, in which individuals engage in discourses that ultimately determine a society's collective memory. Since there are multiple discourses, there are also subordinate, or subaltern counter-publics, which the dominant public discourse does not fully recognize.[34] As events occur and discourses change, the dominant collective memory faces challenges. The events in the United States were a catalyst for the removal of Confederate monuments, as the dominant collective memory was undermined by previously subordinate discourses. By 2020, over 160

[31] Susan Neiman, *Learning from The Germans: Race and the Memory of Evil* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2019), 89.

[32] Thomas J Brown, "Iconoclasm and the Monumental Presence of the Civil War," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (June 2021): 145.

[33] Daniel Vigdor; "Over 160 Confederate Symbols Were Removed in 2020, Group Says," *New York Times,* February 23, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/23/us/confederate-monuments-george-floyd-protests.html.

[34] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *The Phantom Public Sphere*, ed. by Bruce Robbins, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press: 1993), 13-18.

confederate memorials were removed in a single year, including the most sacred of Confederate monuments.[35] In Charlottesville, the Robert E. Lee monument, the focus of the Unite the Right rally, and the Stonewall Jackson monument were removed in July 2021.[36] Richmond removed the Robert E. Lee monument on September 8, 2021.[37] It was the final Monument Avenue statue to be removed, having been preceded by Stonewall Jackson, A.P. Hill, J.E.B. Stuart, and Jefferson Davis. Consistent with the ongoing conflict over memory in the United States, not everyone accepted the monument's removal. Two dozen firms refused the contract to remove it, while the contractor staff who did remove it were provided with twenty-four-hour security and bulletproof vests. The company received death threats from self-proclaimed white supremacist groups.[38] One resident who watched stated, "I was naively thinking that we could keep these statues and just add new ones to show the true history, and everything would be fine." Another resident stated that "the city belongs to all of us and now we can figure out what's next. We are creating a new legacy." However, another resident was surprised it came down, stating, "if you would have told me that the monuments were going to come down, I would have thought somebody would blow up Richmond first."[39] These comments are reflective of a society that is not in agreement in its collective memory of the meaning of the Civil War.

When the monuments came down, they were not repurposed or transplanted. Of those removed, only the Davis one remains on public display at the Valentine Museum, which is dedicated to preserving the work of the sculptor who created the Davis monument.[40] The museum displayed it lying flat in its graffiti-stained state. The decision precipitated an angry response from citizens calling out the museum "for [its] lack of respect." The remaining monuments were placed in the lot in Richmond where they remain to this day. The Black History Museum and Cultural Center had no plans for the monuments. Mary C. Lauderdale, the museum's Director of Collections, stated that the monuments could not be reestablished in the museum as doing so "would require us to strengthen security against possible attacks by white supremacist groups."[41] Furthermore, final disposition will not occur anytime soon, as Lauderdale also stated that a decision "will take us a long time. I estimate at least five years, maybe ten." Budapest, Hungary, a society with a unified collective memory, acted quickly and repurposed its discredited monuments. Richmond, with a divided collective memory, did not.

This divide is emblematic of a conflict over collective memory and presents a failure of society to create a unified collective memory. This polarity and lack of consensus resulted in how Confederate monuments were treated, removed, and disposed of. This dynamic continues to this day. For example, in Arlington National Cemetery there are several dozen monuments and memorials that commemorate individuals,

[35] Vigdor, "Over 160 Confederate Symbols Were Removed in 2020."

[36] Pearcy, "Stepping Stones and Robert E. Lee – Using Memorials to Explore Contested History," 203.

[37] Sabrina Tavernise, "Virginia Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from State Capital," *New York Times*, Sep 08, 2021*, ProQuest.*

[38] Seisdedos, "A City Took Down its Racist Statues. Where Do They Go Next?"

[39] Tavernise, "Virginia Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from State Capital."

[40] Seisdedos, "A City Took Down its Racist Statues. Where Do They Go Next?"

[41] Seisdedos, "A City Took Down its Racist Statues. Where Do They Go Next?"

military units, wars, and battles that are the physical representations of the nation's collective memory. One of those memorials is the Confederate Memorial where Confederate soldiers were reinterred. It was erected in 1904 and is scheduled for removal. However, the memorial remains a site of contested memory. James Webb, decorated combat veteran, former Secretary of the Navy and former Senator from Virginia, opined in the Wall Street Journal on August 19, 2023, that "the memorial [was] conceived and built with the sole purpose of healing the wounds of the Civil War and restoring national harmony and should not be removed.[42] Ty Seidule, retired Brigadier General and professor emeritus at West Point, was quick to respond to Webb. Seidule penned a letter to the Wall Street Journal on August 26, 2023, stating that the memorial "clearly commemorates the Confederacy and its purpose: chattel slavery."[43] Two highly respected and accomplished men with two divergent opinions.

This anecdotal incident, which reveals the lack of a consensus on collective memory, is born out in more aggregated data. The United States presidential election of 2020 demonstrates this extreme polarity. Joseph Biden won an electoral college victory over Donald Trump with a vote that was razor slim in many key states including Arizona, Pennsylvania, and Georgia.[44] The result would have changed with a swing of only several thousand votes. The extreme polarization reveals itself even more in a June 2023 Public Opinion Strategies poll that showed Democrats had moved further to the left on social issues while the Republican polity remained stable, resulting in a chasm between the two sides on American identity.[45] Furthermore, according to Geoffrey Layman, Republicans "see the face of America changing, with white people set to become a minority of Americans in the not-too-distant future […]. They support Trump because they think he is the last best hope for bringing back the America they knew and loved."[46] Trump's statements regarding Confederate sites of memory were part of a discourse that underpins the collective memory of the Civil War and of a country of patriots who revere the fallen Confederate heroes. For example, Trump threatened to veto a Senate bill to rename military bases which were previously named after Confederate military leaders. Trump stated that "these monumental and very powerful bases have become part of our Great American Heritage."[47]

Additional survey data supports this picture of a polarized polity divided by a conflict of collective memory about the Confederacy. In a national poll conducted by the Public Religion Research Institute in June of 2022, respondents agreed 55 percent to 42 percent that the nation should not memorialize figures in public spaces

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[42] Jim Webb, "Save the Confederate Memorial at Arlington," *The Wall Street Journal*, Saturday/Sunday August 19-20, A13.

[43] Ty Seidule, "The Confederate Memorial Celebrates Racism," *The Wall Street Journal*, Saturday/Sunday August 26/27, A12.

[44] "2020 Presidential Election Results," USA Election Atlas, accessed 11/1/2023, https://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/index.html.

[45] Thomas B Edsall, "Gut Level Hatred Is Consuming Our Political Life", *New York Times,* July 19, 2023.

[46] Edsall, "Gut Level Hatred."

[47] Scott Neuman, "Despite Trump's Veto Threat, Senate Approves Provision to Rename Military Bases," *NPR,* accessed November 1, 2023, https://www.npr.org/sections/live-updates-protests-for-racial-justice/2020/07/24/894976141/senate-approves-defense-bill-with-provision-to-rename-bases#:~:text=The%20Republican%2Dcontrolled%20Senate%20on,Trump%20has%20threatened%20to%20veto.

who supported the Confederacy or racial segregation. This means that 42 percent of the nation supported Confederate monuments in public spaces. Respondents were also asked if they supported efforts to preserve the legacy and history of the Confederacy through public memorials and statues in their communities. Fifty-one percent supported such efforts while 46 percent opposed such efforts. When respondents were asked what the Confederate battle flag represents, 50 percent said Southern pride and 47 percent said racism. A full 64 percent said monuments to Confederate soldiers represented Southern Pride while only 33 percent stated they represented "racism." When asked if Confederate monuments should remain in place, 61 percent wanted them left, albeit with most of that number supporting new explanatory narratives. Respondents were asked if white supremacy is still a major problem. Not surprisingly, 52 percent agreed, while 35 percent disagreed. Another 17 percent agreed that true American patriots may have to resort to violence to save the country.[48] Removing Confederate monuments was controversial and large numbers of Americans supported retaining them in place.

The South had more extreme public opinion numbers. Virginia Commonwealth University published a public opinion poll in July 2020 that examined Virginia citizens' opinions of Confederate monuments. A mere 6 percent of Democrats favored leaving monuments in place compared to 60 percent of Republicans. When asked if the monuments should be recontextualized 52 percent of Democrats and 39 percent of Republicans agreed. When asked if they should be removed altogether only 29 percent of Democrats and 3 percent of Republicans agreed. When asked whether systemic racism was one of the most important issues before the nation, 43 percent of Democrats and only 6 percent of Republicans agreed. The data showed that there was a wide gap between what Republicans and Democrats believed about systemic racism and the removal of monuments.[49] An Elon University poll of North Carolina citizens revealed a similar lack of consensus. A clear majority of North Carolinians, 65.3 percent to 34.7 percent, agreed that monuments should remain in place. Fifty-one percent believed that the Civil War was mainly about states' rights, with 48.9 percent stating it was about slavery.[50]

The data revealed a lack of consensus in the United States about the collective memory of the Civil War and the removal and disposition of monuments. The electorate polarized into opposite camps, each with its own version of history and memory. Surveys showed little common ground in public opinion regarding the removal and replacement of monuments, the danger of white supremacy, and even the justifiability of political violence. This toxic atmosphere made the repurposing of the Richmond monuments almost impossible. To do so risked political violence. The transition to a new, unified collective memory was incomplete; instead, there was a memory war consistent with Fraser's argument that the collision of competing collective memories, or the struggle for a subordinate memory to replace a dominant

[48] "Creating More Inclusive Public Spaces: Structural Racism, Confederate Memorials, and Building for the Future," Report, Public Religion Research Institute, June 2022, accessed September 21, 2023. https://www.prri.org/research/creating-more-inclusive-public-spaces-structural-racism-confederate-memorials-and-building-for-the-future/.

[49] Public opinion poll, Virginia Commonwealth University 2020, accessed September 20, 2023, https://ptn.infobase.com/articles/UG9sbFF1ZXN0aW9uOjc1MjczMg==?aid=106564.

[50] Public opinion poll, Elon University 2019, accessed September 20, 2023, https://ptn.infobase.com/articles/UG9sbFF1ZXN0aW9uOjczMDIxNw==?aid=106564.

one, creates conflicts over monuments and memorials to past events.[51] This dynamic extends to the afterlife of discredited monuments.

The Hungarian culture of memory had a similar trajectory to that of the Confederacy. Hungary and the Confederacy have their nationalist origins in the mid-nineteenth century and both encompass loss, the Confederacy in 1865 and Hungary in 1848. Nationalist and ethnic fervor arose amongst Serbians, Romanians, Slovenians, Poles, Moravians, and Hungarians in the revolutionary year of 1848. Hungarian politicians attempted to establish a nationalist Magyar dominated Hungarian state on March 15, 1848. This event was so important that it was later recalled in Hungary's 1956 and 1989 revolutions and is a touchstone of Hungarian collective memory.[52] Habsburg and Romanov armies ultimately struck down the revolution. The loss echoed down the centuries like the defeat of the Confederacy by the Union and formed the basis of Hungary's unified nationalist collective memory. The failed Hungarian revolution contained three ideas that survived well into the late twentieth century. The first was that it was a revolution of national independence, the second is that it was undertaken to achieve social reform, and the third was that it was undertaken to achieve liberal reforms such as freedom of the press.[53]

Hungary participated in the Great War as a belligerent. The map of Central Europe was radically altered in 1919 after the war and new states were created out of the whole cloth of Austria and Hungary. Czech and Slovaks gained independence, albeit in a new combined nation that took a large portion of Hungary with it. Romania also took a large chunk of Hungary as it expanded to the west.[54] Three million Hungarians ultimately lived outside the borders of Hungary as it lost two-thirds of its former territory by the end of 1920.[55] Hungary became a more homogenous Magyar nation after the loss of territory and many of its non-Magyar ethnicities.[56] Hungary also had a failed communist regime in 1920.[57] Communist leader Bela Kun, whose visage came to grace the streets of Budapest during the subsequent Soviet occupation and after 1989 on a wall in Memento Park, led the regime.[58] A Romanian invasion overturned and crushed Kun's regime in 133 days.[59] During the interwar years the Horthy regime persecuted communists due to the memory of the disastrous Kun regime and the Hungarian Communist party's links to the Soviet Union, which, as Russia, had participated in crushing Hungary's liberation in 1848.[60]

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[51] Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," 13-18.

[52] John Mason, "Hungary's Battle for Memory," *History Today*, March 2000, 29, https://www.historytoday.com/archive/feature/hungarys-battle-memory.

[53] Mason, "Hungary's Battle for Memory," 29-30.

[54] John Connelly, *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 354.

[55] Mason, "Hungary's Battle for Memory," 31.

[56] Mason, "Hungary's Battle for Memory," 31.

[57] Foote, Kenneth E., et al. "Hungary after 1989: Inscribing a New Past on Place." *Geographical Review*, vol. 90, no. 3, (2000): 307, https://doi.org/10.2307/3250856.

[58] Mason, "Hungary's Battle for Memory", 312.

[59] Anne Applebaum, *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe 1944-1956 (*New York: Doubleday, 2012), 40.

[60] Applebaum, *Iron Curtain,* 53.

Hungary's experiences in World War II would be even more traumatic. The country supported Nazi Germany in the hope of regaining some of its lost territory.[61] In early 1944, Germany occupied Hungary after a failed attempt by Regent Miklos Horthy to pull Hungary out of the Axis orbit.[62] In December 1944, Adolph Hitler ordered the German army to defend Budapest against the Soviet advance. This order led to the Soviet siege of the city. According to Krisztian Ungvary, the fighting "was equaled in ferocity only by those for Leningrad, Moscow and Warsaw."[63] The warfare led to Soviet excesses like those in other Eastern European countries. For example, the Soviets murdered prisoners of war, Budapest museums and banks were systematically looted, and Raul Wallenberg, who had saved many Budapest Jews from being murdered, was spirited away to a Moscow prison.[64] Most egregious was the Soviet Union's deportation in February 1945 of 100,000 Budapest civilians to Russia.[65] The support for Nazi Germany led directly to Hungary's second loss in thirty years in a world war with the direct result being the occupation of Hungary by Soviet troops in 1945 and to its status as a satellite state in the Warsaw Pact. In approximately one hundred fifty years, from 1848 to 1989, Hungary failed to gain independence, lost a significant amount of territory, and experienced two communist regimes.

It would take decades for Hungarians to free themselves from Soviet domination of their country. Imre Nagy sought to liberalize Hungarian communism in 1953 after the Soviets elevated him to prime minister.[66] He led a failed revolution against Soviet rule in 1956, which lasted from October 23 to November 4.[67] It was crushed by Soviet tanks and Nagy was executed in 1958 and buried in an unmarked grave. During the failed revolution the Hungarians destroyed the massive Stalin monument in City Park, leaving only his boots on the plinth.[68] This revolution was a major touchstone in Hungary's culture of memory, along with the Soviet treatment of Budapest in 1945 and the Bela Kun regime of 1920. In the post-1956 era, known as Goulash Communism, the Soviets liberalized the economy and increased the availability of consumer goods. The Soviets also allowed Hungarians to travel within the Eastern Bloc and more western-style consumer goods became available. Victor Sebestyn notes that Hungary became the "happiest barracks in the camp."[69] Hungarians were allowed to increase contact with foreign visitors and outside investment occurred, with Hungary being the first country in the Eastern bloc with a Hilton hotel. During Goulash Communism foreign trade increased and small capitalist-based farm plots, stores and markets sprang up.[70] The experience of Goulash Communism reinforced in Hungarian society the desire to become more like the West and further discredited Soviet rule. Hungarians came to

[61] John Connelly, *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 401.

[62] Krisztian Ungvary, *Battle for Budapest: 100 Days in World War II* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011), 315.

[63] Ungvary, *Battle of Budapest*, xv.

[64] Ungvary, *Battle of Budapest*, 282-283.

[65] Ungvary, *Battle of Bud*apest, 284.

[66] Applebaum, *Iron Curtain,* 438.

[67] Mason, "Hungary's Battle for Memory," 33.

[68] *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots: Visitor's Guide to Memento Park*, ed. Akos Rethly, translated Erika J. Fustos and Helen Kovacs (Budapest: Premier Press Limited, 2010), 54.

[69] Victor Sebestyen, *Revolution 1989: The Fall of the Soviet Empire* (New York: Pantheon: 2009), 144.

[70] Sebestyn, *Revolution 1989*, 145.

accept a peaceful and somewhat secure existence with a modicum of modern luxuries that did not widely exist in the other Eastern Bloc states. However, the existence of some western products while at the same time shortages of essentials like toilet paper existed convinced Hungarians that communism could not last. Author Slavena Drakulic notes in her memoir of life in the Eastern bloc that as early as 1985, as the economic failures of the regimes in Eastern Europe made toilet paper a precious resource, "people knew that communism was going to fail; they just thought it was going to take a hell of a long time."[71] Soviet rule became a hollow shell that collapsed under the weight of the system's contradictions and the ultimate withdrawal of Soviet troops by Gorbachev. The failure to provide the populace with basic economic necessities reinforced the idea that only the threat of Soviet violence propped up communist Hungary and delegitimized the regime.[72] A bloodless revolution occurred when the threat of Soviet tanks was withdrawn in 1989.

With the end of communism, Hungarian activists used the events of 1848 and 1956 to recover Hungarian memory from the Soviets. The pivotal event of 1989 occurred when Nagy was given a ceremonial reburial in Hero's Square. The burial resulted in the symbolic destruction of Soviet-style communism. The cultural significance of that re-burial, and other events surrounding it, cannot be overstated. Nagy was a hero who led the 1956 Revolution and whose memory "disappeared" in typical Soviet fashion into an unmarked grave. By resurrecting Nagy, the spirit of Hungarian freedom, nationalism and cultural memory replaced the Soviet version of memory. A memory war occurred in which the Soviet one was roundly trounced. National holidays were changed, with March 15, the day of the Nagy reburial, and October 23, the day of the 1956, replaced April 4, the date of the Soviet "liberation" of Hungary, and November 7, the date of the Bolshevik Revolution. Hungarians reclaimed the direct line of memory memorializing their struggle for liberal democratic values from 1848 through 1989.[73]

Holidays were not the only sites of memory altered in 1989. Soviet Hungary had a strong culture of building monuments that overlayed the prior Hungarian cultural memory with the Soviet version of history. For example, with much of Hungary in ruins after World War II, the Soviets made centralized decisions about which Hungarian monuments to keep, restore, remove, and replace. They removed monuments and memorials connected to the Hapsburg regime, and reconfigured others to express Soviet ideology. New monuments honoring Hungarian communists, workers, and heroes were added.[74] For example, a massive statue of the "Liberating Soviet Soldier" was added to Gellert Hill, which overlooked the city from the Buda side. The statue was placed directly below the massive statue of "The Genius of Liberty," which depicted a woman holding a palm branch.[75] The most dramatic was the statue of Stalin, which measured eight meters tall, placed on a massive plinth in the center of Budapest.[76] The communists erected in Budapest over forty-one

[71] Slavenka Drakulic, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (New York: Norton, 1991), 67.

[72] Nadkarni, *Remains of Socialism*, 9.

[73] Mason, "Hungary's Battle for Memory," 33.

[74] Kenneth E Foote, et al. "Hungary after 1989: Inscribing a New Past on Place." *Geographical Review, vol. 90*, no. 3, (2000): 308, https://doi.org/10.2307/3250856.

[75] Rethly, *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots*, 24.

[76] Rethly, *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots*, 54.

statues, monuments, plaques, and other memorials. The designer of Memento Park ultimately pulled from this cache when creating the park.[77] The Soviets created an alternate collective memory using monuments and memorials that submerged the previously dominant Hungarian memory.

The removal of Soviet monuments and memorials in 1989 demonstrates that Hungarians no longer feared communism and reveals how Hungary regained control of its cultural memory. Hungarian attitudes toward communism are the key to why Budapest differs from Richmond in the handling of its discredited communist memorials. Specifically, Hungary in 1989 had no conflict of memory. In contrast, there remained a conflict of memory and a fear of white supremacy violence in Richmond which inhibited the repurposing or reuse of the statutes of Monument Avenue. A recent speech by Marjorie Taylor Greene, a United States congressional representative, is indicative of this conflict. Green, on November 2, 2023, commented on the melting down of the bronze head of the Robert E. Lee memorial which once stood in Charlottesville, stating on the floor of the House of Representatives that "Communist Democrats have been hell bent on replacing our culture, our way of life and our history." Green went on to equate Robert E. Lee to the nation's founding fathers."[78] Greene won reelection in 2022 with 66 percent of the vote.[79]

Budapest was also able to repurpose its monuments for several reasons. The Hungarian culture of memory had been overlaid with the Soviet memory and when communism collapsed, so did the Soviet memory, and the Hungarian memory became dominant again. Hungarian attitudes toward communism, the strength of its subordinate culture of memory, and Goulash Communism played key roles in enabling how Budapest was able to repurpose it monuments in Memento Park. Hungarian attitudes toward communism are reflected in the political events of 1988-1989 as Communist politicians rushed to adopt a multi-party democracy. A review of news reports from the time demonstrates how the Communist politicians quickly moved away from single party rule. In March 1988 the Hungarian Communist Party Central Committee met with reform the top agenda item.[80] Two months later, on May 23, 1988, the party deposed Kanos Kadar, the Hungarian Communist Party leader for thirty-three years.[81] In February 1989, the Party had begun an effort to enter a coalition with its opponents and became the first Eastern Bloc country to adopt a multi-party system.[82] Kador demonstrated a break with the Soviet memory by stating that "1956 began as an uprising and we accept that students and workers

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77 Rethly, *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots*, 59.

78 Video recording of Marjorie Taylor Green in the House of Representatives, November 2, 2023, accessed November 3, 2023, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=75BafpzHusw.

79 Ballotpedia, accessed November 3, 2023, https://ballotpedia.org/Marjorie_Taylor_Greene.

80 Richard Bassett, "Reform pressures on Hungarian party," *The Times of London*, March 23, 1988, NewsBank: Access World News, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/0F90F68327FA5D33.

81 Richard Bassett, "Kadar ousted after 32 years - Upheaval in Hungary," *The Times of London*, May 23, 1988, NewsBank: Access World News. https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/apps/news/document-view? p=AWNB&docref=news/0F90F6DD9995D87.

82 Sallie Ecroyd, "Hungarian leaders agree to talks on power-sharing coalition," *The Times of London*, February25, 1989, NewsBank: Access World News. https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/0F910262A2A330CE.

took part with good intentions."[83] In mid-September 1989, the party leadership put forward a platform that discarded communism and stated that "state socialism has brought about crisis in Hungary."[84]

The Goulash Communism had highlighted the contradictions of communism to the Hungarian polity and led to a generation of Hungarians who were cynical and bitter about the economic system they lived within. Gallows humor was commonplace, as it always is in a populace that is capable of looking behind the façade and knowing the true nature of a political system.[85] Perhaps Alexander Solzhenitsyn best describes the mood of Hungarian citizens in late 1980s when he asked: "Why is it, that societies which have been benumbed for half a century by the lies they have been forced to swallow, find themselves a certain lucidity of heart and soul which enables them to see things in their true perspective and to perceive the real meaning of events?"[86]

Public opinion polls, conducted in 1991 by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press, confirmed that Hungarians believed that after 1989 the Soviet Union and communism posed no threat to them. For example, when asked what country posed the greatest threat to Hungary only 20 percent said the USSR. Rumania was first with 42 percent.[87] When asked what type of influence the USSR had on the way things are going in Hungary, 56 percent said mostly or very bad.[88] Hungarians, by 1989, clearly had little fear of the USSR and disdained its previous influence.

The Budapest authorities operated in a much different memory environment than the Richmond authorities which had to hide away the disposed Confederate monuments due to the conflict of memory present in the United States. No such conflict or concern over violence existed in Hungary. By the late 1980s, Hungarians had already applied new meaning to some Soviet memorials during the period of Soviet rule. For example, the statue of Ilya Afanasyevich Ostapenko, a 1945 Soviet liberator of Budapest, was located at a busy intersection used by people leaving and returning to Budapest. It came to be known as a symbol for arriving home because when it appeared ahead it meant one was almost home.[89] A culture which does not fear the symbols of the past can reconstitute and repurpose those symbols.

In 1991 the Budapest authorities commissioned artist Akos Eleod to create Memento Park. Eleod created a park that addressed the statues as both reminders

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[83] Richard Bassett, "Grosz gives way on 1956 and multi-party system - Hungary." *The Times of London*, February 13, 1989, NewsBank: Access World News. https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/0F910258C4C90523.

[84] George Fischer, "Failures look to the future – Hungary," *The Times of London*, sec. Features, 11 Sept. 1989, NewsBank: Access World News.

[85] Barbara Amiel, "For better or for worse?" *The Times of London*, March 10, 1989, NewsBank: Access World News, https://infoweb-newsbank, com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/apps/news/documentview?p=AWNB&docref=news/0F91026C61AFD622.

[86] "The party of Bela Kun - Leading Article", *The Times of London*, October 6, 1989. NewsBank: Access World News. https://infoweb-newsbank, com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/apps/news/document view?p=AWNB&docref=news/0F91035C65533DCF.

[87] Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press Poll 1991, accessed September 29, 2023. https://ptn.infobase.com/articles/UG9sbFF1ZXN0aW9uOjg0NDYy?aid=106564.

[88] Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press Poll 1991, accessed September 29, 2023, https://ptn.infobase.com/articles/UG9sbFF1ZXN0aW9uOjkxNzQ1?aid=106564.

[89] Rethly, *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots*, *51*.

of the past and as pieces of art. He avoided propagandizing them or turning them into anti-propaganda, which to him, would mean the continuation of a dictatorship mentality. He believed that only democracy has dignity, that only democracy can look back. He said, "this park is about dictatorship, but as soon as this can be talked about, described and built, the park is already about democracy."[90]

The entrance to Memento Park is a brick wall, behind which there is no building (Fig. 1). The wall represents the false front of communism. Instead of entering at the center, visitors access the park through a small door at the side. The Park itself is a series of three figure eights, which is the mathematical sign for infinity, and since figure eights lead nowhere, it is also symbolic of where communism led. Along the paths are forty-two Communist statues, memorial plaques, and monuments removed from the streets and squares of Budapest. A guidebook for visitors details the streets and squares where each item was once sited, along with the topic and meaning of each item. For example, the meaning of the Liberating Soviet Soldier is relayed, along with information about where it stood on Gellert Hill, presumably to protect Liberty. Cynical Hungarians scoffed at that interpretation, preferring to view the solider as keeping Liberty properly supervised.[91] Information about the Hungarian Soviet Friendship monument, consisting of a Hungarian worker shaking hands with a Soviet soldier, details where it stood and how the worker is clasping the soldier's hand with two hands while the soldier stands coolly back, using only one hand and expressing dominance over the worker. It is a message that could not be missed by Hungarians.[92] The monument to the Hungarian Socialist Republic of 1920 is a large bronze of man striding forward with a banner in his hand (Fig. 2). Hungarians mocked it as looking like a cloak room attendant chasing after a patron who had forgotten their scarf.[93] It is narratives like these that serve to demystify the monuments and place them in perspective for the visitor. Such an approach was impossible in Richmond, Virginia.

Figure 1. The façade of Memento Park (Szoborpark) in Budapest, Hungary. Photograph by David Keenan.

[90] Rethly, *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots*, 6.

[91] Rethly, *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots*, 24.

[92] Rethly, *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots*, 26.

[93] Rethly, *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots*, *47*.

Figure 2. Statue of the Cloakroom Attendant (Tanácsköztársasági emlékmű) in Memento Park, Budapest, Hungary. Photograph by David Keenan.

It is symbolic that the memory war over the Confederacy and the Civil War was centered in Richmond, which sits roughly halfway between Maine and Florida. United States Interstate Highway 95 runs along the Eastern seaboard from the Canadian border through New England, the Mid-Atlantic states, and into the American South, first through Richmond, Virginia, then through the Carolinas, Georgia, and into Florida. It is a vital transportation route of the United States. Like I-95, which transmits commerce and people, collective memories transmit the cultural values of a nation. However, no unified collective memory of the Confederacy existed in the United States; it derailed halfway down I-95 in Richmond which is evidenced by Richmond's inability to decide on the afterlife of its Monument Avenue memorials. Too many Southerners still supported the Lost Cause. Perhaps Charles Wilson's interpretation of Frank Lawrence Owsley's agrarian tract, *I'll Take My Stand,* in which Southern slave owners countered abolitionists with the argument that slavery was in the Bible, is instructive. Wilson states that "Southern whites are very literal-minded about the Bible, and the Constitution as well, because they are always searching for ways to read texts that support their racial views."[94] A society with a world view and collective memory of the South as a glorious experiment in liberty and righteousness, supported by its interpretation of biblical passages, was ill-prepared to accept a new collective memory of the South. In the face of this dynamic the Black History Museum and Cultural Center was reluctant to pursue an afterlife for the monuments it controls.

Monuments "face two ways in time" as they look both to the past and to the future.[95] In Soviet Hungary they looked to a past that Hungarians did not embrace as their own and looked to a future that did not seem possible as Soviet power seemed inevitable, at least for the near term. As Aaron Cohen notes, "The Communist Party

[94] Neiman, *Learning from The Germans*, 204.

[95] Nadkarni, *Remains of Socialism*, 23.

of the Soviet Union seemed to be solid as a rock when people believed in its power, but it dissipated like smoke the day it lost that public authority."[96] And so it occurred in Hungary in 1988-1989. The Magyar identity striving for territorial integrity and nationalism, the experiences of the 1956 Revolution, and Goulash Communism, primed Hungarians to reclaim their collective memory in 1989. In doing so they banished the past, which enabled Budapest to repurpose the Soviet memorials into both a treatise on the dangers of dictatorship and an ode to democracy.

The experiences of Budapest and Richmond are instructive. One operated without fear of communism and gave its Soviet monuments an afterlife. The other operated in an environment lacking a unified collective memory wherein the fear of violence prevented the creation of a Confederate monument afterlife. By comparing the underlying causes of the two disparate experiences it is evident that collective memory is fluid, and change impacts the disposition of monuments and memorials in varying ways. When a collective memory remains contested as it is in the United States, memorials and monuments become flashpoints of conflict. When a collective memory is relatively uncontested, the disposition of memorials and monuments that were symbols of the prior memory lose their volatility and instead may serve as reminders of the past and messages of hope for the future.

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[96] Aaron Cohen, *War Monuments, Public Patriotism, and Bereavement in Russia*, 1905-2012, (New York: Lexington Books, 2020), xxi.

Benign Occupation, Extraordinary Resistance: Israels Plads and the Rescue of Denmark's Jews

Douglas Andreasen

Abstract: During World War II, ordinary citizens from across Denmark came together to resist their German occupiers. Under the cover of darkness, thousands of Jews were spirited across the Øresund Strait into neutral Sweden. Over 95 percent of Denmark's Jewish population went on to survive the holocaust. This event is celebrated throughout Denmark as an act of extraordinary courage, and it is memorialized in numerous public spaces. The true events are complicated, however. Many scholars argue that Germany's treatment of Denmark was extraordinarily benign, and many also argue that German officials had no intention of persecuting Danish Jews at all. While the public understanding of these events paints them as inarguably and uncomplicatedly heroic, the public memorials to this event betray that same enthusiasm, revealing the complicated and benign nature of German occupation in Denmark.

Israels Plads is a public square in central Copenhagen, Denmark, which holds on its perimeter a large sandstone sculpture donated by the people of Israel to the people of Denmark in appreciation of their heroic actions during the holocaust. The site is complicated, in part because it lacks any genuine engagement with the historical background and because it is nearly impossible to fully comprehend unless the reader is bilingual in Hebrew and Danish. The historical events which inform the monument are complicated in a similar fashion. The site does not present the events which it is memorializing in any comprehensive or detailed way, this is reflective of the complicated history of the events in question.

Originally a large market square called Grønttorvet, the site was renamed to Israels Plads (Israels Square, in English) in 1968 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the rescue of Denmark's Jewish population from Nazi Germany's persecution. Under the cover of night ordinary Danish citizens secreted away 7,220 Jews, over 90 percent of the Jewish population in Denmark, across the Øresund Strait into Sweden in 1943.[1] The site itself is large yet unassuming. It serves as a community gathering space and on weekends it hosts a pop-up flea market. A monolithic unnamed sandstone sculpture, simple in its design, was placed at the edge of the square in 1975. The people Israel gifted this stone to Denmark, it reads in Hebrew, "This stone from the Holy Land was brought here as a present to the Danish people in the name of the friends of Denmark in Israel." The stone is now the most prominent visual feature of the square, and it is perhaps the only distinctive characteristic that would indicate to a passerby that the square commemorates anything at all.

The historical significance of the events represented by Israels Plads cannot be overstated. The rate of survival of the rescued Danish Jews during the Holocaust is unprecedented in world history, and few countries can lay claim to such success in their resistance. Some scholars attribute this success to Grundtvigianism, a form of Danish nationalism heavily influenced by Christianity which stressed "the

[1] Emmy Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency, The Rescue of The Danish Jews During World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 3.

importance of folk culture and spirit."[2] This unique form of nationalism, scholars argue, allowed the Danish people to conceptualize Jewish Danes as a social proxy for Danish independence. In other words, German persecution of Danish Jews allowed Danish people to act out a community focused folk nationalism. One scholar even argues that "the rescue of the Jews was a normal consequence of Danish civic virtue; the Jews were the accidental beneficiaries of a homogeneous, clear, and well-ordered society."[3] This markedly nationalist rhetoric, from a non-Danish person, intends to establish Denmark's national identity as the antithesis to Germany. Danes are humble, stoic, and humanitarian, where Germans were the opposite. More recent scholarship contradicts this view.

The collective memory of the rescue of Jews in Denmark is a simplified version of the real history of the events that occurred. The Jews living in Denmark, while highly integrated, were not completely free from Danish antisemitism. Although it existed in a far milder form, such as negative stereotypes and conspiracy theories. Though Jewish Danes were "not like any other Danes, and many were not Danes at all," no record of distinction between Danish Jews and noncitizen Jews who were rescued exists.[4] Memorialization efforts provide a less complicated picture of historical events. This trend is reflected by the fact that none of the monuments which memorialize the rescue of Denmark's Jews pay visible tribute to those Jews either died in Denmark or in Concentration camps. In practice, the survival of over 90 percent of Denmark's Jews has led to the near complete erasure of the relatively few Danish Jews who did not survive the Holocaust.

Assessing the effectiveness of the site is complicated. The memory of the rescue of the Jews in Denmark exists solidly in Denmark's collective consciousness as an uncomplicated and unified act of moral courage in the face of danger. Foremost author of the Holocaust and Danish Jewry, Leni Yahil, wrote in the 1983 edition of her book, *The Rescue of Danish Jewry: A Test of Democracy,* that no significant revision or change in historiography had been proposed in the twenty years after the Holocaust.[5] Mainstream scholars have since added additional context, and the only major change to the historiography has been a wider acceptance of the theory that German authorities had comprehensive knowledge of the rescue plan. Though Danish scholars seem to be the lone dissenting voice to this theory.[6]

Educational institutions characterize Germany's occupation of Denmark as "benign."[7] Israels Plads in Copenhagen is, likewise, benign. So benign, in fact, that upon walking to the community square one may not even realize that they have encountered a memorial. Dissecting the relationship that Denmark has with its

[2] Andrew Buckser, "Rescue and Cultural Context During the Holocaust: Grundtvigian Nationalism and the Rescue of the Danish Jews" *Shofar* 19, no. 2 (2001): 1.

[3] Arthur Cohen, "Observations on the Danish Rescue," in *The Rescue of the Danish Jews: Moral Courage Under Stress*, ed. Leo Goldberger (New York: New York University Press, 1987), 4.

[4] Buckser, "Rescue and Cultural Context," 10.

[5] Leni Yahil, *The Rescue of Danish Jewry, A Test of Democracy*, trans. Morris Gradel (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America), x.

[6] Jacob Bjerre, "Excluding the Jews: The Aryanization of Danish-German Trade and German Anti- Jewish Policy in Denmark 1937-1943," (PhD diss., Copenhagen Business School, 2018), 25.

[7] "German Occupation of Denmark," Denmark, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/denmark.

history through the lens of Israel's Square reveals important truths about the nature of memorialization in the wake of collective action to prevent tragedy. The rescue of Denmark's Jews is a story so fantastic that specific details are often quieted or amplified to craft a more cohesive, and compelling narrative.

Historical Background

At 4:00 in the morning on April 9, 1940, the German Army swept through Denmark, forcing King Christian X to sign an agreement ending any Danish resistance to German occupation.[8] Denmark had signed a nonaggression pact with Germany in 1939, and was the only Scandinavian country to do so. By the time the Danish people began to wake from their sleep, they found themselves already being assured by their German occupiers that "in accordance with the good spirit that has always prevailed in Danish-German relations, the Reich's government declares […] that Germany does not intend now or in the future to interfere with Denmark's territorial integrity or political independence."[9] Surprisingly, the German government kept their word. Occupation meant that Germany entirely subsumed the foreign affairs of Denmark, but Denmark's domestic policy was almost entirely untouched by Germany until August 1943.[10]

Nazi Germany's relaxed attitude toward Denmark was unique for the time, but publicly accessible information is inconsistent as to the degree of German interference. Other countries experiencing German occupation were either entirely subsumed into the Third Reich or faced a much more brutal occupation. The National Museum of Denmark, for example, presents the idea that,

The Danish government then began to cooperate with the German occupiers. The political leaders' strategy was to preserve as much self-determination as possible for Denmark whilst still accommodating the wishes of the Germans. In pursuing this course the large Danish political parties also sought to protect Danish society from harsh measures which might be introduced by the occupiers and from the Danish Nazis.[11]

This is the version of history presented to interested readers on the National Museum of Denmark website. The United States Holocaust Museum argues instead that "until 1943, the German occupation regime took a relatively benign approach to Denmark. The Germans were eager to cultivate good relations with a population they perceived as 'fellow Aryans.'"[12] Official Danish information on the topic of German occupation in Denmark refuses to engage with the idea that Germany might have offered more balanced terms of surrender to Denmark because of a perceived sense of racial kinship. Indeed, Danish information presents the uneasy peace as almost entirely of Denmark's making. Official sources from the United States and Denmark

[8] Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 8.

[9] Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency,* 9.

[10] "History," Denmark, European Holocaust Research Institute, last modified 2019. https://portal.ehri-project.eu/countries/dk.

[11] "Cooperation With Germany," German Occupation, National Museum of Denmark, https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/german-occupation-1940-1945/.

[12] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "German Occupation of Denmark."

agree on almost all other details surrounding Denmark's period of occupation, so it is worth pointing out this incongruency.

The uniquely peaceful character of Germany's military presence in Denmark led to rebellious behavior that was altogether Danish in nature. One day after the arrival of the German military, a seventeen-year-old schoolboy noticed that Danish people and German soldiers acted far too friendly to one another. Disturbed by this, he distributed instructions into the mailboxes of his neighbors, titled "Ten Commandments for the Danes," which instructed Danish people in the art of passive resistance. His Ten Commandments instructed that,

1. You must not take work in Germany or Norway.
2. You must do worthless work for the Germans.
3. You must work slowly for the Germans.
4. You must destroy important machines and gear.
5. You must destroy everything useful to the Germans.
6. You must delay all transports.
7. You must boycott German and Italian newspapers and films.
8. You must not trade with Nazis.
9. You must deal with traitors as they deserve.
10. You must defend everyone persecuted by the Germans.
    JOIN IN THE FIGHT FOR DENMARK'S FREEDOM.[13]

To the average Dane, to "fight" was to resist passively. King Christian X pleaded with his subjects to act as model citizens, such that calls for violence against the German occupiers was unthinkable, even to those with a mind for resistance. This seventeen-year-old rebel would sooner "deal with traitors [collaborating Danes] as they deserve," before considering how to deal with their violent occupiers. This attitude would go on to characterize the near entirety of the Danish People's resistance efforts before 1943, and during this time, Winston Churchill claimed (possibly apocryphally) that Denmark had become "Hitler's Canary."

The national mood began to shift in late 1943. Three years of occupation, and Germany's mounting losses in its wars, caused Danish resistance to grow in strength and audacity.[14] In the months before the executive order to deport Denmark's Jewish population, sabotage against the German occupying force began to increase markedly. While initial resistance efforts took the form of those encouraged in the "Ten Commandments for the Danes," fights began to break out between Danish youth and German soldiers in August 1943.[15] After further violence and the beginning of labor strikes, the German occupying force declared a state of emergency. Ending the free press, outlawing labor strikes, and instituting the death penalty for sabotage.[16]

Most notably, Germany would begin the process of deporting all Jews from Denmark, who until this point had enjoyed the full rights and freedoms afforded

[13] Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency,* 10-11.

[14] Samuel Abrahamsen, "The Rescue of Denmark's Jews," in *The Rescue of the Danish Jews: Moral Courage Under Stress*, ed. Leo Goldberger (New York: New York University Press, 1987), 4.

[15] "The Mood Changes," German Occupation, National Museum of Denmark, https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/german-occupation-1940-1945/.

[16] Abrahamsen, "The Rescue of Denmark's Jews," 4.

to all other Danes under German occupation. On September 8, Werner Best, the German Ambassador to Denmark (and former SS-*Einsatzgruppen* deputy officer), sent a telegram to German High Command requesting police reinforcements to aid in the deportation of Denmark's Jewish population.[17] He reasoned that the deportation would prevent Jews from causing further states of emergency, but he knew that this was not true.[18] His request was granted on September 18, and on September 28, George Duckwitz, a German diplomat in Denmark, leaked the plan to leaders of the Danish Social Democratic Party. The news spread across Denmark that the Jews were to be deported on the night of October 1.[19] Duckwitz would later be named Righteous Among the Nations for his actions.

The order to deport all Jews from Denmark further enflamed Danish attitudes toward occupation. Danes had been happy to live under Germany if it meant that no bloodshed and they did so for three years with little resistance. But, the order to deport all Jews from the country mobilized Danes across Denmark. Resistance members and civilians alike took Jews to various safehouses across Denmark.[20] Over the course of the next few weeks, Danish Jews made their sojourn across the Øresund Straight into Sweden. Sources disagree on exact numbers, but by April 1945, around only 480 Jews did not reach Sweden. Those who did not reach safety were sent to Theresienstadt Concentration Camp, where 90 percent of those interred would go on to survive.[21] Around fifty Danish Jews would die in the Holocaust.

Collective Memory in Conflict with History

The Rescue of the Jews from Denmark was an act of rebellion only in theory. This has complicated both the collective memory of Danish people and how the historiography is shared with the public. German authorities knew that Danish citizens planned and executed the rescue of their Jewish friends and neighbors.[22] Public information sources have difficulty communicating this reality to the public. Historians of Denmark's role in World War II tend not to linger on this fact, nor do they bring attention to the fact that Danes often extorted desperate Jews in exchange for safe passage. The rescue of Denmark's Jews also took place over the course of a few weeks, but popular imagery and modern retellings subtly characterize the event as a one-night rescue under the cover of darkness. When in reality, rescues were often conducted in broad daylight, in front of German soldiers who watched and allowed them to happen or were bribed to complicity.[23] Denmark was allowed autonomy because of perceived racial superiority, and Danes only openly rebelled (even then, in small numbers, with little violence) when martial law was enacted by the German military. These details complicate the otherwise romantic narrative that altruistic Danes, suffering under fascism, united to save the lives of their friends and neighbors for fear of certain death.

[17] Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency,* 29.

[18] Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency,* 30, 116.

[19] Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency,* 39.

[20] Abrahamsen, "The Rescue of Denmark's Jews," 5.

[21] Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency,* 3; "Historical Background," The Rescue of Denmark's Jews, Yad Vashem, https://www.yadvashem.org/righteous/stories/the-rescue-of-denmark-jews.html.

[22] Yad Vashem, "The Rescue of Denmark's Jews."

[23] Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency,* 65-78.

There is a disconnect between what is shown in publicly accessible materials and what is contained within the historiography. A person who is interested in the history of the Holocaust might decide to visit the website of the National Museum of Denmark to see what information they can find. They would find no information suggesting that the captains of boats who ferried Jews to Sweden charged 1,000 to 10,000 Danish Kroner per person, equivalent to $3,500 to $35,000 in 2024. The average monthly wage for a skilled worker was only 414 Danish Kroner, and ship captains continued to be paid for as long as the rescues took place.[24] Israels Plads and its memorial stone certainly make no mention of this. Interested members of the public would also find no information suggesting that German authorities knew about the rescue. The webpage from Yad Vashem, a non-Danish source, briefly acknowledges that German authorities were aware of the rescue. But, that claim is quickly buttressed by the following sentence "this however was not known to the Danes who chose to help the Jews and who acted under the belief that great danger was involved."[25] This corollary seeks to uphold the heroic character of the rescue.

Facing History and Ourselves, a global history education nonprofit, makes spurious and romantic claims that every German ship and soldier was bribed to facilitate the rescue of the Jews, implies that the fees charged by ship captains were reasonable, and claims that the rescues took place over one night. They argue that

> The Danes responded in the following weeks with a plan to keep Jews from being deported by hiding them until they could be evacuated to nearby Sweden, a neutral nation. It was a collective effort—organized and paid for by hundreds of private citizens, Jews and Christians alike. Fishermen, many of whom could not afford to lose even one day's pay, were paid to transport the Jews to Sweden. The money was also used for bribes. It was no accident that all German patrol ships in the area were docked for repairs on the night of the rescue.[26]

This excerpt encapsulates the romantic view that many public history institutions hold. Facing History has published materials that lead to a better story at the expense of historical fact. This article ignores the fact that ship captains charged extortionate prices (even preemptively coming to their defense, arguing that they cannot afford to lose a day's wages when their fees were many hundreds of times higher than a single days' wages) and argues the false idea that every German patrol ship was bribed for a one-night rescue. Indeed, most rescues occurred in the middle of the day, over the course of weeks, and the only known deaths during the operation were due to accidental drowning. Further, only *Ordnungspolizei* (over-age reservists) and Danish auxiliaries were sent to knock on the doors of Jewish families with orders to leave peacefully if there was no answer.[27]

This type of mischaracterization is a common feature of the existing historiography.

[24] "Money Was Crucial," The help to the Danish Jews – why did so many help, and what was the risk, Folkedrab, https://web.archive.org/web/20160330145900/http://www.folkedrab.dk/sw92233.asp.

[25] Yad Vashem, "The Rescue of Denmark's Jew's."

[26] "Denmark, A Nation Takes Action," Facing History and Ourselves, https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/denmark-nation-takes-action.

[27] Gunnar S. Paulsson, "The Bridge Over the Øresund: The Historiography of the Expulsion of the Jews from Nazi-Occupied Denmark" *Journal of Contemporary History* 30, no. 3 (1995): 434-435.

A writer whose grandparents were rescued from Denmark during this period wrote that "when it became apparent that the primary escape route was across the Oresund, all German patrol boats on the water were ordered into harbour. They remained there for three weeks […] The official explanation was that the boats needed a paint job. All of them - at the same time."[28] This claim is complicated by a first-hand witness, Knud Dyby, who recalls that active German patrol boats were a common sight in the harbors of Copenhagen.[29]

Scholars now believe that the attempted deportation of the Danish Jews by Nazi Germany was a charade.[30] This fact was known during the escape itself, and Swedish newspapers openly reported that "the transportation of the [Jewish] refugees is being carried out with German connivance."[31] This fact itself does nothing to change the nature heroic acts carried about by the Danish people, but it does change the story. The heroic acts stay the same, but the story is now missing. The story simply cannot be one of heroic and life-risking action because there was fundamentally no risk involved. The Danish people could not have been caught. What remains in the wake of this truth is a heroic act with no story. There is a hole where the story should be, and the memorials which stand today to commemorate these heroic acts can only serve to celebrate the idea of a heroic story. When one knows the truth, it is only the concept of heroism that is honored. Perhaps this is why Israels Plads is so vague as to what acts it is honoring.

The Memorial

Israels Plads is a large public square with basketball courts, a stage area, a playground, and a small skatepark. It is built over an underground parking garage, with a remodel beginning in 2008 which was completed in 2014.[32] Publicly available information does not seek to describe the history of the area at all, and the architecture firm who completed the remodel, COBE, only includes the following information with respect to its namesake and adjacent monument.

> With the transformation of Israels Plads, the idea is to celebrate the significance and the history of the square and to revitalize it, turning it into a vibrant, diverse plaza for leisure and sport used by all kinds of people. The surface of the plaza is elevated above the existing streets, like an urban carpet. It hovers over the many cars that once dominated Israels Plads, which are now placed underground. The cars are literally swept under the carpet![33]

It is unclear how passersby are expected to take part in celebrating the history of the square. COBE does not appear interested in engaging with the history of the square, only including three simple slides which describe the evolution of the

[28] Alexander Bodin Saphir, "The tip-off from a Nazi that saved my grandparents," *BBC*, October 20, 2018.

[29] Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency,* 65.

[30] Paulsson, "The Bridge Over the Øresund," 435.

[31] Yahil, *Rescue*, 268.

[32] "Israels Plads," Copenhagen's Urban Carpet, COBE, https://www.cobe.dk/projects/israels-plads.

[33] "Israels Plads," COBE.

square.[34] Admittedly, the modern square is quite beautiful.[35]

Figure 1. Aerial view of Isreal Plads, Copenhagen, Denmark. Image courtesy of COBE.

COBE provides no information on the evolution of the square from its evolution from a parking lot into "Israels Plads" as it is known today. Israels Plads gained its current name in 1968, after being changed from "Grønttorvet" (Green Square) in 1968 to celebrate the rescue of Denmark's Jews during the Holocaust.[36]

The stone monument was placed at the edge of Israels Plads in 1975.[37] The stone has no official name, and the names of its authors are not publicly available, it is only stated that it is a gift "to the Danish people from Denmark's friend, Israel."[38] A review on google claims that the memorial was sculpted by Danish artist Joseph Salamon. But, his online CV and the website for the Center for Jewish Art lists no such work credited to him.[39] This means that due to the complete lack of detail and background regarding the monument, the most available public information that a passerby will find is a google review that is unverifiable without further research.

[34] "Israels Plads," COBE.

[35] "Israels Plads," COBE.

[36] "Israels Plads – et åndehul" *Politiken,* October 12, 1968.

[37] "Jewish Copenhagen," Memorials, Jewish Copenhagen, https://jewish-copenhagen.dk/about-jewish-copenhagen/.

[38] "Gratitude Monument to the Danish people in Copenhagen, Denmark, 1975," The Center for Jewish Art. https://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=set&id=51061.

[39] "CV in English," Joseph Salamon, Sculptor. https://josephsalamon.dk/cv-in-english/.

Figure 2. Photograph by Doug Andreasen.

The sandstone monolith reads in Hebrew "this stone from the Holy Land was brought here as a present to the Danish people in the name of the friends of Denmark in Israel, 1975. And there was evening, and there was morning." The base of the monument contains the same text. The phrase "and there was evening, and there was morning" is a passage from Genesis 1:15, describing the creation of earth. There is no other text on the monument, and unless the reader is bilingual in Hebrew and Danish, they would not be able to read both pieces of text. The placement of the Hebrew text on the stone with the Danish text on the base does not obviously indicate that the two texts are the same. Attention is immediately brought to the Hebrew text, situated at eye level, which the average Dane (or foreign tourist) cannot read.

The stone is not contained within the borders of Israels Plads proper. It exists in a walking area just outside the square, and the geography of the park does not intuitively funnel passersby to the monument. In fact, the only reason any person would know that the square and the stone are related is if they already know the name of the square and noticed the dark-colored Danish inscription at the base of the monument. At that point, the monument demands that the reader know enough Danish history to understand why Israel would publicly thank Denmark, because the heroic actions by Danes during the Holocaust are not enumerated on the monument in any way.

The story of how the stone came to reside in central Copenhagen is an interesting one. Joseph Salamon, the man credited with possibly having created the memorial, has an open inbox for public inquiries. I reached out to Salamon and requested some background information, and I received much more than I could have hoped for.

"The story of the memorial is strange indeed," Salamon writes.[40] A group of Israeli citizens, likely in the early 1970s, wrote a letter to the mayor of Copenhagen that they wished to establish a monument in the center of the city as a token of gratitude for the rescue of the Danish Jews. There were plans to have an Israeli artist, known only by the surname "Rudinger," work on the monument. The city of Copenhagen agreed to allow the project to go forward. Sometime later, a ship came and delivered a large stone with no text on it, only a piece of paper of the text that was intended to be inscribed on the stone. According to Salamon, "that was that. They [the Israelis] did not want to pay for the risening [sic], the foundation, nor the inscription for the inscription in Hebrew and Danish […] what a gift of gratitude."[41] Those who gifted the stone to Denmark wished to have no part in the actual establishment or construction of it.

Salamon continues, saying that the official architect of Copenhagen came to him to "rescue the idea."[42] Salamon designed the lettering in both Hebrew and Danish, meaning that the slightly confusing layout of the Danish and Hebrew text is explained by the fact that the design was left up to a single person, Salamon. A stonemason created the foundation for the monument, and Salamon inscribed the text into that, too. Salamon concludes his story, claiming that "the town of Copenhagen paid for everything. That was the end of the Israeli gratitude."[43]

Salamon does not appear pleased with the contributions of the Israeli people in establishing this monument. Salamon immigrated to Israel in 1947 at fifteen years old would later move to Denmark in 1959, where he has stayed his entire life. He has listed forty-four monumental works on his website and has created countless other small sculptures and prints. He recently completed another monument in 2023, which also celebrates the rescue of Denmark's Jews.

Salamon's characterization of the Israelis who sent the stone to Copenhagen is illustrative of a larger trend. The cultural understanding of the rescue of Denmark's Jews is noncommittal. Celebrating these events requires little engagement with history, simply because it was such an uncontroversial act of goodwill in the face of barbarity. The Israelis who sent the stone wished to pay lip service to the idea of the event but had no intention to pay for the establishment of the monument, and Salamon claims that the shipment of the stone to Copenhagen was the end of Israeli involvement. Israel sent no official delegation to attend the completion of the monument, and it was left entirely up to Denmark to complete the work.

Assessing the Effectiveness of Israels Plads

Monuments are sites of conscience, and the goal of any monument is to engage the viewer in both the history and contemporary implications of the event in question.[44] Israels Plads and its unnamed monument likewise beseech the viewer to reflect on a version of history. Ereshnee Naidu argues that memorialization in the wake of

[40] Joseph Salamon, email message to author, December 10, 2024.

[41] Joseph Salamon, email message to author, December 10, 2024.

[42] Joseph Salamon, email message to author, December 10, 2024.

[43] Joseph Salamon, email message to author, December 10, 2024.

[44] Ereshnee Naidu, *From Memory to Action: A Toolkit for Memorialization in Post-Conflict Societies*, 7.

conflict can serve many different goals. Israels Plads serves to recognize victims and heroes, promote national identity, heal, and further the opinion that such a tragedy cannot and will not occur again.[45]

Recognizing victims and heroes, healing, and the attitude of "never again," are intuitive and understandable goals, but Denmark's national identity as a paragon of virtue is promoted here as much by the people Israel as it is by the people of Denmark. Leni Yahil, wrote in the 1960s (before the stone was given to Denmark), that "Danish individualism proved itself to be firmly rooted in the responsibility of the individual to all his fellows." And because of that, "they went forth to deeds unparalleled in the history of the Holocaust."[46] To many, including the general public, the messages are that the inherent national superiority of Denmark caused its citizens to aid their fellow neighbor, when no other country could do the same. Those who encounter the monument and have some vague idea of what it is celebrating will, after their short interaction with the site, continue walking, secure in the knowledge that Denmark's national greatness saved thousands. Through this monument, non-Danish people perpetuate a form of Danish Nationalism.

There is a question of whether this monument is the result of a grassroots effort by the Danish people. Impunity Watch argues that local consultation and local ownership of memorials is critical for genuine reflection.[47] One thing certain: the Danes did not dream up this idea of the memorial. The stone was a gift from "friends of Denmark in Israel," but it is entirely unclear if this was an effort by descendants of Danish Jews, the Israeli State, or a coalition of Israeli people broadly. In Israel, there is a public square called Denya Square (Denmark's Square), which features an abstract sculpture of a fishing boat (of the kind used to ferry Danish Jews to safety), and a sign in Hebrew, Arabic, and English which describes the events of the rescue and the founding of the square. There is a plaque detailing the foundation of the square, which involved a visit to Israel by then Prime Minister of Denmark, Viggo Kampmann. There, Kampmann met with David Ben-Gurion at an official ceremony. This effort has a better claim to being a grassroots effort, and the stronger international cooperation between Israel and Denmark on the project indicates a more genuine sense of reflection, cooperation, and acknowledgment of historical events.

There is a confusing atmosphere at Israels Plads, and it is unclear how attendees should act and behave at the site. Clint Smith describes what happens to memorials when the public forgets their significance, recalling a scene at the Holocaust memorial in Berlin:

> Three small children played hide-and-seek among the columns, shrieking in delight when they discovered one another. The memorial had become a part of the city's landscape; different people engaged with wondered, as I toured the monument, how much of the motivation to create a memorial to the Holocaust reflected a desire for Germany to—internally—reckon with its

[45] Naidu, *From Memory to Action*, 12.

[46] Yahil, *Rescue*, 222, 393.

[47] "Policy Brief: Guiding Principles of Memorialization," *Impunity Watch, Perspectives Series,* January 2013, 7.

> heinous state-sanctioned crimes, and how much of it stemmed from a hope that putting memorials up would demonstrate to the rest of the world that Germany had accounted for its past? Put more directly, were monuments like this one for Germans to collectively remember what had been done? Were they a performance of contrition for the rest of the world? Were they both?[48]

What I saw in downtown Copenhagen was much the same. A flee market was set up just a few feet away from the stone memorial, which can bevisible in the earlier photo. It appears easy for a person to climb atop the stone, and it is immediately adjacent to a playground. What if a child or adult climbs atop the stone? Clint Smith is skeptical of the memorial in Berlin because of its tragic history juxtaposed with benign city architecture, but what happened in Denmark was a miracle in the face of tragedy, and the stone is easy to miss. Should passersby hang their heads in silent contemplation for the heroic deeds done that day since they cannot reflect on the evils committed by their ancestors? Does the success of Denmark change how the memorial should be treated? If memorials for the dead necessitate respect and decorum, do memorials for the living necessitate something else? Israels Plads and its memorial stone are not memorializing those who died (though many in Denmark did die, and they are forgotten in this narrative), they are still memorializing the attempted murder of over seven thousand people who managed to live. How should a site like this be treated? We have some idea of how to behave when memorializing tragedy, but how should we act when memorializing a tragedy that was interrupted without also erasing the experience of the few who were killed?

Neither the memorial stone nor Israels Plads bring attention to the Jewish lives lost despite Danish rescue efforts. Statistics are thrown around, and it is common in the historiography to claim that 90 percent of Danish Jews were brought to safety.[49] Rarely mentioned are the 10 percent of Jews who did not survive. Understood in this way, the Holocaust is conceived by many to be a force of nature rather than a process carried out by humans. The claim that "ninety percent of Danish Jews survived," can be inverted to "ten percent of Danish Jews were killed." The stone at Israels Plads thanks the Danish people for their efforts in saving so many, but nearly all memorials of this kind, Danish or Israeli, omit the stories of those Danish Jews who did not survive.

Conclusion

Israels Plads does not encourage viewers to reckon with the true history of the events which it memorializes. Michel-Rolph Trouillot argues that the third and fourth moments of fact creation occur at "the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance).[50] The narrative of the rescue of the Jews from Denmark has already been made, and its retrospective significance is currently being considered.

[48] Clint Smith, "Monuments to the Unthinkable," *The Atlantic*, November 14, 2022.

[49] Paulsson, "The Bridge Over the Øresund," 435. Interestingly, statistics regarding the survival rates of Danish Jews have been revised over time. Sources from before the 1990s estimate upwards of 95 percent, later sources reduce that figure to 90 percent.

[50] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 26.

Denmark's perceived Aryan quality endeared Germany to them, and this was a critical factor in the success of the country during occupation. Germany treated Denmark lightly because, when given the opportunity to resist, they did not. There is a conflict under the surface here. Should other countries have followed the lead of Denmark? Memorials leave this question unanswered. Should every country have cooperated with their German occupiers? What about non-Aryan countries? What if Denmark had resisted to the last man? In that case, there may well have been no Jews left to save, and no Danes left to save them. If this is true, then what happened in Denmark was not the result of any actionable philosophy. If Denmark received positive treatment because Germany perceived them to be a fellow Aryan race, and simply happened to be wrong, then Germany was the only country that had any agency in this conflict, and seven thousand people survived certain death because their would-be killers never got around to it.

Further, many historians in the years after World War II felt that the moral fiber of Danish people was informed by their superior culture and history, and that is why they did what no other country dared to do. Germany, on the other hand felt that Denmark's superior culture was informed by their blood, culture, and history. These are both arguments for nationalism, but one is simply manifested in humanitarian action, and the other in racial violence. This is not a satisfying story, and it is understandable that Denmark and the Jewish diaspora have no interest in telling it.

Instead, the story will be as follows. One day, during Germany's occupation of Denmark, an order came through to the occupying government to begin the Final Solution within Denmark's borders. German official George F. Duckwitz, later named Righteous Among the Nations, leaks this information to Danish politicians. Thousands and thousands of Danes come together to protect their Jewish friends, neighbors, and families from Nazi death squads. Denmark's Jewish population will be safely spirited across the treacherous Øresund in the dead of night. Ninety-five percent of the Jews in Denmark will go on to survive the Holocaust, and citizens of Israel will send a sandstone monolith to be placed in central Copenhagen to offer an uncomplicated commemoration of those events. It will read,

This stone
From the Holy Land
Was brought here as a present
To the Danish people
In the name of the friends
Of Denmark
In Israel
1975

And there was evening
And there was morning.

And it will be a better story.

Biography: Douglas Andreasen is a graduate student in history at California State University, Sacramento. His research interests include cultural, diplomatic, and women's history. A recipient of the Dean's Award for outstanding academic and extracurricular contributions, Douglas graduated with a bachelor's degree in history summa cum laude from California State University, Sacramento. He is a recipient of the 2022 Indonesian Critical Language Scholarship and is a 2023 Charles B. Rangel International Affairs fellow. His previous paper "Making the Homemaker: Contradictions in Public Discourse on Women's Work" was published in the 2024 edition of Clio.

Confederate Echoes in Education: A Case Study

Alyssa Garcia

Abstract: This article examines Mildred Lewis Rutherford's promotion of Lost Cause ideology through her works *A Measuring Rod to Test Textbooks* and *Truths of History*. Garcia explores how Rutherford's writings influenced Georgia-approved textbooks, like *Getting Acquainted with Georgia* by Jennie Akers Bloodworth and *The Georgia Story* by James C. Bonner, in the early 20th century, reinforcing racial hierarchies and romanticizing Southern history. The article highlights how these textbooks misrepresented Black and Indigenous history, dehumanized enslaved people, marginalized Native Americans, and sidelined women. Through these archival resources from the University of Georgia's Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Garcia uncovers the enduring legacy of these textbooks in shaping collective memory and educational suppression. The article connects this historical analysis to contemporary debates on historical memory, censorship, and intellectual freedom, stressing the need to challenge harmful, outdated narratives and advocate for intellectual freedom in education.

The memory of the Confederacy did not falter at the end of the Civil War. Instead, it reverberated in and out of the institutions meant to educate the next generation. In Georgia, this revival followed a particularly pervasive pattern through the systematic revision of textbooks, a process beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing well into the twentieth. These revisions did not just update textbooks, they deliberately reshaped the narrative with Southern orthodoxy and Lost Cause mythology. Such guidelines for Southern school content could be found in Mildred Lewis Rutherford's *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries,* published in 1920.[1] Closely analyzing textbook content reveals how post-Civil war revisions to history, codified into textbooks by influential political leaders like Mildred Lewis Rutherford, Historian General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) 1911 to 1916, supported a romanticized perception of the South. Rutherford promoted an aristocratic vision of the Old South that included "themes of plantation grace, patrician dignity, and Negro humility, she skillfully drew her audiences into a longing for her idealized past."[2] Georgia's educational authorities employed textbook revisions to reinforce Confederate memory and ideology, perpetuating a narrative of white supremacy that persisted over time.

The influence of Rutherford served as a decisive factor in molding the national educational curricula. Not limited to advocacy for her beliefs, Rutherford methodically ingrained Confederate standards into educational materials using various political

[1] Greg Huffman, "Twisted Sources: How Confederate Propaganda Ended Up in the South's Schoolbooks," Facing South, April 10, 2019, accessed August 10, 2024, https://www.facingsouth.org/2019/04/twisted-sources-how-confederate-propaganda-ended-souths-schoolbooks.

[2] Fred Arthur Bailey, "The Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause': Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 515–516, 518, https://csucsus.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01CALS_USL/11ehi0m/cdi_proquest_journals_1305268921.

avenues and social connections. Supported by the UDC, Rutherford forged a historical narrative that celebrated the Confederacy while censoring diverse groups' histories across the South. This effort took control of the historical narrative taught in Southern schools, passing down the Lost Cause orthodoxy to future generations while shaping regional and national memory of the Civil War and its aftermath. As historian Fred Arthur Bailey asserts, "Rutherford promoted a cult image that would be echoed throughout southern states in both textbooks and popular culture."[3] These revisions twisted the historical narratives presented in educational materials and helped shape Southern collective memory of the past, propagating a skewed view that masked real-life racial dynamics and contributed to a biased historical consciousness that supported Jim Crow ideology and policies.[4]

This paper compares archival research centering on two primary source textbooks housed in the University of Georgia's Special Collections and the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library. These two state-approved history textbooks, which were used in Georgia middle schools, are Jennie Akers Bloodworth's *Getting Acquainted with Georgia* (1926) and James C. Bonner's *The Georgia Story* (1958).[5] The inclusion of *The Georgia Story* as an example of a textbook used for both women's colleges and middle schools developed as an unexpected yet valuable aspect of the study and its findings. An analysis of these documents uncovers the extent of Mildred Lewis Rutherford's influence in propagating censored educational content that circulated through various institutional channels.

Bloodworth published *Getting Acquainted with Georgia* in 1926, when Rutherford's influence was at its peak. Widely used in Georgia schools until 1950, this textbook significantly affected the historical understanding of entire generations. Its content related to the Civil War and Reconstruction mirrors UDC objectives by emphasizing Southern heroism, states' rights, and a sanitized depiction of plantation life.[6] Bloodworth's work acts not only as a reflection of prevailing attitudes but as a vehicle for perpetuating these ideologies, presenting a version of history that valorized the South's resistance while minimizing or excluding the realistic experience of Confederate history. Bloodworth's narrative exposes the influence of these ideals on the educational landscape of the early 20th century, demonstrating that historical narratives deliberately reinforced Confederate ideological principles. The textbook's extensive use, evidenced by its inclusion in Georgia's 1950 library list for elementary schools as a history book rather than fiction, reflects a deliberate effort to promote

[3] Bailey, "The Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause,'" 518.

[4] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Harvard University Press, 2001), 278.

[5] William Alexander Percy, "Georgia History Textbooks," New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified August 21, 2013. These textbooks, randomly selected to preserve objectivity, cover the period from Rutherford's activism to just before the Civil Rights Movement. They were chosen based on their inclusion in the New Georgia Encyclopedia's list of approved textbooks, availability within the repositories used for this thesis, and alignment with the relevant timeframe. This selection process safeguards an impartial analysis of how educational materials perpetuated Confederate ideology, avoiding preconceived biases about specific authors or texts.

[6] Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *A Measuring Rod to Test Textbooks, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries*, ([n.p.]: 1920).

a Lost Cause vision of Southern identity and historical memory.[7] This approach reinforced the cultural and political values of the time while forming students' understanding of their sociopolitical landscape and its history.

Bonner's *The Georgia Story*, published in 1958, also underplays the significant social and political changes in the intervening decades. Its use as a textbook at The Women's College of Georgia in Milledgeville underscores how these lessons specifically targeted women.[8] This focus is particularly significant considering that the concept of Republican Motherhood as defined by Historian Karen L. Cox viewed women as custodians of the nation's moral values and tasked them with passing these values to their children. Like Republican Motherhood, ex-Confederate mothers preserved their traditional ideals and rigidly imparted them to their descendants.[9] By educating "the coming mothers of the great majority of the Anglo-Saxon race in the South" with a narrative that romanticized the Old South and suppressed the Black experience, *The Georgia Story* reinforced the idea that the convictions of the Lost Cause should be preserved, revered, and handed down to future generations.[10]

Published at the start of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM), Bonner's textbook adds another layer to this analysis. By illustrating that the Confederate narrative remained entrenched in Georgia's educational system, even amid the shifting societal dynamics of the CRM, its continued presence in schools during a period of increasing social upheaval and civil rights activism emphasizes the tenacity of these ideologies and the South's resistance to change.[11] The timing of the book's publication suggests an intentional bid to fortify a Lost Cause mythos and preserve a fabricated version of history. This persistence shows an effort to protect "traditional" Lost Cause values and resist the push for Black civil rights and racial equality, evidence of the South's opposition to social change.

These textbooks reveal Rutherford's ideological influence and how it permeated and continued to shape educational content for years to come. Examining how Rutherford's and the UDC's values were integrated into textbooks demonstrate that these romanticized Southern versions of history suppressed large swaths of the Black experience in ex-Confederate history. The content of these books from different decades highlights how the Lost Cause narrative was introduced, perpetuated, and evolved in Georgia's schools, revealing which themes gained prominence or faced censorship over time. Breaking down these themes displays the societal forces at work and the persistent elite's hold on the historical narrative and collective memory through education.

Examining the textbooks written by Jennie Akers Bloodworth and James C. Bonner provides additional insights into how individual figures directed and reinforced the historical narratives presented to students, exhibiting their personal views and societal

[7] Georgia Department of Education, "Georgia Library List for Elementary and High Schools, 1950," 1950, accessed September 20, 2024, 33, https://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/do:dlg_ggpd_y-ga-be300-pi5-bs1-bl55-b1950-bsuppl-p.

[8] James C. Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, (Oklahoma City, Okla.: Harlow, 1958), 3.19.

[9] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 3.19.

[10] Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2019), 85.

[11] Bailey, "The Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause,'" 508.

pressures to conform to the Lost Cause ideology. Bailey details these subjective "truths of history" in his article "The Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause': Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories," which includes "romanticizing plantation culture, designating slavery as essential for the black race, commiserating with defeated but unconquered Confederate soldiers, condemning northern-sponsored Reconstruction, and hailing those who redeemed the South from Carpetbagger rule."[12] Bailey's description of the Lost Cause directly describes the content found in Bloodworth's and Bonner's textbooks. This connection illustrates how both authors' works embody broader censorship and revisionist strategies. These strategies shed light on the complex relationship between individual agency and systemic influence that created and disseminated censored educational materials.

Textbook Authors: Background and Significance

Georgia's Digital Library has limited information about Jennie Akers Bloodworth's background and early life. However, the "Georgia 1733–Bicentennial–1933 Handbook for Teachers," published in 1932 by the State Department of Education under M.D. Collins, State Superintendent of Schools, notes that Bloodworth served as principal of Crew St. School and was a member of the committee that edited the handbook.[13] Rutherford's presence in the handbook, alongside her influential works such as *Golden Isles of Georgia* and *The South in History and Literature*, underscores the alignment between her principles and those of Bloodworth.[14] Hailing from Atlanta, Georgia, Bloodworth recognized a growing need to create a history book to engage and educate her students. Reviewers widely praised her work, *Getting Acquainted with Georgia*, as a "delightful story which holds the child's attention from beginning to end," while giving a "clear idea of Georgia's resources and possibilities."[15] Bloodworth's depictions clearly reflect Rutherford's principles and influence. Her ability to translate her educational expertise into *Getting Acquainted with Georgia* made the book an engaging resource, as well as situated it as a poignant propaganda tool. Her keen understanding of what captivated young minds allowed her to subtly influence the historical narrative presented to them.

Bloodworth intentionally designed the book to appeal to young students, directing their attention and retention of information. This approach reflected the educational trends of her time, where romanticizing Southern history was common, especially in textbooks for younger audiences. Bloodworth effectively masked the more complex and troubling aspects of Georgia's history by sugar-coating the facts with a compelling story, making the narrative more agreeable to young readers. The very qualities that made her narrative so attractive also reinforced a carefully curated view of history, encouraging the Lost Cause ideology in classroom settings. By doing so, she shrewdly inserted biased opinions within educational materials throughout the state. Though *Getting Acquainted with Georgia* may have appeared charming and engaging on the surface, it significantly contributed to perpetuating a censored version of Georgia's

[12] Bailey, *Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause'*, 520.

[13] Georgia Department of Education, "Georgia, 1733–Bicentennial–1933. Handbook for teachers ... [Published by State Department of Education, M. D. Collins, State Superintendent of Schools," 1932, accessed September 5, 2024.

[14] Georgia Department of Education, "Georgia, 1733–Bicentennial–1933," 107.

[15] Georgia Department of Education, "Georgia, 1733–Bicentennial–1933," 107.81.

past.

In contrast, more is known about James Bonner. Bonner became a historian at a time when much of Southern historical scholarship reinforced the Lost Cause mythology, which shaped his perspective. Bonner began his career as Principal-Coach at Carrollton's West Georgia A & M School, joined West Georgia College as an Assistant Professor of Social Science, and later became Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Georgia State College for Women, where he served until his retirement in 1969. As a professional on Georgia and Southern agriculture, Bonner authored several books and over thirty articles in journals like *The American Historical Review*. His work appeared in *Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia of Southern History*, and *Dictionary of American History*. He also chaired the University System of Georgia Committee on Graduate Work and Faculty Research, consulted on projects like reconstructing an 1850s cotton plantation at Florewood River Plantation Park in Mississippi, and earned awards such as the Georgia Author-of-the-Year in Non-Fiction for his contributions to Southern historical scholarship.[16]

To understand Bonner's work on *The Georgia Story*, one must consider the broader context of Southern historical scholarship. This scholarship often merged regional pride with the complexities of the South's ex-Confederate past. As a prominent historian and educator, Bonner's writings reflected his time's academic and cultural environment as much as Bloodworth's. As with all historians, his work often reveals how the widespread social attitudes of his day influenced his historical depictions and interpretations. However, Bonner documented and interpreted Georgia's past during a period when regional biases heavily influenced historical narratives, making his contributions valuable while also highlighting the challenges historians faced in presenting a balanced view of Southern history.[17] Understanding this context remains crucial for grasping how Bloodworth's and Bonner's viewpoints surfaced in student educational materials, influenced public understanding of Georgia's history, and affected the sociopolitical relationships within that framework.

Textbook Content Analysis: *Getting Acquainted with Georgia*

In the introduction to *Getting Acquainted with Georgia*, W.F. Melton, former Head of the Department of English at Emory University, praised Bloodworth for her ability to temper historical facts with storytelling. The book blends real facts with fiction, portraying the lifestyle and pride in Georgia's minerals and materials through fictional characters. The story follows the Blount family, focusing on their daughter, Mary, as the main character. By weaving a fictional narrative and creating characters to guide readers, she softens complex realities for young audiences, using fictional elements to introduce real historical figures and events. Melton remarked that "Mrs. Bloodworth has sugar-coated her facts with a story" in a way that benefits her young readers, much like a doctor masking unpleasant medicine with sweetness.[18] Yet, beneath this seemingly pleasant narrative, Bloodworth's work depicts the complex and often troubling attitudes of the time, particularly toward women, the enslaved,

[16] James C. Bonner papers. Special Collections, Ina Dillard Russell Library, Georgia College.

[17] C. Vann Woodard, "The Irony of Southern History," *The Journal of Southern History* 19, no. 1 (1953): 14–15.

[18] Jennie Akers Bloodworth, *Getting Acquainted with Georgia* (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Publishing, 1926), iv.

Native Americans, and the Southern way of life. Through this carefully crafted veneer that romanticizes plantation life and social interactions, Bloodworth subtly instills patrician values and suppresses the harmful effects of racism and racist policies for its young audience.[19]

Bloodworth's portrayal of women, like her character Mary, presents them as vital to nurturing patriotism and civic duty but confines them to secondary roles. Mary, coming of age in the story, symbolizes the ideals of Cox's Confederate Motherhood as she declares her intentions: "I'm going to teach you Georgia, peaceably if I can—but…That isn't all. You are going to learn Georgia!" Mary's fervor appears violent, as she threatens to "wring the boys' necks" if they do not learn Georgia's history.[20] While emphasizing the importance of state pride and civic duty, Mary also exhibits the aggression that Southerners often associated with the North.

However, despite Mary's prominent role in educating the boys, the narrative also marginalizes the mother figure. An illustration on page 188 of Bloodworth's manuscript shows Mr. Blount, Mary's father, seated comfortably at the center of a family setting. At the same time, Mrs. Blount, Mary's mother, stands behind him, attending to his needs. This depiction highlights the gender dynamics of the time, visually and symbolically diminishing women's contributions and confining them to a supportive but subordinate role. Even though Mary plays a principal role in teaching the boys, the patriarchal family structure limits her authority, corresponding to the broader interpretation of racial hierarchies in Bloodworth's work.

THE END OF A PERFECT DAY

Figure 1. Image from Getting Acquainted with Georgia by Jennie Akers Bloodworth.

[19] Bailey, "Textbooks of the Lost Cause," 523.

[20] Bloodworth, *Getting Acquainted with Georgia,* 13, 19.

Bloodworth steeped her treatment of the enslaved in caricature and racist stereotypes common in early 20th-century literature. She portrayed characters like Tom and Dinah in exaggerated, dehumanizing terms, reinforcing the notion that the enslaved were simple, happy figures content with their servitude. For instance, the narrative describes a "big good-natured negro man" who enters the room to pick up the boys' belongings while speaking in a caricatured dialect: "Yassir, hyar I is. I done aim to be hyar fo' dis, but I gits a puncher on de road, an' jes' couldn' mek it no how poss'ble." The boys find his speech amusing and foreign, expressing that it "sounds funny," reinforcing the perception of the enslaved as undignified, othered, and inferior.[21] The narrative also attempts to soften the harshness of human bondage by presenting Tom and Dinah as content with their status, depicting them as happy to receive goodwill gifts from their enslavers as a form of repayment.[22] This depiction minimizes the violent experiences endured by the enslaved, reinforcing stereotypes that excuse their oppression.

Similarly, Bloodworth interprets Native Americans as savage and unintelligent, casting them as obstacles to progress. The only notable exception is Chief Tomo-Chi-Chi, whom she praises for his friendship with Oglethorpe. Pickles, one of the boys in the story, dismisses Tomo-Chi-Chi as an "old bird rigged-up in war-paint and feathers," reducing him to a caricature. Mary protests, calling him a powerful chief, but her defense artificially counters the entrenched stereotypes.[23] Mr. Blount affirms these beliefs by stating, "The Indians were too primitive a people to understand the causes of the war […]. These sons of the forests only knew that a war was being made on the 'Great White Father' who had honored their chief Tomo-Chi-Chi." This scene reinforces the colonialist idea that Native Americans embody Rudyard Kipling's racist notion of the White Man's Burden. It suggests that they need the guidance of Europeans, which, in effect, diminishes the agency and contributions of their people and culture. A biased rendering like this supports the broader narrative of white supremacy, legitimizing the racial hierarchies that Bloodworth's text clearly endorses for children.

Bloodworth's work parallels the influence of Mildred Lewis Rutherford and others like her, who were ardent supporters of the Lost Cause ideology. Rutherford actively promoted a distorted version of Southern history that elevated the Confederacy and suppressed the dark truths of slavery and Indigenous displacement. Bloodworth's textbook mirrors this perspective by framing Georgia's role in the Civil War as an honorable defense of "states' rights" and justifying the state's actions in the face of Northern aggression. Mary instills an intense pride in Georgia, teaching Pickles and Jack that Georgia's courage and independence set it apart as a critical leader in the Southern cause. By emphasizing the state's resilience during the Civil War, Bloodworth encourages children to view Georgia's history as exceptional and virtuous while censoring the war's connections to Black oppression and secession. This language not only reinforces a sense of pride but also solidifies the ideologies of Southern exceptionalism that persist in the region's cultural memory.[24]

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[21] Bloodworth, *Getting Acquainted with Georgia,* 2–3.

[22] Bloodworth, *Getting Acquainted with Georgia,* 236–237.

[23] Bloodworth, *Getting Acquainted with Georgia*, 193–194.

[24] Amy Laurel Fluker, "Confederate Exceptionalism: Civil War Myth and Memory in the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Southern History* 86, no. 3 (2020): 763–64. https://csu-csus.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01CALS_USL/11ehi0m/cdi_gale_infotracmisc_A63467963.

Bloodworth's textbook advances the Lost Cause agenda and reinforces the racial and social hierarchies established during the Confederacy in the minds of students. Melton's early reference to Bloodworth "sugar-coating" the facts acts as a metaphor for the way her storytelling disguises the underlying truths of racism, exclusion, and oppression. Bloodworth's *Getting Acquainted with Georgia* contributed to the systemic indoctrination of children, skewing their understanding of history in ways that preserve and reinforce white supremacy and colonialist authority. Bloodworth's romanticization of Georgia's historical past fosters a sense of Southern superiority and, ultimately, demonstrates how historical narratives perpetuate socially damaging ideologies across generations.

Textbook Content Analysis: *The Georgia Story*

Bonner's *The Georgia Story* appeared on the Georgia Library Lists for schools shortly after it was published. Bonner's work followed Bloodworth's lead in the Southern tradition and similarly boasted extensive use and influence throughout the state.[25] In keeping with Bloodworth's and Rutherford's convictions, Bonner's work reveals a narrative where the contributions of white men dominate Georgia's history while sidelining the experiences and roles of marginalized groups. This theme is particularly evident in Georgia's political and social life from 1830 to 1860. Bonner addresses Indigenous history and structures their civilization as a central aspect of Georgia's expansion, specifically mentioning that "at the time of Oglethorpe's landing the Indians had already begun to wear a few items of European clothing" and that "the Cherokees in particular were fast becoming civilized."[26] He discusses significant figures like Sequoyah, who developed the Cherokee syllabary, as well as Native leaders like Alexander McGillivray and William McIntosh.

Bonner frequently employs derogatory language, referring to these individuals of biracial descent as "half-breeds" and labeling the "full-blooded" as being of Indian "stock."[27] This choice of language displays extensive societal prejudices that devalued Indigenous humanity and reinforced the perceived hierarchies of racial bloodlines. Simultaneously, Bonner paints Alexander McGillivray in a positive light, emphasizing his success as a businessman, statesman, and enslaver. As these social roles are typically associated with European Americans, Bonner implies that he attributes his status as "one of the most shrewd Indian statesmen in the history of the United States" to his ability to adapt to white societal norms.[28] Similarly, William McIntosh, noted for his role in pushing tribal land borders from Oconee to Chattahoochee, Georgia, maintained a reputation as "always friendly to the Americans."[29]

Later in the textbook, McGillivray cedes almost all remaining tribal lands in a treaty, a treasonous move to his Native brethren that ultimately costs him his life. Newly inaugurated President John Quincy Adams considered the treaty unjust and, using "a form of persuasion which was only a little less unfair than that employed at

[25] Georgia Department of Education, Division of Instructional Materials and Library Services, "Georgia Textbook List 1961 for Elementary and High Schools [1961]," published in 1961, accessed August 26, 2024, https://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/do:dlg_ggpd_y-ga-be300-pa2-bs1-bt4-b1961.

[26] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 26.

[27] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 15, 48.

[28] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 18, 55.

[29] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 18, 55.

Indian Springs in the previous year, he obtained the coveted cession."[30] Here, Bonner indicates a moral equivalence in the dealings between whites and Indigenous peoples, as he hints that the supposed dubious negotiations of Indigenous leaders justified similar tactics by whites. He describes the surveyor's chain dividing the ceded lands for a land lottery, recording that "Indians had come to regard [the surveyor's chain] as a final act confirming the white man's possession of their tribal lands."[31] His narrative centers on Indigenous people only when they ally with white expansionist goals, assimilate into white civilization or pose a threat, thereby centering white authority.

In Chapters 16 to 20 of *The Georgia Story*, Bonner demonstrates the dichotomy of prejudice that white Georgians held against Black individuals throughout the periods of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Although he sometimes comes across as progressive, especially when acknowledging that "After 1831, Georgians began actively defending slavery instead of apologizing for it," he weakens this stance by adding, "This was a natural reaction to the attacks of the abolitionists."[32] This additional comment seems to justify or rationalize the abuses of human bondage rather than condemning them, aligning the narrative with those of Rutherford and her ex-Confederate collaborators. Bonner presents the fear of losing social control as a natural response rather than a moral failing, which reinforces the same justification and suppresses the moral consequences of defending enslavement. He further supports this narrative by highlighting that, by 1860, Georgia had more plantations over 1,000 acres than any other Southern state, second only to Virginia.[33] This fact emphasizes how deeply Georgia's social and economic framework rooted itself in the plantation economy and its reliance on the commodification of people, showing that white Georgians oppressed an entire people to maintain the white elite status quo.[34]

In discussing the role of the Ku Klux Klan, Bonner outlines their violent actions as an unfortunate but necessary response to the challenges posed by newly freed Black individuals, calling it "similar to the old patrol system of plantation days."[35] He examines the post-war struggles faced by African Americans, stressing how white Georgians maintained economic and social dominance through sharecropping systems and discriminatory laws, backed by oppressive black codes that prohibited education and imposed severe social restrictions on Black individuals.[36] However, Bonner suggests that whites who practiced equality with Black people often faced worse treatment by the KKK and the community than Blacks themselves, a claim that diminishes the unique and tragic torment of Black Americans during Reconstruction.[37] This juxtaposition of white suffering with the terror inflicted by the KKK diminishes the specific injustices faced by African Americans during this period, suggesting that people of color were part of an interracial culture of suffering rather than the primary target.

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[30] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 205–206.
[31] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 205-206.
[32] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 267.
[33] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 261.
[34] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 261.
[35] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 263.
[36] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 263.
[37] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 363.

Bonner's treatment of Georgia's economy during the antebellum period highlights his overarching focus on white male dominance. While he interprets the Central Bank of Georgia as a battleground for political factions, he fails to connect economic policies to the lived experiences of enslaved people who sustained the agricultural economy.[38] Instead, he focuses on the struggles of white Georgians during the economic depression of the late 1830s, revealing the prevailing societal belief of the Old South that the welfare of the white population took precedence over the rights and needs of enslaved and freed Black individuals. This perspective comes through in the claim that "the negro aspect of slave was always far more important to [white Georgians] than the slave aspect of the negro," which features the dehumanizing viewpoint that promoted the commodification of Black bodies for capital.[39]

In this context, Bonner emphasizes the abolitionist movement's influence in Georgia by illustrating that fears of social chaos prompted resistance to emancipation. He notes that white Georgians opposed emancipation primarily due to their concerns about a "land of free negroes," prioritizing social consequences over economic ones. His examination of the post-war environment shows how freed Black individuals faced uncertainty as the Freedmen's Bureau sought to assist them amidst widespread poverty and claims of "lawlessness." This situation features the immediate challenges faced by everyone following emancipation, as Black people transitioned directly from slavery to a new class of "colored paupers," often living in shanty towns with undignified names like "Darktown."[40] This description paints freed Black individuals as uncivilized and instills a sense of fear surrounding their post-emancipation experiences.

Bonner focuses much of his narrative on how white Georgians sought to maintain their social and economic order, even as the nation confronted civil rights and equality. By enforcing discriminatory practices, such as a "voting fee" at the ballot box and supporting the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, white people defended their perceived supremacy as essential to preserving Georgia's social control.[41] He softens how white men unjustly treated nonwhite communities by referring to their actions as "irregular procedures." Bonner captures this mindset, stating, "with native whites again in control of the machinery of registration and balloting, Negro votes might be rendered impotent by somewhat irregular procedures."[42] This statement reveals how Southern whites viewed themselves as the rightful "natives" of the land, despite acquiring it through unjust treaties that undermined Indigenous claims. They perceived their dominance as necessary to protect their political power while perpetuating a system that unfairly favored white individuals at the expense of Black and Indigenous communities.

Bonner originally wrote *The Georgia Story* for women at the Women's College in Milledgeville and revised it for middle school use in the 1961 second edition. Despite his attempt to simplify the language, many derogatory phrases targeting people of color remained unchanged in both editions, echoing the wider Southern agenda to

[38] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 210.

[39] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 261.

[40] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 261.

[41] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 343.

[42] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 343.

teach women and children the dogmatic principles of the Confederacy. Although the 1961 revision intended to be child-friendly, it neglected to eliminate pejorative language, such as the terms "half-breed" and "Indian stock," displaying Southern resistance to confronting racial prejudices and demonstrating his commitment to instilling negative views about race and gender in children. Like Bloodworth, Bonner echoes the concept of "Confederate Motherhood," situating women as the moral foundation of society while relegating them to secondary roles. His limited focus on women, particularly regarding suffrage in the chapter "Tom Watson and the Democrats," highlights their superficial inclusion: the terms "woman" or "women" appear fewer than 50 times throughout the entire 500-page book. This lack of substantial engagement with women's issues reinforces earlier Republican and later Confederate Motherhood ideals, which transferred moral values from mother to child while neglecting the broader context of women's rights and racial justice.

The text exhibits Southern exceptionalism, racial prejudice, and rigid gender roles. These themes manifest with Bonner's claim:

> the white slave-owners did not come out of the war with ill feeling toward the Negro, for the law which freed the Negro also freed the master of his former obligations to him. Nor did the freed Negro harbor resentment against his former master, for he knew he could expect from him kindness and sympathy.[43]

This quote presents an unrealistic view of Lost Cause race relations, rewriting the Black experience and painting white enslavers as benevolent figures instead of acknowledging their role as purveyors of trauma. Building on Bloodworth's narrative, Bonner's dense text follows a similar current through the waves of history. Although his work is more academic in tone, it continues to propagate harmful stereotypes and perpetuate entrenched ideologies of Southern exceptionalism and gender inequality. Ultimately, Bonner's narrative underscores the lasting impact of these perspectives on contemporary views of race and gender in American memory, pointing to the necessity of embracing a broader and more nuanced understanding of our historical narratives.

Conclusion

Bloodworth's *Getting Acquainted with Georgia* and Bonner's *The Georgia Story* uncover how the Confederate mythos and Southern exceptionalism distorted historical narratives through school textbooks. These books shaped perceptions of race and gender and sidelined the contributions of people of color by depicting enslaved individuals with caricature language and minimized roles. By romanticizing the Confederacy and censoring slavery's brutality, they created sanitized accounts that reinforced racial ignorance and systemic inequalities.

In an article by Jennifer C. Mueller, "Racial Ideology or Racial Ignorance? An Alternative Theory of Racial Cognition," she establishes the Theory of Racial Ignorance, which considers racial ignorance in interpreting how racism is perpetuated. Mueller describes how "racial ignorance works as a core process to reproduce white domination"

[43] Bonner, *The Georgia Story*, 363–364.

through "explicit and tacit practices of knowing and non-knowing."[44] As analyzed by Mueller, the explicit avoidance of slavery's brutality and the romanticizing of the Confederacy represent "explicit practices of non-knowing," while the perpetuation of racial stereotypes and the erasure of Black contributions reflect "tacit practices of knowing." These distorted narratives not only misrepresented historical realities but also contributed to the preservation of racial hierarchies, demonstrating the far-reaching impact of such ideologies on collective memory.

Mildred Lewis Rutherford's central role in entrenching Lost Cause ideology into American education further exemplifies this influence. In 1920, Rutherford founded the Rutherford Committee, uniting the UDC, United Confederate Veterans, and Sons of Confederate Veterans to enforce the adoption of textbooks in Southern schools that reflected a pro-Southern narrative.[45] Her direct involvement allowed her to control content taught to Southern youth and influenced textbooks nationwide through her vast network of social and political connections, codifying the Lost Cause in educational materials, children's organizations, and the family sphere. As a leading committee member, she authored *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries*, establishing strict criteria for evaluating educational materials based on their adherence to the Lost Cause perspective. Rutherford's 1920 publication, *Truths of History*, further reinforced the guidelines set by *A Measuring Rod*.[46] Acting as a "true and effective censor," she and her committee censored the use of textbooks that did not conform to the Confederate narrative.[47]

Through these publications, Rutherford outlined the acceptable portrayal of Southern history and set the tone for how Southern children perceived their heritage. Her influence sparked resistance to any deviation from her prescribed narrative, ensuring that the Lost Cause remained a dominant force in Southern education. Schools for women during this era, like the Lucy Cobb Institute and the Women's College of Georgia in Milledgeville, reinforced this narrative by teaching women to integrate it into daily life and familial values, effectively passing it on to their children. Rutherford's committee influence within the UDC shaped Southern textbook content, regulating their adoption and dissemination. Her impact molded American youth's collective memory for generations. This two state-approved history textbooks discussed above reflect her directives. Bloodworth's *Getting Acquainted with Georgia*, published at the height of her influence, emphasizes Southern heroism and states' rights while glossing over slavery and human commodification. Similarly, Bonner's *The Georgia Story*, used in the late 1950s, perpetuates the Lost Cause narrative amid the Civil Rights Movement.

The works of Bloodworth and Bonner reflect Rutherford's lasting influence on Southern education and her effort to control historical narratives. These authors

[44] Jennifer C. Mueller, "Racial Ideology or Racial Ignorance? An Alternative Theory of Racial Cognition," *Sociological Theory* 38, no. 2 (June 2020), 145–146, https://www-jstor-org.proxy.lib.csus.edu/stable/pdf/26953575.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3Ae16cf7e3e4810b22ab03c67faa5343a6&ab_segments=&initiator=&acceptTC=1.

[45] "Mildred Lewis Rutherford," American Battlefield Trust, [n.d.], accessed August 12, 2024, https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/mildred-lewis-rutherford.

[46] "Mildred Lewis Rutherford," American Battlefield Trust.

[47] Henry Reichman, *Censorship and Selection: Issues and Answers for Schools* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1988), 3.

exemplify Rutherford's drive to integrate the Lost Cause myth into school curricula which reinforced a racial ignorance still seen today. Southern political organizers like Rutherford and the pro-Southern authors she endorsed promoted the Confederacy while censoring nonwhite experiences, entrenching racial ignorance in education. These distorted accounts misrepresented history, preserved racial bias, and skewed students' understanding of America's past. The continued influence of Lost Cause narratives in today's educational materials underscores the need to reassess how history is taught in schools. This is crucial for correcting entrenched historical inaccuracies, restoring agency to sidelined figures, and better understanding today's sociopolitical landscape.

Biography: Alyssa M. Garcia is a graduate of California State University, Sacramento, with a Master of Arts in Public History. Her research focuses on U.S. history, educational policy, and the representation of marginalized groups. Her thesis, *Lessons Set in Stone: Mildred Lewis Rutherford, Collective Memory, and Lost Cause Education*, examines Rutherford's promotion of Lost Cause ideology through *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books* and *Truths of History*. Garcia also contributed to the *Virna M. Canson: Sacramento's Mother of Civil Rights* documentary, researching Canson's efforts in combating housing discrimination. Her work advocates for intellectual freedom and the reclamation of suppressed histories.

The Narcotic Farm: A Critical Analysis of the Federal Attempt to Cure the Opium Problem

Keeley O'Farrell

Abstract: The Narcotic Farm was a federal government-sponsored treatment facility that accepted both prisoner and civilian addicts established in the 1930s and closed in the 1970s. The goal of the Narcotic Farm was to discover the source of addiction and to eradicate it, but as decades went on the government found the goal unattainable while the center needed to shift priorities. The Narcotic Farm was home to the Addiction Research Center (ARC), where studies were run and new discoveries were made, but the initial goal of addiction eradication was never achieved. However, the human experiments within the ARC at the Narcotic Farm led to modern addiction treatment practices that changed the lives of millions. We come to the end of the Narcotic Farm and wonder if the benefits outweighed the harm in this odd attempt at healing a wound America has been struggling with to this day.

"I shot dope from the time I was fifteen to twenty-five. The feeling was just instant love," recalled John Stallone in the documentary *The Narcotic Farm*.[1] This statement by John Stallone encapsulates the history of addiction and attempts to remediate it in the twentieth century.

In the early twentieth century, the United States did not regulate opium use, and addiction ran rampant throughout the country, becoming a quiet epidemic. In response to this increase, the federal government created the Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914, which imposed strict regulations on the importation and criminalized the medicinal and nonmedical use of opium-based drugs. The fear of prosecution caused doctors to cease prescribing opioids, which bolstered the black market. Consequently, individuals convicted of drug offenses inundated prison systems. The Public Health Service worked in tandem with the Federal Bureau of Prisons to create the Narcotic Farm in 1935, with the goal of understanding and curing the opium problem while relieving the prisons of "morally bankrupt addicts." Located on one thousand acres of picturesque land in Lexington, Kentucky, the Narcotic Farm housed both private citizens and felons addicted to opioids, allowing them to finish their sentences and provide the staff with data. This odd combination of prison, treatment center, and laboratory attempted to cure addiction in a compassionate atmosphere, incorporating the popular treatment of the day, moral therapy, which included participating in activities, learning trades, and sharing in group discussions to help an addict build a productive life outside of the institution. The mandated laboratory of the Narcotic Farm, later called the Addiction Research Center (ARC), was solely devoted to scientifically understanding addiction and finding a cure for the opium problem. Prisoners-turned-patients were given large quantities of opioids, allowing researchers

[1] *The Narcotic Farm*, directed by J.P. Olson and Luke Walden (2008; Lexington, Ky: King Love Film, 2008) Documentary.

to run tests measuring psychological and physiological symptoms during withdrawal. The ARC at the Narcotic Farm conducted pharmaceutical experiments on patients which grew to be considered unethical amidst medical and prison reforms. However, these experiments formed the foundation that modern understandings of addiction and treatment are built upon.

Drug Addicts are Docile

Even though narcotic use was rampant in the United States in the late nineteenth century, with an estimated 300,000 addicts, Americans in the Victorian era considered the use of alcohol worse, an attitude that led to prohibition. One reason society focused on alcohol was the propensity for drinkers to become obnoxious and violent and to make scandalous choices in public. Drinking was a visible vice, leaving a trail of abused wives and children and a deepening lack of morality. But opioid addiction was mainly hidden behind closed doors, and in some cases, even family was not aware. The way individuals using opium or opium-based drugs were treated depended on ethnicity, race, or gender. For example, law enforcement focused its efforts on Chinese and lower-class white criminals, yet "addicts were more often found among upper-and middle-class women…using morphine to relieve the symptoms of various illnesses."[2] Opioid users were much more tranquil, which made it "easier for an addict to remain inconspicuous than a drunkard."[3] As time evolved, so did the views on opioid addicts; instead of being viewed as pitiful, their actions were associated with a forbidden indulgence that led to immoral actions and faults. By the late nineteenth century, some medical specialists began to appreciate the problem of opioid addiction. Still, it would take another twenty-five years to agree on restricting these various medicines. By that time, there was an older generation of users dying off, leaving a younger generation to experiment with opioids in non-medical settings and situations. The combination of this new generation's addiction with the public perception that these people could hurt themselves or others with their drug use led to a desire to take action.

Road to Criminalization

In response, the Federal Government created the Harrison Narcotic Act in 1914, which taxed the importation of opium with the "incidental purpose of minimizing the spread of addiction to the use of poisonous and demoralizing drugs."[4] The act was a tax created in response to the United States' desire to play a leading role in the fight against opium and not appear hypocritical in light of the Hague Opium Conference of 1911, which dealt with trafficking and regulations. Returning from the international session with lax regulations at home would have been embarrassing. Though advocates knew it would take time, they worked to get the country to act. At first, the Harrison Narcotic Act required narcotics distributors to register with the government, pay a small tax, and prescribe opioids in good faith. The 1914 version said nothing about addicts legally being prescribed opioids as an indefinite

[2] David T. Courtwright, "A Century of American Narcotic Policy," in *Treating Drug Problems: Volume 2*, eds. Dean R. Gerstein and Henrick J. Harwood (Institute of Medicine, 1992), 3.

[3] Courtwright, "Century of American Narcotic Policy," 3.

[4] "Decisions of United States Supreme Court Construing Harrison Narcotic Act," *Public Health Reports* 37, no. 32 (1922): 1950.

maintenance measure. The Treasury Department took a criminal stance and tried several times to bring charges against doctors who prescribed opioids to known addicts, but the Supreme Court admonished the department. By 1919, the Supreme Court's views had changed, and it ruled in favor of the anti-maintenance position in *Webb et al. v. United States*.

In *Webb*, Dr. Webb and a pharmacist, Mr. Goldbaum, were arrested for negligent practices, namely overprescribing opioids to known addicts for a price in Memphis, Tennessee. Prosecutors charged Webb and Goldbaum with knowingly dispensing opioids "to the habitual users […] without any physician's prescription issued in the course of a good faith attempt to cure the morphine habit."[5] Records kept by the government showed Mr. Goldbaum bought thirty times as much morphine as an average pharmacist and filled over 4,000 prescriptions written by Dr. Webb, who charged fifty cents for each.[6] The Treasury Department used the Webb case as a blueprint for the criminalization of prescribing to addicts. The opinions of society had hardened since the Act was passed, and the desire for harsher penalties became more common. Some extremists even proposed "firing squads as a permanent solution for the drug problem, on the theory that only abstinent addict was a dead one."[7] Doctors previously prescribing large amounts of opioids were suddenly finding themselves in the crosshairs of the law or behind bars. Doctors watching their colleagues face prosecuting were afraid to prescribe opioids. Ultimately, however, constricting the prescription of opioids while expanding the black market increased illicit drug use and prison populations.

Some cities decided to create public maintenance programs that dispensed narcotics to addicts in place of private clinics to curtail the shift to the black market. Though all thirty-five "narcotic clinics" sold mainly morphine and sometimes heroin or cocaine to registered users, their operation was not uniform. Some focused on indefinite maintenance, and others on detoxification by gradually reducing the dose so withdrawal was not as painful. While some genuinely tried to help, diversion, or patients selling their dose to others, was a common hindrance. The one thing these clinics did have in common was closure within a year of opening, as the Treasury Department saw them as dangerous obstacles to the hard-fought amendment of the Harrison Narcotic Act. The clinics were forced to close using a combination of threats, inspections, and legal pressure by the government. The last clinic to close was in Shreveport, Louisiana, on February 10, 1923, and it was as "appropriate a date as any to mark the beginning of the 'classic' police era of narcotic control."[8]

Three Government Agencies That Led to The Farm

During the 1920s, the US Government began to address the problem of narcotics in society. To do this, there was no push for understanding addiction, just the push to establish punishment for those who had succumbed to the moral failings of opioids. However, there were questions of whether addiction was truly a moral failing, a disease, or a criminal act. Three governmental entities, the Public Health Service

[5] Webb v. United States, 249 U.S. 370, 98 (6th Cir. 1919).

[6] Webb v. U.S., 249 U.S. 370, 98.

[7] Courtwright, "Century of American Narcotic Policy," 3.

[8] Courtwright, "Century of American Narcotic Policy," 11.

(PHS), the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP), and what would eventually be known as the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN), would come together through legislation and calls from society to figure out the addiction problem and find a solution.

The Public Health Service started as the Marine Hospital Service, which was created in 1798 when President John Adams signed the Act for the Relief of the Sick and Disabled Seamen. This act allowed for the creation of marine hospitals near significant seaports. Not only did they provide medical care for seamen and immigrants, but they also worked on disease prevention. For this purpose, the National Hygienic Laboratory was established in 1887 in the Marine Hospital on Staten Island, where medical professionals experimented on patients for the greater good. By 1902, Congress broadened the responsibility of this organization, and officers were allowed to study human diseases. By 1912, the Marine Hospital Service was renamed the United States Public Health Service (USPHS), a change that gave the director or surgeon general more authority. By the 1920s, state and federal agencies had shifted their focus from disease prevention to the overall health of people and society, moving the National Hygienic Laboratory to Washington, D.C., which became the National Institute of Health (NIH) in 1930.

Before 1930, three federal prisons (Leavenworth, Atlanta, and McNeil Island) were authorized under the Three Prison Act of 1891 and existed under the United States Penitentiary (UPS) umbrella. By 1930, eleven federal prisons operated autonomously. The Federal BOP was established in May of that year to combat overcrowding and lack of productive programs for the incarcerated.[9] The Department of Justice's took charge of the "management and regulation of all Federal penal and correctional institutions."[10]

The Treasury Department enforced not only the widely publicized prohibition of alcohol but also the less glamorous prohibition of narcotics. When the Eighteenth Amendment took effect, the agency was forced to establish the "Prohibition Unit" concerning alcohol. Many of the agents were World War I veterans and criminals, and some admitted to not being able to read or write. While serving as a prohibition agent for alcohol came with virtually no professional requirements, recruits for the Narcotic Division had to be "graduates of an accredited college of medicine or pharmacy with at least a year of professional experience."[11]

Additionally, the Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act, also known as the Jones-Miller Act, passed in 1922 by Congress, was a significant aid to enforcement. It created the Federal Narcotics Control Board (FNCB), comprised of the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and Commerce.[12] It allowed the prohibition of opium for anything other than medical purposes. The act was designed to stop the importation of narcotics, made it harder for addicts to get drugs. In 1924, an amendment to the act made it illegal to manufacture heroin in the United States, requiring more qualified

[9] Federal Bureau of Prisons, "A Storied Past," accessed November 14, 2024, http://www.bop.gov/about/history.

[10] "A Storied Past," accessed November 14, 2024, http://www.bop.gov/about/history.

[11] Drug Enforcement Administration, "The Early Years," https://www.dea.gov/documents/dea-history-early-years.

[12] Drug Enforcement Administration:, "The Early Years," https://www.dea.gov/documents/dea-history-early-years.

law enforcement intervention.

It was eventually determined that multiple government agencies with the same objective were redundant. This led Representative Steven G. Porter, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs Chairman, advocate for the consolidation of drug agencies. On July 14, 1935, three days after Porter's death, the Federal Narcotics Control Board and the Bureau of Prohibition Narcotics Division combined to create the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN). To focus on the international drug stream into the United States and the trafficking of opium over state lines, the FBN needed the state's cooperation to control the narcotic flow at home. In 1932, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws listened to medical and pharmaceutical professionals who proposed the Uniform State Narcotic Law. This allowed for uniformity when dealing with narcotics and addicts from state to state. According to leading drug policy and Narcotic Farm expert Dr. Nancy Campbell of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, "these entities [PHS, BOP, and FBN] sort of merge to make the Narcotic Farm because what they all realize is that [they have] a bunch of people whose crime is simply committed in the course of their trying to maintain an opioid habit."

Building the Farm

> With the federal government opening its two first farms for the cure of narcotic victims, historic progress is recorded in the humanitarian treatment of a serious problem […] the dawning of a new era of social progress in which drug addicts would be rehabilitated and drug addiction eradicated.
> —*Atlanta Georgian*, 1935

The opening of the United States Narcotic Farm in Lexington, Kentucky, on May 29, 1935, was met with great fanfare nationwide. The Narcotic Farm was located on 1,000 acres of pristine farmland. A second Narcotic Farm, opening in 1938 in Fort Worth, Texas, met with similar enthusiasm. The Treasury Department was in control of building these institutions and appointed superintendents and physicians to maintain their operations. It was up to the Public Health Service, and particularly the Assistant Surgeon General, Dr. Lawrence Kolb, to create an institution that would rehabilitate criminal addicts and public citizens struggling with opioid use. Through methods of moral and psychological therapy, the Farm's administrators hoped they could treat addiction to opium-derived drugs. Hopes were high for recovery, long-term abstinence, and even eradication of the disease of addiction, but by the 1970s, the relapse rate was over 90 percent.

The efforts of Walter Treadway, the Surgeon General of the PHS, and James V. Bennet, a prison reformist whose work led to the establishment of the BOP, were integral to the creation of the Narcotic Farm. By the end of the 1920s, wishing to build a prison for addicted criminals, they took their fight to Congress. With the help of Pennsylvania Representative Stephen G. Porter, who created the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, they drafted a bill that would allocate funds for such an institution. Congress passed the Narcotic Farm Act on January 19, 1929, authorizing the establishment of "two institutions for the confinement and treatment of persons

addicted to […] habit-forming narcotic drugs who have committed offenses against the United States."[13] It also stated that private citizens could voluntarily enter treatment with a note from their doctor. Congress designated the PHS as the Federal agency to oversee the Narcotic Farms, creating a new administrative division in the Office of the Surgeon General called the Narcotic Division.

Coming as it did during the Great Depression, many states saw the Narcotic Farm as a job opportunity in a time of crisis, and they applied for a federal contract to build the prison/treatment center. The Treasury Department and the senior administrators of the PHS decided on the locations. The first and primary Narcotic Farm was to open in Lexington, Kentucky, which was chosen for its workable farmland and discreet nature, hidden away from the populace. The fact that this institution was both a prison and treatment center influenced the structure's architecture. The enormous building, with its imposing barred windows and towering walls, powerfully signaled its mission of incarceration.[14] Some design elements did speak to a therapeutic a therapeutic approach. The dayrooms provided refuge with large windows that allowed an expansive view of the rolling Kentucky hills. At the same time, the state-of-the-art facilities and activities were meant to "manifest the therapeutic potential of medicine, spirituality, and labor."[15] The idea of curing addiction captivated the public, which stood in awe of the Federal institution. The local newspapers held naming contests. Some entries included the "US Greatest Gift to Lift Mankind Sanatorium" or "Big Shot Drug Farm." But in the end, over the main entrance, carved in stone, was the government-chosen "United States Narcotic Farm." The name was changed to the United States Public Health Service Hospital in 1936 because people thought drugs were being grown on the Farm. Yet, the Narcotic Farm name was carved into the nation's folklore like the stone above the institution's entrance.

Over three days, 17,000 visitors toured the opulent Narcotic Farm. The populace was invited to tour the Narcotic Farm before officially working with addicts, both voluntarily and incarcerated. Though the location was discrete, the opinions and hopes surrounding it were not. The nation believed these Farms could help addicts, seeing them as a "New Deal for the Drug Addict" with the off-label benefit of helping those looking for jobs during the Great Depression. The Lexington facility alone cost four million dollars, with the main building covering eleven acres. It employed 350 people and housed 1,500 inmates consisting primarily of white males in their forties and a handful of Chinese men addicted to opium. According to *The New York Times*, in May of 1935, the annual payroll for 350 staff members was half a million dollars, while the yearly upkeep of the Farm was two-thirds of a million dollars. By June of 1935, two hundred and eighty addicted prisoners and a handful of volunteers, or "vols," were under the care of the Narcotic Farm.

The Farm Pre-World War II

With narcotic addiction treatment in its infancy, Dr. Lawrence Kolb, the Assistant

[13] "Act Establishing Narcotic Farms and a Narcotics Division in the Public Health Service." *Public Health Reports* (1896-1970) 44, no. 21 (May 24, 1929): 1256.

[14] Nancy Campbell, JP Olsen, Luke Walden, "*The Narcotic Farm: The Rise and Fall of America's First Prison for Drug Addicts* (University Press of Kentucky, 2021), 3.

[15] Campbell, Olsen, and Walden, *Narcotic Farm*, 3.

Surgeon General of the PHS, was tasked with making the Farm function in a healthy, efficient manner. He believed that many addicts had personality disorders, which could be cured with a structured daily routine and talk therapy. It was essential to Kolb that everyone on his staff truly believe in a compassionate way to cure addiction. Inmates-turned-patients were received warmly by staff, including the prison guards, called security aids. This was an abrupt but welcome change for those who had spent time in other prisons.

When inmates turned patients and "vols" arrived at the institution, they went through an intake process like other prisons. Authorities strip-searched arrivals, took their mugshots, and gave them "pajamas," which, in reality, were prison uniforms. The first phase of Dr. Kolb's treatment plan addressed drug use and withdrawal, with doctors going over the patient's history and the amount of drugs they used. Over ten days, patients were tapered off their choice of drug using small doses of morphine to ease the painful side effects of withdrawal. The second phase, which comprised most of the patient's time at the Farm, focused on "building up the patient physically and mentally."[16] Following the idea of moral therapy from the nineteenth century, daily life was structured around working and leisure activities. Patient jobs at the institution included milking cows, raising pigs for slaughter, and other activities that kept the Farm reasonably self-sufficient. Independence from the regular prison system helped in the field and the kitchen, with the food being notably fresh and of high quality, giving the Farm a culinary reputation. The people who enjoyed cooking could work in the kitchen and be creative, making better food than in any other prison.

Other jobs focused on helping patients learn a trade they could use after leaving, such as mechanics, woodwork, and "needlework." Dr. Kolb managed to get Singer to donate several sewing machines, allowing patients to sew clothes. Not only did this save costs on "pajamas," it also enabled inmates to become tailors once off the Farm. Leisure activities included golf, tennis, and bowling. Inmates could even take classes in photography and other forms of artistic activities. The second largest auditorium in Kentucky was at the Farm, which hosted concerts for patients and the public. All work and leisure time hours were carefully logged for data purposes to determine what was helpful to the patients and their recovery. The third phase prepared the patient to return to life outside the treatment center. The social service staff at the hospital tried to help patients transition into an acceptable employment and living situation. These phases were meant to "help patients cultivate good habits and allow bad ones to wither."[17]

The Farm Post World War Two

The post-war period changed the landscape of the Farm and public opinion. Many soldiers returning from World War Two had used and seen the use of opioids. When they came home, the government stockpile kept for the war was flushed out onto the streets in time to become available to returning veterans, those looking to get high benefited greatly from this action. The popular opioids morphine and heroin were now accessible to different races, ethnicities, and classes. In the decade after the war

[16] Acker Caroline Jean, "The Early Years of the PHS Narcotic Hospital at Lexington, Kentucky," *Public Health Reports* 112, No. 3 (May 1997): 245-47.

[17] Acker, "The Early Years of the PHS Narcotic Hospital," 246.

ended, the Narcotic Farm's approach became more focused on criminality and less on the medical and humane aspects of drug addiction and its effects on society. The nation saw its first youth heroin epidemic and implementation of harsher criminal penalties, with violent arrests under new laws starting in the early 1950s. By the 1960s, prison reform laws stymied the agricultural model that the Farm was based on, leading the prison to investigate different treatment options.

Men returning from World War Two were expected to reintegrate into civilian life with little issue, but for many, the trauma of war handicapped them in their daily lives. It was easier to escape reality with morphine or heroin. Cities and urban spaces were filled with various demographics due to the Great Migration; many African Americans were moving north to larger cities like Chicago or Detroit, and immigrants from war-torn Europe looked to rebuild their lives. America was entering an economic period of rapid growth, allowing young people to create full lives that would not have been possible during the Great Depression. But there was a dark side that many chose to ignore. A good example of a struggling veteran comes from Hollywood with *The Man with the Golden Arm*. The 1955 movie starring Frank Sinatra as "Frankie Machine" explores the story of a Polish American returning from World War Two, struggling with addiction and trying to reenter civilian life. The film opens with him praising and expounding on the virtues of the Farm. The main character relapses, and the movie is one of the first to show the horrors of withdrawal and Frankie Machine'seventual death by overdose.

The government tended to portray addiction through the lens of race, ethnicity, and class, to the detriment of marginal groups. Before World War Two, the majority of those addicted to opioids were white, older, middle-class people. Only after the war did other groups have easier access to opioids. A greater number of jazz musicians took advantage of this easy access to heroin, and heroin became intertwined with this aspect of American culture. So many famous jazz musicians spent time at the Farm, that the institution bought various musical instruments and encouraged playing as a form of therapy. The concerts at the Farm were great affairs that the patients and the public could enjoy in the grand auditorium. Several jazz players looking to enter the Farm would use heroin to get a note, called a Medical Certificate of Drug Addiction, from their doctors. They would become "vols" at the Farm to study under jazz greats such as Chet Baker, Red Rooney, and Sunny Rollins. "Among Jazz fans, the institution soon acquired a reputation as a workshop for musicians."[18] A group of inmate patients performed on the Johnny Carson Show in 1964, known as the "Greatest Band You Never Heard" because the tapes disappeared. This was one shift in the new diversity, and as this new diversity in drug users increased, the government shifted attention to another group--young addicts. As Congress reacted with alarm to exaggerated narratives of young white heroin addicts being manipulated by other races to do drugs, Harry Anslinger, the director of the FBN, pushed for harsher punishment for addicts and dealers.

The Attorney General of Texas, Price Daniel, helped secure hearings to aid Anslinger's fight for even stricter sanctions against traffickers, believing that the ultimate cure lay

[18] Campbell, Olsen, and Walden, *Narcotic Farm*, 150.

in cutting off the illicit supply of narcotics. The Daniel Hearings addressed the issue of drug trafficking in the mid-1950s. They were televised and held in seven cities around the country. The doctors at the Farm were highly scrutinized for the lack of progress in curing addiction and stemming the addiction crisis in the nation. They tried to explain that addiction was a chronic relapsing disease that deserves compassion and ongoing treatment. The government, most law enforcement, and the public felt this was the best path for the country because the Farm and its methods were not working. The Narcotic Act of 1956 imposed a minimum five-year sentence for addicts caught with drugs and even the death penalty for dealers. Stallone resentfully remembers the brutality of the arresting officers after 1956 who would "put a telephone book on your back or head and get a nightstick, and pound away […]. It would rattle your brain, man."[19] Patients, as well as many lawyers, social workers, and prison reformists felt that harsher criminal punishment was not the answer.

In addition to the harsher policing and prosecution of addicts and dealers during this time, the Farm's treatment model underwent various adjustments in the post-war period. From the Farm's inception in 1935 to 1960, the agricultural model was the foundation of treatment. This model was not working--the relapse rate was over 90 percent, according to a conservative estimate. From 1956 to the mid-1960s, the Farm continued despite the high recidivism rate, but harsher treatment and enforcement were proving to be less effective than what was hoped for. These methods had not cut off illicit drugs at the source or kept the white youth clean. Due to the unimpressive results, in 1966, the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act (NARA) allowed those charged with violating federal drug laws to choose six months of treatment over jail time if they qualified. If they showed improvement, charges could be dropped after three years, known as "civil commitment." After NARA, the United States Narcotic Farm was changed to the National Institute of Mental Health, Clinical Research Center. Regulations were relaxed, creating a more open environment and transforming the institution "into a modern therapeutic community."[20] The Farm quickly became one of the country's leading centers for this program. The Farm was willing to try different treatment methods, and therapeutic communities started to form in the institution. Rules were relaxed, prison bars were cut down, and patients, now called residents, could put up beads and curtains.[21] Five communities were established on the Farm in hopes of inducing patients to embrace treatment. The Matrix House was the only one with no staff "controlling" how things ran. The treatment approach was much more aggressive. People were encouraged to single out one member during group sessions and verbally attack them to keep them sober. Sometimes, these verbal beatings could last for hours focused on one individual. The Farm experimented with new methods, knowing the government would change approaches again. This was done in the 1970s when the focus shifted to addicts receiving help in their communities and returning responsibility to individual states.

The Laboratory

In the Narcotic Farm's creation, a separate laboratory was located within the

[19] Campbell, Olsen, and Walden, *Narcotic Farm*.

[20] Campbell, *Discovering Addiction*, 137.

[21] Campbell, Olsen, and Walden, *Narcotic Farm*, 102-3.

institution established to study addiction, and is an element fundamentally linked to the story of the Farm. The Laboratory's studied why individuals varied in the severity of addiction and relapse. Ideally, the goal was to eradicate the addictive analgesic properties of opium-derived drugs and to cure drug addiction in totality. By 1948, when the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) was created, the Laboratory was put under their care and was renamed the Addiction Research Center (ARC). The ARC did a lot of work and made several contributions to the care of drug addicts and their recovery that are beneficial even today. While their work thrived with the "captive population," it was also a perfect place for other entities to ask ARC for help in deciding if new drugs had addictive potential.

The Laboratory came as an amendment to the Porter Act in 1930, granting the PHS the power to control medical services in federal prisons. Initially, in 1933, Dr. Clifton K. Himmelsbach created what would become the Laboratory in Leavenworth Federal Prison to study the physical and chemical reactions to opioids. Himmelsbach moved the Laboratory to the Farm in Lexington in 1935, assembling an elite staff, from researchers to custodians, who constantly interacted with him. His work focused on those individuals who could safely take large doses of narcotics that "would be fatal to one unaccustomed."[22] Through his research, Himmelsbach developed the "morphine abstinence syndrome," which gave doctors and researchers a baseline for measuring withdrawal still used to this day. This advance enabled the Laboratory to move from clinical observation to testable hypotheses rapidly, as it was the only lab in the world devoted solely to the study of narcotic addiction. The researchers wanted to simulate the "natural" course of addiction. In many ways, they could mimic drug use outside the walls of Lexington, but they could stop any testing due to safety concerns at any time, whereas in the "real world," that was not possible.

The group of researchers before World War Two recognized they had to rely heavily on seasoned drug addicts' experience, knowledge, and vocabulary to accurately express the feeling of being on narcotics to start studying the impact opioids had on individuals. They found that addiction was not a moral failing and addicts were "fundamentally […] ordinary people, not the 'degenerates' they'd often been portrayed to be."[23] This was one of the first stereotypes the laboratory challenged, another being the idea of a short-term addiction and a quick fix. It was a long-term disease that needed treatment. After the start of World War Two, doctors Harris Isbell and Abraham Winkler ran the Laboratory. They benefited from previous research and gained from establishing meaningful relationships with their patients. Their work significantly increased knowledge about addiction, with one discovery being a reason for relapses, what we know today as triggers.

From the Laboratory's inception, informed consent from the patients was built into the research model. Consent forms, protocols, and eligibility criteria were paramount to the researcher's execution of ethical science, with examples of using only seasoned male drug addicts not looking to get sober. The government, researchers, and patients were aware that tests involving readdicting narcotic users were for the sake of science and non-therapeutic recovery. The ARC created a survey of 550 questions

[22] Treadway Walter, "Dedication and Opening of the Lexington Narcotic Farm," *Public Health Reports* 50 no. 31 (1935): 997.

[23] Campbell, Olsen, and Walden, *Narcotic Farm*, 164.

that tried to capture the moods, feelings, and perceptions of the patients involved in the studies. The statement questions ranged from basic to bizarre. Questions like "I have a pleasant feeling in my body" and "I would rather watch someone else than have sexual intercourse myself." Patients called these testing periods "being on the sawmill" because it was a grueling paper and pencil exercise. The Addiction Research Center Inventory (ARCI) questionnaire gathered valuable data; an updated version is still used today.

The ARCI added to the research and contributed to 500 articles in leading scientific journals like the American Medical Association. This gained the ARC professional notoriety and the attention of pharmaceutical companies, some of which could not conduct their own research, such as Eli Lilly and Merck. The Laboratory would test the new drugs pharmaceutical companies put on the market for addiction potential. An example of a product being tested was the barbiturate Miltown, marketed as an anxiety cure, but the ARC found the abuse potential grossly outweighed its benefits. Due to testing and discovery, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) put controls in place to prescribe the medication safely in theory, but not always in practice. The FDA was not the only government entity finding a use for the ARC or its value in drug addiction science. During the mid-twentieth century, the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations (UN), and governments worldwide considered the ARC the gold standard in studying addiction.

World influence came to the ARC after World War Two with the arrival of a German synthetic, or man-made, opioid fifty times more potent than Morphine, called Methadone. By 1947, the drug had reached the United States as a "spoil of war." Early in 1948, the ARC conducted several tests and studies to calculate what dose would be necessary to help ease the withdrawal of morphine or heroin safely. Though Methadone prolonged the period of withdrawal, the process was more comfortable for addicts tapering off morphine or heroin. Researchers also discovered this drug was effective in reducing seizures and even death in those withdrawing from alcohol and barbiturates.[24] Without being told, patients in the study were able to recognize Methadone was different from morphine or heroin due to the lack of ambition and decreased activity it created in the patients. In 1952, one test involving 125 patients received twenty milligrams of Methadone. Two patients became comatose; even after attempts at resuscitation, they were close to dying. Nalorphine (known today as naloxone or Narcan) is an opioid antagonist, meaning the medication attaches to opioid receptors and reverses the effects of an overdose. At the time, the drug had some success in animal testing, but researchers were still uncertain of the impact on humans. As a last resort, the two men received Narcan, and in the end, researchers reported the "administration of nalorphine 'apparently induced spectacular and, possibly, life-saving effects'"[25] Without administering the drug, both patients would have remained in a comatose state, the depression of their respiratory system would have continued to fail, and they could have died. Due to this discovery and subsequent studies, Narcan is easily accessible and widely used today to prevent overdose and death.

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[24] Campbell, interview.

[25] Nancy D. Campbell, *Discovering Addiction: The Science and Politics of Substance Abuse Research* (University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 23.

The ARC started studying a drug called Buprenorphine in the late 1960s. It is a partial opioid agonist. By attaching to opioid receptors in the brain, it prevents the binding of other opioids like heroin but gives a substantially less intense high. Dr. Donald Janiski joined the ARC in 1965 and saw the medication's potential. Starting in the ARC, decades of research led to the development and approval by the FDA in 2003 of Suboxone, a combination of Naloxone and Buprenorphine in the treatment of opioid addiction. Suboxone has become one of the most effective tools to treat addiction today, lessening the craving for opioids so people can utilize other models of treatment, like therapy, to get off drugs.

Million Dollar Flop House for Junkies

The Narcotic Farm presented itself publicly as a small American town that consistently functioned happily and productively. But from its inception, the institution experienced problems that sometimes created more questions than answers. A couple of years after the Farm opened researchers and doctors realized addiction was virtually incurable. The paradox of Kolb wanting to help cure addiction runs in stark contrast to his blaming addicts as "individuals incapable of measuring up to even modest expectations of productivity and adjustment."[26] The fact, at any given time during the Farm's operation, 10 to 15 percent of "vols" were doctors, nurses, or people in the medical profession who had access to opioids makes the "incapable" argument suspect. In 1937, Kolb even wrote a letter to the Surgeon General asking if there was a legal way to keep volunteers from signing out against medical advice because he wanted to avoid the bad appearance of lackluster help. Volunteer patients who left and returned regularly were also called "winders because they would wind in and wind out, and they would wind back."[27] On average, "vols" returned to the Farm six to seven times to take "the cure" (or try and get clean), but records show one man was there forty-four times.

The demographic shift in population, returning patients, and the overall lack of understanding of addiction led the staff's compassion to wane. In the 1930s, the percentage of non-white inmates was less than 20 percent, but by the 1950s, that number had doubled to 40 percent at the Farm. Many middle-class whites presumed wrongly that black men were robbing whites for money to inject this "evil drug so they can spend the rest of the day nodding away in a blissful vacuum."[28] By the 1950s, more than half of narcotic arrests in major cities were black men, as it was easier to arrest people of color. The statistics happened to fit nicely with the claim that blacks were responsible for the white youth heroin epidemic.

Moreover, patients exaggerated the amount of the drugs they used to receive higher doses of morphine to taper. This created a problem for the medical staff, creating tension with the general workers and skewed the data the institution's doctors collected. These patients and even those not on drugs would see themselves as "junkies," using this as their only source of identity and creating a community separate from the staff. The patients at the Farm had their own classification system,

[26] Acker, "The Early Years of the PHS Narcotic Hospital," 247.

[27] Ethan Nadelman, host, PSYCHOACTIVE, season 2, episode 6, "Nancy Campbell on The Narcotic Farm," iHEART, August 9, 2022, 27 min.

[28] Courtwright, "Century of American Narcotic Policy," 28.

a significant part of the addict culture and a problematic wall between themselves and those they were working with. The Farm represented a place where addicts could find others like themselves. They likened it to a Mason Lodge, calling it a "Fantastic Lodge, but the initiation ceremony is a lot rougher."[29] Not only were people grouped by their drug of choice, but what "type" of addict they were. As time went on, there were fewer "medical junkies" or people addicted through prescriptions and more street drug "illicit junkies," and this change and demographic was a problem for the staff who looked down on the less educated and more diverse patient numbers.

Extracting the addictive properties from potent opioids was the goal of the ARC. Even with all the knowledge they gained, researchers quickly found that goal unattainable (to this day, science is still working on this problem). In the late 1950s, the Daniel hearings made clear to the public that the hope of ridding pain relievers of their addictive properties was unachievable. And not only that, but so was the somewhat lofty goal of curing addiction in totality, the Farm's principal objective.

Also not possible was the replication of street drug environments and uses, researchers being unable to completely emulate the experience for a better understanding of the addict and their behavior. Even though human test subjects at the ARC were given high, nontherapeutic doses, they had the benefit of researchers constantly monitoring them and had the ability to stop if the experiment went awry. The narcotics used in the ARC studies were acquired from drug busts from all over the country but were stripped of all impurities by the PHS before entering the laboratory. The ARC observations were skewed in the sense they could never fully understood the life of an addict outside of the institutions.

Life in the ARC was a seductive one for addicts when it came to their "drug banks," which allotted opioids as a reward for being human test subjects. When offered this "drug bank," any other type of incentive was not even considered by the patient/addict. Such practices were a problem because it manipulated a vulnerable and "captive population" by appealing to their addiction. Furthermore, paying people in drugs to get results for studies they would not have otherwise participated is arguably a type of coercion. If test subjects did get approved for a study, they would have to be sober for six months only to be readdicted to one of many possible narcotics. Even if it were for the "greater good," patient John Stallone recalls, "They [researchers] would put you on good pure heroin, man, and kept you hooked for a long, long time […] then all of a sudden they had you kick the habit and would observe you like a lab rat."[30] Even the researchers deluded themselves into believing that coercion was necessary for the greater good.

Conclusion

The end came for the Narcotic Farm and the loss of a home for the ARC beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with prison reform and being connected to the LSD testing controversies. The decline started with the NARA legislation and its call for states to provide treatment centers in local communities, which made the singular Federal treatment location for an entire nation unappealing and drew fewer patients

[29] Campbell, *Discovering Addiction*, 68.

[30] *The Narcotic Farm*, Olsen.

through their doors. In an attempt to change this downward trend, in 1967, the Farm changed its name to the National Institute of Mental Health, Clinical Research Center. It became more focused on therapeutic treatments for low-level offenders. In 1974, the CRC became a medical federal prison, but it was getting caught up in the Edward Kennedy-led Senate hearings concerning human experiments involving the ARC's testing of LSD in the MK Ultra program that finally put the Farm out to pasture. The buildings that made up the Farm are still standing, but it is now simply the Federal Medical Center, Lexington. As for the ARC, it merely moved to a new location and has a new name. The National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) moved to Baltimore, Maryland, and is still funding research. Even with all these controversies, in the end, the legacy of the Farm and its unique approach to drug addiction remain. The goals of a drug-free and addiction-free nation were lofty at best, and the Farm's agricultural model of treatment and community-focused operations were helpful to those who came and stayed but relapsed when they left. It was an improvement in the treatment of and for addicts, but over time and through several issues, the Farm collapsed. The ARC's research and development are still with us today, helping us understand things like triggers and the development of drugs like Narcan and Suboxone. "The Addiction Research Center's legacy is that it established an entire scientific field and formulated the current definition of addiction as a chronic, relapsing brain disorder," Campbell writes.[31] As important as this legacy is, it came with some ethical and moral questions that are hard to wrestle with today. The Farm and ARC arrived at a time when goals were high, and the need for understanding was even higher to fight addiction and to deal with the "morally bankrupt addicts" made numerous at the time due to the lack of regulations. Still, both failed in their original aims and brought great human, leaving many uncomfortable then and now, even with the gains made.

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[31] Campbell, Olsen, and Walden, *Narcotic Farm*, *Narcotic Farm*, 28.

The Badge as a Shield: The LAPD and the Missteps Behind Policy and Procedure

Sean Duncan

Abstract: Throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) consistently failed to adhere to its policies and procedures, with accountability emerging largely in response to public pressure. This reactive approach ultimately spurred significant reforms within the department. This paper examines key events that highlight this pattern, including incidents like the chokehold policy, Operation Hammer, and the Rampart Scandal of 2000. The analysis primarily relies on newspaper sources to explore how the public responded to the LAPD's missteps. Additionally, the paper considers the laws that enabled the LAPD to bypass existing policies and procedures. The research suggests that reform is a product of progress, driven by both public action and institutional change.

Policies and procedures are important steps in any successful organization. Without a template to adhere to, chaos will ensue. In most institutions, a fix will be implemented if steps are overlooked or missed, and business will resume as usual. The LAPD is a powerful institution where the chaos caused from discounting policies and procedures can quickly become dangerous and lethal. Rodney King's case and the following violence exhibits the chaos that arises when policies and procedures are overlooked and ignored by these powerful institutions. African American man Rodney King was berated by racial slurs, struck at least fifty-three times, and shot with a taser by four LAPD police officers. Seven days later, Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates stated at a city council meeting, "this is an aberration. This is something that never should have happened. We had in place all of the procedures that would keep it from happening. Those procedures fell down because of human error."[1] Human error continued to breed chaos and danger in Los Angeles after the acquittal of the police officers on April 29, 1992, which caused one of the most destructive civil unrests in United States history, best known as the 1992 Los Angeles riots.

After the Rodney King incident in 1991, a report was led and written by Warren Christopher, who was former Deputy Secretary of State under Jimmy Carter and the future Secretary of State under Bill Clinton. The report's focus stated that "there is a significant number of LAPD officers who repetitively misuse force and persistently ignore the written policies and guidelines of the Department regarding force. A recurring theme within the LAPD is constant disregard for policies and guidelines, as mentioned in the second part of Christophers statement.[2] This report, in extreme

[1] Daniel Lindsay, and T.J. Martin, *LA 92*, Directed by Daniel Lindsay and T.J. Martin, (National Geographic, 2017), Online.

[2] Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, Report of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, 1991, ix.

detail, gives accounts of where policies have broken down from inside the department, whether in training, promotions, or even structure. These procedures were crucial to ensure the safety of both officers and the citizens they were sworn to protect and serve. Less than ten years later, a major blow to the integrity of the Los Angeles Police Department surfaced known as the Rampart Scandal, in which an independent commission wrote a 210-page report with even more recommendations of reform for the LAPD. For three decades the Los Angeles Police Department consistently failed to uphold its policies and procedures, with accountability largely emerging only from public pressure. This reliance on reactive responses underscored the systemic issues within the organization. Ultimately, the department's accountability crisis led to significant institutional reform within the department.

A hierarchical system was in place to ensure checks and balances through individuals with greater authority. The LAPD had a "Career Ladder" where one can advance through promotions. A new employee would start as a police officer. In the beginning, there were many different classifications of this entry-level job, such as a patrol officer, desk officer, or beach patrol. As one moved up the ladder, the officer assumed more responsibility and took others under their command. Above the rank of officer was sergeant, detective, lieutenant, captain, commander, deputy chief, and the highest rank, Chief of Police. Though the Chief of Police ranked above the officers, there was a mayor-appointed Police Commission that "serves as the head of the Los Angeles Police Department, functioning like a corporate board of directors, setting policies for the Department and overseeing its operations."[3] These five members could serve a maximum of two five-year terms.

Diversity in the LAPD was a topic that had been addressed multiple times but was slow to change. In *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the Urban Future,* Raphael Sonenshein states, "the police have been at the heart of the struggle for minority incorporation in Los Angeles."[4] In the aftermath of the 1965 riots, five days of violence ending in thirty-four deaths and $400,000,000 in damages, the McCone Commission was assembled. The commission wrote a report aimed at addressing solutions to prevent similar violence from occurring again. In this report, the commission addressed how crucial diversity was in the force by stating, "we believe it is essential that the number of sworn officers of each minority group should be increased substantially" as at the time "only four percent of the sworn personnel of the Police Department and six percent of the Sheriff's Department are Negroes, and an even small percentage are Mexican-American."[5] According to the Christopher Commission's reports published after the 1992 riots:

> As of February 1991, there was a total of 1,154 African American sworn personnel, of whom 947 or 82% held positions within the ranks of police officer I-III. Latino and Asian officers are similarly concentrated; more than 80% of Latino and Asian officers held positions within the ranks of police

[3] The Official Site of The Los Angeles Police Department, *Police Commission,* updated 2024, https://www.lapdonline.org/police-commission/.

[4] Mark Baldassare, ed., *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the Urban Future* (Westview Press, 1994), 48.

[5] Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, *Violence in the City – An End or a Beginning?* December 2, 1965, 36.

officers I-III. In contrast, only 61% of white officers held positions within the ranks of police officer I-III.

When addressing the positions of power, the report noted that "between 1980 and 1990, African American representation among managerial and supervisory ranks (sergeant and above) increased only from 5.3 percent to 8 percent; Latino representation increased from 4.9 percent to 10.4 percent."[6] This changed drastically through the years with mixed results—in 2000, the LAPD was 46 percent Caucasian, 14 percent Black, and 33 percent Hispanic; in 2020, its makeup was 30 percent Caucasian, 19 Black, and 50 percent Hispanic.[7] This reflected the demographic makeup of Los Angeles in the 2020 census: roughly 5,000,000 were Hispanic or Latino, 3,000,000 Caucasian, and 800,000 Black.[8] With all these changes implemented, the biggest change to diversity in the LAPD came in 1992 when the first African American Chief was appointed, Willie Williams. This vast improvement in diversity in the LAPD only occurred because of the public outcry and reports from the riots.

Before the Christopher Commission Report, there was too much leniency in the discipline of the police officers on the force. In an interview with the Christopher Commission, Jesse Brewer, an Assistant Chief from 1987 to 1991 stated, "I think more attention needs to be paid to these people that we know are ones who constantly get into trouble. It appears we have a large number."[9] The same Christopher Commission found that "of the 3,419 allegations of excessive force or improper tactics initiated by members of the public from 1986 through 1990, only 103 (3.0%) were sustained. Of the 2,152 allegations involving excessive force, only 42 (2.0%) were sustained."[10] Because of these numbers, the Christopher Commission will "recommend the establishment of an Office of the Inspector General within the Police Commission, with the responsibility to audit and oversee the disciplinary process, participate in the adjudication and punishment of the most serious cases, and report to the Police Commission and its newly created Chief of Staff."[11] This new policy was upheld and continues to be implemented today. These inner workings of the LAPD are some of the structural issues implemented after two different riots, but different issues do not make it into the reports.

The 1980s

Starting in the late 1970s, excessive force allegations became a key issue, not only concerning police shootings but also other tactics used by law enforcement. These

[6] Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, *Report of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department*, 1991, 81-82.

[7] Los Angeles Police Comission, "*Response to Council Motion File No. 20-1600*," April 27, 2021, https://www.lapdpolicecom.lacity.org/052521/BPC_21-099.pdf.

[8] U.S. Census Bureau, *Los Angeles County, California*,https://data.census.gov/profile/Los_Angeles_County,_California?g=050XX00US06037.

[9] Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, *Report of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department*, 1991, 32.

[10] Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, *Report of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department*, 1991, 153.

[11] Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, *Report of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department*, 1991, 154.

other tactics considered less than lethal ironically could result in the deaths of the suspects. For example, police would use the chokehold to subdue a suspect who was not cooperating. Two different types of chokeholds were taught to officers in the police academy: the bar-hold, which puts the forearm to the front of the neck on the trachea, and the carotid chokehold, which was applied to the arteries to halt blood flow. With fifteen deaths by 1982 resulting from the chokehold, the public voice was pushing for change. With public opinion about whether the chokehold should be used or not, Gates made it worse with comments he made in 1982 while talking about the chokehold he stated, "we may be finding that in some blacks when it is applied, the veins and arteries do not open as fast as they do in normal people."[12] Racism like this only fueled the fire to get the method banned. This matter made it to the Supreme Court with the *City of Los Angeles v. Lyons*. Lyons was suing the City of Los Angeles because of an incident from a traffic stop in 1976 during which "the officers, without provocation, seized Lyons and applied a chokehold. The hold rendered Lyons unconscious and damaged his larynx."[13] In the lawsuit, Lyons also wanted the chokehold to cease from being used as a legal use of force. In 1983, the Supreme Court decision of a 5-4 vote in favor of the City of Los Angeles was awarded. The opinion of the court states that "Lyons standing to claim damages against the individual officers and perhaps against the City, does nothing to establish a real and immediate threat that he would again be stopped for a traffic violation, or for any other offense, by an officer or officers who would illegally choke him into unconsciousness without any provocation or resistance on his part"[14] Gates would praise the court for this decision but because of push back would ban the bar-arm from use in 1982 but the LAPD would continue to use the cardioid chokehold.

Even with the bar-hold gone, more issues would come with the use of the carotid chokehold with comparison to Rodney King, as the incident was caught on videotape. In May of 1987, paramedics were called to a house party in Torrance after a musician was injured in a fight. When the paramedics arrived, they called for police for backup as the partygoers were "extremely intoxicated, belligerent and were interfering with the rescue attempt."[15] The police report states that the two officers involved, Ross Bartlett and James Lynch, were threatened repeatedly, attacked, and were up against 35 men at the party. What the video shows is that after a man was handcuffed and yelling, the camera moves to Officer Lynch, who placed twenty-year-old Thomas Tice in a chokehold. With Tice's back away from Lynch, Officer Bartlett strikes Tice with his nightstick in the back and legs up to eight times even when the video shows that Tice had become unconscious from the chokehold and is not resisting.[16] Six men from the party paid $200 fines for disturbing the peace, while no charges were brought to the police officers. The six men did sue the city for police brutality, and

[12] William Raspberry, "The Chief and the Chokehold," *The Washington Post*, May 16, 1982.

[13] "City of Los Angeles v. Lyons," Oyez, Accessed October 24, 2024, https://www.oyez.org/cases/1982/81-1064.

[14] *City of Los Angeles v. Lyons*, 461 U.S. 95 (1983).

[15] James Rainey, Torrance, "Police Sued Over Fracas Filmed on Video," *The Los Angeles Times*, September 23, 1988.

[16] PBS, "Policing the Police," *By the Year 2000*, KCET, May 1991, 00:49:35 – 00:50:08, https://digitallibrary.usc.edu/asset-management/2A3BF1KEATCV.

it was settled out of court at the price of $105,000.[17] In September 2020, Governor Gavin Newsom signed into law Assembly Bill No. 1196, which would make all forms of the chokehold illegal for police officers to use in any situation.[18]

The Reagan Administration in the 1980s had a strong focus on lowering crime rates in the United States. In Los Angeles, there was an uptick in murders within gangs when crack cocaine moved into the city as the new drug of choice. In 1986, Reagan signed the Anti-Drug Abuse Act, creating stronger penalties on drugs, but also gave money to law enforcement to enforce these new drug laws.[19] Gates, who had his own quarrels against drugs, once said in 1990 that "casual drug users ought to be taken out and shot."[20] The 1986 act allowed Gates to establish Operation Hammer, an initiative launched by the anti-gang unit in South Central Los Angeles called Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums (CRASH). As gang violence and drive-by shootings rose, Gates implemented Operation Hammer to make weekend arrests in areas best known for gang activity. Many of the officers could use their own discretion on what they thought might be a gang member. This ambiguity from the officers of what a gang member might be is very reminiscent of *Terry v. Ohio* from 1968. In this case, three men were arrested because a plainclothes officer thought they were "casing a job, a stick-up." The officer found two guns on the men once he stopped them and searched them. In a Supreme Court ruling, the judges found it in favor of the police officer with an 8-to-1 ruling saying this was a reasonable search under the Fourth Amendment.[21]

This type of language can also be used to justify the use of excessive force, as in confrontations with suspects assumed to be on PCP. Police officers can simply allege that suspects might be on PCP, a sedative and hallucinogenic drug that can make users combative but does not grant the "superhuman strength" officers usually say they observe. This phenomenon was referred to in the DSM as "Excited Delirium." This term is very relevant to Sergent Stacey Koon's reaction to the Rodney King incident when "the motorist displayed superhuman strength, talked gibberish and had a far-off look, convincing him without a doubt that King was high on PCP."[22] A drug test shows that there was no PCP in King's blood during the incident, giving another example of an allegation utilized by the police to justify their decisions. In October of 2023, Governor Newsom signed a bill that would get rid of the term "excited delirium" in medical and police practice. As stated in the law AB 360, "the bill would prohibit a peace officer from using the term 'excited delirium' to describe an individual in an incident report but would not prohibit the peace officer from describing an individual's behavior, as specified."[23]

The *Terry v. Ohio* ruling, also referred to as "Stop and Frisk," helped the CRASH

[17] James Rainey, "Civil Rights Suit Accusing Police Dept. of Brutality Settled by Torrance for $105,000," *The Los Angeles Times*, December 19, 1989.

[18] California Assembly, *AB 1196, Gipson. Peace officers: use of force.* (2019-2020) (enacted).

[19] Congress, Gov, "H.R.5484 - 99th Congress (1985-1986): Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986." October 27, 1986. https://www.congress.gov/bill/99th-congress/house-bill/5484.

[20] Ronald J. Ostrow, "Casual Drug Users Should Be Shot, Gates Says," *The Los Angeles Times*, September 6, 1990.

[21] "Terry v. Ohio," Oyez, https://www.oyez.org/cases/1967/67.

[22] "Koon convinced King was on PCP during Beating," Thousand Oaks Star, Mar 24, 1993.

[23] California Assembly, *AB 360, Gipson. Excited delirium.* (2023) (enacted).

officers profile a person as a "gang member." For example, as described in a Los Angeles Times article titled, "Many People Want 'Hammer' to hit Gangs Harder" in the first weekend of July 1989, "Operation Hammer netted 412 people, including 113 gang members," and "of the 113 gang members arrested, [23] adults and six juveniles were being held pending charges on felony counts."[24] Families of the communities affected most by Operation Hammer at the time agreed with the sweeps as the article title suggests but that would change with time. In December of 1990, it shows that "the operations have subjected the police departments to complaints from residents and even some law enforcement authorities who say the tactic indiscriminately sweeps communities and gives some **b**lack and Latino youths a police record they don't deserve."[25] By the time Operation Hammer was over, "More than 50,000 suspected gang members were swept up for interrogation based on factors such as style of dress and whether the suspect was a young black male […]. 90 percent were later released without charge, but their names were held in a computer database."[26] Brought to the surface from different groups such as communities, the media locally and abroad, and also some from within the department itself. It was not until the Rodney King incident that the voice of the public became loudest.

The 1990s

George Holliday's video recording of Rodney King led to the formation of a reform commission within the Los Angeles Police Department. The infamous videotape of King and the officers who had beat him was only filmed because he "was awakened by the noise of a helicopter and the sounds of sirens, and his attention was drawn across Foothill Blvd. just past its intersection with Osborne St."[27] When Holiday tried to call the police station about the videotape, no one seemed to care. He took it to the local news station that aired it first On KTLA on March 4, 1991, less than 48 hours after the incident. From the first viewing and the acquisition from other news stations in the United States and the World, this became headline news. Mayor Tom Bradley first went on the record to say that this was not an "aberration" within the force and announced on April 1, 1991, the "formation of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department and Named Warren Christopher as its chairman."[28] The Commission, two days after being formed, decided to attempt reform themselves and put Chief Gates on paid leave pending investigation. With the politics of this that played out in the local newspapers, it was agreed only five days later that this move was wrong as it would not allow Gates to defend himself. This gave Gates more power in the public eye, as it "triggered a backlash of sympathy for the chief."[29] While the Christopher Commission worked on the report and even after the report was published with recommendations, Gates went on with the job as Chief of Police with no changes at all.

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[24] Darrell Dawsey, "Many People Want 'Hammer' to hit Gangs Harder," *The Los Angeles Times*, July 4th, 1989, The Metro.

[25] Louis Sahagun, "Parents Called Vital to 'Operation Hammer,'" *The Los Angeles Times*, December 25, 1990.

[26] Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair, *Whiteout: The Cia, Drugs and the Press*, (Verso, 1998).

[27] Lou Cannon, *Official Negligence: How Rodney King and the Riots Changed Los Angeles and the LAPD*, (Times Books, 1997), 21.

[28] Lou Cannon, *Official Negligence*, 121.

[29] Lou Cannon, *Official Negligence*, 125.

There were no checks and balances on the authority of Chief of Police Gates. On the eve of the 1992 riots, it was up to him what the next step would be. While police officers were waiting for a command from Darryl Gates, he left for a fund-raiser in affluent Brentwood that 'was part of an effort to fight a city charter amendment […] that would limit the power and term of the chief." The meeting started after live footage of people being pulled from cars and beaten by police aired on television. At the fundraiser, Gates responded by saying, "you have to deploy in a special fashion. What we're doing is pulling our people back, leaving and putting them in squads and redeploying them in that way."[30] The story Gates tells in his memoirs is different: there he says that "he summoned Frankie to his office 'right after the verdicts were read' and told him he would be department commander." This differs from the account of Deputy Chief Ron Frankel, who claims that he "went to Gates and not the other way around," and that the "transfer of command occurred just after 6:00 instead of right after the verdicts."[31] By looking at both the 1965 and the 1992 riots, psychologist David O. Sears compares the past and present LAPD by stating, "the local police again quickly lost control and had to be supplemented by the National Guard, while the Chief of Police made hardline, inflammatory statements about the rioters."[32]

The lack of response by the police department resulted not only from LAPD mismanagement but from funding issues in the City of Los Angeles. One of these was the minimal number of two-way radios to inform the police officers of what was going on in certain areas, with destruction and violence happening all at once. In *Official Negligence: How Rodney King and the Riots Changed Los Angeles* and the LAPD, Lou Cannon says, "the radio breakdown was not the fault of Gates, who had persistently asked Mayor Bradley and the City Council to upgrade the department's outmoded system. When the politicians pleaded poverty, the LAPD turned to the people for help." Both in 1990 and 1991, voters rejected the bond to help the police. This response, or lack thereof, caused even more public push for Proposition F, which would be on the ballot seven months after the fundraiser.

Proposition F passed in the election, which took place during the tenure of the next chief of police, as Darryl Gates resigned from office on June 28, 1992. The power of the chief would lessen as "it would give the mayor and the City Council the power to hire and fire police chiefs and would restrict police chiefs to a five-year term, renewable at the discretion of the mayor." The latter was a very significant change. Daryl Gates was chief for fourteen years, and Gates' idol, Willam Parker, served for sixteen years, from 1950 to 1966. Since the passage of Charter Amendment F, the longest tenure of a police chief has been from 2009 to 2018 with Charles L Beck. Still, even looking at Beck's tenure, his leadership was questioned, and he resigned before his term was finished. As of today, no chief has officially ever been fired, but the Rodney King incident fast-tracked the move to limit police chiefs' time in office.

The first police chief under this new amendment was Willie Williams, who struggled to meet all the new law's demands. Though it was not just being new to the position and the measurement that made it hard; Gates left him a broken

[30] Robert Reinhold, "Riots in Los Angeles: The Overview; As Rioting Mounted, Gates Remained at Political Event," *The New York Times*, May 5, 1992.

[31] Lou Cannon, *Official Negligence,* 299.

[32] Baldassare, *The Los Angeles Riots*, 238.

department. As the days to retirement for Gates approached months after the riots, he said, "it is very sad, I think, to leave at the particular time, with the kind of situation that I am leaving […]. The department is understaffed, underbudgeted, accusations have been hurled at it unnecessarily, and arbitrarily, and I think unfairly. And officer morale is down, and where there is no real understanding of what this department is about."[33] From this and the new policy changes, inner conflict within the system had many in the police department feeling that the mayor and the police commission were overstepping their boundaries. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, "Williams' aides complain about outside interference, but they have failed to meet deadlines, produced reports that do not answer questions asked by political figures, and dawdled with programs considered important by the city leadership."[34]

Another issue that had arisen since the implementation of these new recommendations was the lack of clarity about how some tasks ought to be carried out. For example, a more scrutinized background check was implemented to make sure "problem officers" were not hired, but at the same time, the recommendation to hire more officers was also put into place. As councilwoman Laura Chick states, "the department is under incredible strain to grow quickly […]. We say, 'Hire faster' and then say 'Don't hire any more problem officers.' We want them to implement community policing, modernize, end sexual harassment, discrimination, do this, do that."[35] Williams made some of the recommendations going as scholar Lou Cannon states, "under Williams, community advisory boards were established in each of the city's eighteen police divisions, co-chaired by an LAPD captain and a civilian. While these boards supposedly established community priorities for police attention, the members were selected by the LAPD and lacked accountability to the communities they represented."[36] Amid contradictory accusations about who was at fault for the department not addressing pressing issues, Williams was let go after his first five years. These changes, even though put in place by the public who voted the amendment in, still had a pushback from the department and did not fully come to fruition. As both the citizens of Los Angeles and the LAPD kept working on this reform, a new century was born, causing some of the biggest public scrutiny of the Department.

The 2000s

The Rampart Scandal changed the LAPD's policies and procedures more than anything in its history. The Rampart Independent Review Panel, headed by Richard Drooyan, states, "the scandal has damaged the LAPD leadership and the Police Commission to such an extent that an outside federal monitor will soon be appointed."[37] This statement from the Rampart Commission's report shows the magnitude of this opprobrium. When the public first heard about the in-depth corruption that went behind the doors of the LAPD, the sheer magnitude left many in disbelief that it was true. When this first became news in February of 2000, Robert Scheer, a *Los Angeles Times* reporter said about the issue, "the scummy truth seeping

[33] Dean E. Murphy, "Gates Bitterly Steps Out of Spotlight," *The Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1992.

[34] Jim Newton, "Many Masters Compete to Chart LAPD's Course," *Los Angeles Times*, Mar 17, 1996.

[35] Jim Newton, "Many Masters."

[36] Lou Cannon, *Official Negligence,* 588.

[37] Rampart Independent Review Panel, *Report of the Rampart Independent Review Panel*, Rampart Independent Review Panel, 2002, 2.

out of the LAPD's Rampart Division is a shocker to most of us who have never experienced the dark side of law enforcement."[38]

The scandal, which had three main events, focuses on the Rampart Unit of the CRASH division. The first was an elaborate scheme by a CRASH unit officer, Rafael Perez, who would take cocaine out of the evidence room that had been seized from drug busts. With his knowledge that after the case was closed, the evidence would be destroyed, he would put back the receptacle, replace the cocaine with pancake mix, return it to the evidence room, and then sell the cocaine on the streets. Second, CRASH unit officer David Mack robbed a bank in 1997 with two other accomplices and stole $722,000. Though there was not enough evidence to show who the accomplices were from others in the department that Perez may also have been involved since "two officers, along with Perez's drug dealer girlfriend, went on a spending spree in Las Vegas two days after Mack Robbed a Bank of America."[39] Lastly, the excessive use of force, with a main case against a man who was paralyzed after he was shot three times by two officers and then covered up by others in the department. This scandal was fully uncovered in 2000, leading to a commission for changes to be brought within the LAPD. The report found that there was a lack of civilian oversight, internal cultural problems within the department, not enough outreach to minority communities, fear of advancement if turning in fellow officers, poor records of use of force, lack of training, and lack of personnel.

The police commission was inadequate in bringing police officers to any type of discipline, as the commission had been too relaxed with this task. The five appointed to the police commission by the mayor only served part-time. Further, the mayor's appointees were primarily former police officers. The Rampart report recommended that the "President of the Police Commission should serve full-time and should be compensated at the same salary as the Chief of Police. The Vice President of the Police Commission should also serve full-time and should be compensated at the same salary as a Deputy Chief II. The remaining three part-time commissioners should be compensated at $25,000 a year to reflect the importance of the position and the significant time commitment required."[40] Having this full-time position in place reduced the power of the chief of police, who favored police officers. The Police Commission also had other responsibilities that distracted them from the ability to police the police. One of these was that the report recommends taking away permitting businesses. For example, in the situation that led to *Bam, Inc. v. Board of Police Comrs*. (1992), the commission used a moral judgment against businesses instead of focusing on the tasks within the police department. In this case, the Police Commission took away the permit of Adult World, where patrons frequented booths showing pornographic movies; occasionally, one would be caught in a lewd act. Every time, the manager of the facility cooperated with the police. The commission still took away the permit for 30 days, which then moved into appeals and took up much of the commission's time.[41] These new recommendations and the two full-time

[38] Robert Sheer, "O.J. Jury Knew the Score," *The Los Angeles Time*s, February 15, 2000.

[39] Scott Glover, and Matt Lait, "Ex-Lover Points Out Site Where She Says Perez Buried Bodies," *The Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 2000.

[40] Rampart Independent Review Panel, Report of the Rampart Independent Review Panel, Rampart Independent Review Panel, 2000, Appendix B, 1.

[41] Bam, Inc. v. Board of Police Comrs. (1992).

positions opened up the opportunity to establish new policies and procedures.

Another strong recommendation was to train officers in all aspects of the job. According to the report, the LAPD "remains committed to 'top-down' management, rather than to collaborative problem-solving." The report went on to state, "command and management staff have failed to treat officers as full partners in the Department's mission […] training in ethics and integrity, moreover, has remained limited, haphazard, and only marginally effective."[42] Lack of trust between police officers and upper management led to low moral rate circulates among officers. The community and the LAPD also had low morale for each other, and this goes back to the 1965 Christopher Report after the Watts Riots after that commission instated what was known as the 1.28 system.

Potential new LAPD policies could be overwhelming. The McCone report required that "under the 1.28 system, all complaints from members of the community must be recorded and investigated. The Department has no discretion to disregard a complaint on the ground that it is trivial or lacks credibility."[43] Police officers felt that even complaints stemming from something as minor as a parking ticket can go on their record and hinder their advancement within the ranks. The commission recommended that relations between the community and the LAPD become more open. Reform to the 1.28 system should also be open to what the police officers have to say, and management needs to be more open with the officers, letting them have a say in policies, and weekly meetings with the community.

Major reform was slow and was not what many wanted or expected; as with previous times of reform, much weighed on the shoulders of the current police chief. The main police chief throughout the incident was Chief Bernard Parks, who was appointed Chief of Police in 1997, right before the first issues of the Rampart Scandal were being discussed within the department. The *Los Angeles Times*, in "Parks Hasn't Done Job No.1: Reform the LAPD's Culture," wrote, "none Level Reforms are needed here, not the skin-level changes of improved complaint procedures, better public relations, computer tracking, senior lead officers, and flextime." Though many of the suggestions from the Rampart Report have been addressed, it was only fixing the problems made by the issues that are not addressed; this goes into that the reform of the "thin blue line" was still not being tackled, which was the heart of the problem. This *Times* article complied that "when Armando Coronado, a decorated LAPD veteran, blew the whistle on gangster cops Rafael Perez and Nino Durden in 1997, LAPD's Internal Affairs Department turned not on the rouges but Coronado. It destroyed his career."[44] Parks, meanwhile, balked at the old system while making his way up the ranks. When talking about his involvement in working his way through the ranks, "Parks […] challenged the tradition of good old boys promoting good old boys. He did so as a captain in the 77 division and later as an assistant chief when he

[42] Rampart Independent Review Panel, Report of the Rampart Independent Review Panel, Rampart Independent Review Panel, 2000, 48.

[43] Rampart Independent Review Panel, Report of the Rampart Independent Review Panel, Rampart Independent Review Panel, 2000, 54.

[44] Constance L. Rice, "Parks Hasn't Done Job No.1: Reform the LAPD's Culture," *Los Angeles Times*, February 11, 2002.

forced the Narcotics Division to promote black detectives."[45] He had also been called a "black racist" from within the department and was not reinstated after 2002.[46]

Discipline needed to be more thorough and police officers more accountable for their actions. This was a key feature from the Rampart Report. A recommendation by the commission going to the power of the "thin blue line" states that "the department should develop statistical records that allow it to track manifestations of 'the code of silence'."[47] "'The Measurement of Police Integrity," published in the National Institute of Justice, states, "the difficulties of controlling corruption can be traced to several factors: the reluctance of police officers to report corrupt activities by their fellow officers (also known as 'The Code,' 'The Code of Silence,' or 'The Blue Curtain'), the reluctance of police administrators to acknowledge the existence of corruption in their agencies, the benefits of the typical corrupt transaction to the parties involved, and the lack of immediate victims willing to report corruption."[48] This is very integral to what happened to Armando Coronado when he decided to come forward with the information that he knew causing him to be blacklisted from the LAPD. This was one of the hardest reforms.

Without the efforts of external whistleblowers and reform advocates, it seems unlikely that the Los Angeles Police Department may likely have continued as they did in the 1960s under Chief William Parker with the "us against them" mentality. With how a government is run by the people, progression is inevitable. When the police were killing and hurting suspects with excessive use of dangerous chokeholds, the people of Los Angeles made their voices heard for the ban to happen. If Rodney King had not been videoed by George Holiday for the world to see, the Christopher Report would not have forced changes to the department. If it was not for a whistleblower in the LAPD themselves to unearth the events of the Rampart Scandal, the police department would have kept running the same way it always had. Ever since the first report by the McCone Commission after the 1965 Watts riots, there had been a public display of pushback from the citizens to the ones who are sworn to "serve and protect." When the Rampart Scandal broke, it not only was noticed by the people who have always been saying there needs to be reform in the LAPD but the people who had no clue that issues of that magnitude were possible. Through the exposition of scandal, corruption, and error, the LAPD has been pushed to reform and improve from its troubled past. As Edmund Burke said, "in history, a great volume is unrolled for our instruction, drawing the materials of future wisdom from the past errors and infirmities of mankind."[49] As the progression of human civilization takes a step forward every day, the same must go for the relationship between the City of Los Angeles and its citizens. For the LAPD to go back to the status of what Darryl Gates called

[45] Joe Domanick, "Top Gun: Richard Riordan's plans for our next police chief," *LA Weekly*, July 17, 1997.

[46] "LAPD Officer Pleads No Contest to On-Duty Assault of Man in Boyle Heights," *Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office,* August 18, 2022, https://da.lacounty.gov/media/news/lapd-officer-pleads-no-contest-duty-assault-man-boyle-heights.

[47] Rampart Independent Review Panel, Report of the Rampart Independent Review Panel, Rampart Independent Review Panel, 2000, Appendix B, 3.

[48] Carl B. Klockars et al., "The Measurement of Police Integrity," *National Institute of Justice* (2000), https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/181465.pdf.

[49] I.W. Hampsher-Monk, "Rhetoric and Opinion in the Politics of Edmund Burke," *History of Political Thought* 9, no. 3 (1988): 466.

"perhaps the finest, most professional police department in the world," it will need to reflect on these errors and infirmities and continue to establish major reform.[50] It has been almost sixty years since the 1965 Watts riots, from which the McCone Report states a question that has yet to be answered: "What will it avail our nation if we can place a man on the moon but cannot cure the sickness in our cities?"[51]

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[50] Lou Cannon, *Official Negligence*, 25.

[51] Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, *Violence*, 9.

The Demands of Progress: Foreign Enterprise and Labor Under Guatemala's Liberal Administrations, 1870-1920

Siena Geach

Abstract: In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Guatemala experienced major economic and infrastructural development under the direction of Liberal administrations. To fund this vision for national progress, the Guatemalan state consistently accepted foreign investment. Although Liberal leaders initially deemed foreign labor as "necessary" for development, workers were increasingly discouraged from immigrating to Guatemala, with Asian and Black workers bearing the brunt of anti-immigrant policy. Using railroad contracts and US Department of State records, I argue that Liberal administrations did not favor either form of foreign influence, but they continued to support foreign enterprise because foreign capital enabled Liberal goals of development. By the time railroad construction and other infrastructure projects were completed, however, foreign businesses were firmly established, and foreign labor was deemed dispensable.

On the inauguration of his third term as president of Guatemala, Manuel Estrada Cabrera (1898-1920) addressed the nation, promising to develop the Republic's wealth and to maintain positive relations with the Americas and Europe. President Estrada Cabrera assured his fellow citizens that he would "attract to the country the greatest sum of capital and labor that agricultural and industrial progress demand[ed]."[1] At the same time, he hoped "to form among [his] fellow citizens the largest possible number of producers and, therefore, owners." Nonetheless, like many heads of state before him and to follow, Estrada Cabrera struggled to balance these two aims.

From the 1870s through the 1920s, the Liberal Guatemalan government consistently accepted foreign investment for the sake of economic development and national progress. Although the state permitted foreign labor as deemed "necessary" for this Liberal vision, workers were increasingly discouraged from immigrating to Guatemala, with Asian and Black workers bearing the brunt of anti-immigrant policy. In truth, Liberal administrations did not favor either form of foreign influence, but they continued to support foreign enterprises because foreign capital enabled Liberal goals of development. Once railroad construction and other infrastructure projects were completed, foreign businesses were firmly established, and foreign labor was deemed dispensable.

Historians of Latin America have long examined the role of foreign enterprise

[1] Manuel Estrada Cabrera, "Manifesto del Presidente de la República de Guatemala a sus Conciudadanos," transcript of speech delivered in Guatemala on March 15, 1911, 814.001/1 in Roll 8 of *Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Guatemala and between Guatemala and other states, 1910-1929*, 1973, Microfilm, 4.

on Latin American economies and politics. They have particularly focused on the impact of export economies on developing nation states, especially under the influence of neocolonial policies and interests of Western states. As more historians have attempted to analyze these relationships "from the bottom up," they have increasingly highlighted the role of foreign labor. For Guatemala, the historiography on foreign labor and business during and after the Revolution (1944-1954) is more robust, but there is growing literature regarding the Liberal era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. David McCreery, the foremost scholar on Guatemalan labor, highlights the clash between state and Indigenous interests regarding labor and development, which resulted in the Guatemalan government legalizing decades of debt servitude and forced labor.[2] Other scholars, such as Paul Dosal, emphasize the role of the state in permitting foreign companies, such as the United Fruit Company, to monopolize Guatemalan infrastructure and industries.[3] And most recently, historians like Jason M. Colby and Frederick Douglass Opie have offered insight into the impact of foreign (particularly Black) labor on the development of banana and coffee industries, the construction of railroads, and the growth of labor organization and political resistance during the Liberal period.[4]

Though I will build heavily on these works, I will depart from the historiography in three ways. First, I will demonstrate continuity in state perspectives across Liberal administrations. For example, Paul Dosal views the Estrada Cabrera dictatorship as uniquely corrupt because "his predecessors refused to yield control of the country's economic infrastructure to foreign capitalists even as they accepted bribes."[5] According to Dosal, "only a dictator" could have sold the Northern Railway, which other Liberals considered "too valuable to place in foreign hands."[6] Dosal contends that this concession set the foundation for Keith's railroad and banana monopolies in Guatemala and Central America. Although the impact of 1904 concession cannot be denied, I concur with recent literature that emphasizes commonalities between earlier Liberal presidencies and Estrada Cabrera and short-lived change following his initial

[2] David McCreery, *The Sweat of Their Brow: A History of Work in Latin America* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000); *Development and the State in Reforma Guatemala, 1871-1885* (Athens: Ohio University, Center for International Studies, 1983); "Coffee and Class: The Structure of Development in Liberal Guatemala," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 56, no. 3 (1976): 438-460; "Debt Servitude in Rural Guatemala, 1876-1936," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 4 (1983): 735-759; "'An Odious Feudalism': *Mandamiento* Labor and Commercial Agriculture in Guatemala, 1858-1920," *Latin American Perspectives* 13, no. 1 (1986): 99-117.

[3] Paul J. Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators: A Political History of the United Fruit in Guatemala, 1899-1944* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1984).

[4] Jason M. Colby, *The Business of Empire: United Fruit, Race, and U.S. Expansion in Central America* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2011); "'Banana Growing and Negro Management': Race, Labor, and Jim Crow Colonialism in Guatemala, 1884-1930," *Diplomatic History* 30, no. 4 (September 2006): 595-621; Frederick Douglass Opie, *Black Labor Migration in Caribbean Guatemala, 1882-1923* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012); "Foreign Workers, Debt Peonage, and Frontier Culture in Lowland Guatemala, 1884-1900," *Transforming Anthropology* 12, nos. 1 and 2 (2004): 40-49; "Black Americans and the State in Turn-of-the-Century Guatemala," *The Americas* 64, no. 4 (2008): 583-609; "Garveyism and Labor Organization on the Caribbean Coast of Guatemala, 1920-1921," *The Journal of African American History* 94, no. 2 (2009): 153–71.

[5] Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 38.

[6] Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 38, 41.

1920 removal.[7] From the 1870s through the 1920s, the Guatemalan government was relatively consistent in its handling of both foreign labor and business.

To emphasize the Liberal pattern, I will examine foreign business and labor through the lens of the Guatemalan state. This focus on the Guatemalan government breaks from the established historiography, as previous scholars of foreign influence in Guatemala have prioritized the actions and responses of the United States government, the United Fruit Company, Indigenous and Ladino (Spanish-speaking or non-Indigenous) Guatemalans, and Black laborers. In addition to utilizing the lens of the Guatemala state, I will expand on the existing historiography by examining foreign enterprise and labor side by side. By examining how the Guatemalan government responded to the most powerful and the least powerful foreigners, I will demonstrate that the capital required for development was the driving force of government goodwill toward foreign presence in the Republic.

Early Liberal Demands: Foreign Enterprise and National Development

In 1871, General Justo Rufino Barrios and the Liberal rebels "overthrew the Conservative government and ushered in a new era of Guatemalan history."[8] Championing goals of economic development and national progress, Presidents Miguel García Granados (1871-1873) and Justo Rufino Barrios (1873-1885) were the first of many Liberals to invite foreign investment and labor in order to reinforce the coffee industry, build infrastructure, and establish modernizing reforms in health and education.[9] According to Delmer G. Ross, Rufino Barrios "was especially interested in bringing material progress to his country" and was therefore more "willing to experiment" than his predecessors.[10] Historian J. Fred Rippy concurs, noting that Rufino Barrios was eager for American "collaboration in the modernization of Guatemala" in particular.[11] As a result of these sentiments, Americans and other foreigners contributed largely to early Liberals' success in expanding Guatemala's public utilities, roads, and railroads.[12]

The primary reason that Guatemalan governments sought out foreign business, however, was that they lacked the capital to modernize on their own. In the early Liberal years, limited funding was a natural result of the Republic's nascent independence and debts to other nations. As Opie highlights, "debt obligations to England [alone] consumed a large portion of state revenues that could have [otherwise] been directed toward building a modern infrastructure."[13] The capital

[7] Todd Little Siebold, "Guatemala y El Anhelo de Modernizacion: Estrada Cabrera y El Desarrollo del Estado, 1898-1920," *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos* 20, no. 1 (1994): 25-41; Wade Kit, "The Unionist Experiment in Guatemala, 1920-1921: Conciliation, Disintegration, and the Liberal Junta," *The Americas* 50, no. 1 (1993): 31-64.

[8] Colby, "Banana Growing and Negro Management," 601.

[9] Little Siebold, "Guatemala y El Anhelo de Modernización," 26-28.

[10] Delmer G. Ross, "The Construction of the Interoceanic Railroad of Guatemala," *The Americas* 33, no. 3 (1977): 433.

[11] J. Fred Rippy, "Relations of the United States and Guatemala During the Epoch of Justo Rufino Barrios," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 22, no. 4 (1942): 595.

[12] Rippy, "Relations of the United States and Guatemala," 597; Ross, "The Construction of the Interoceanic Railroad of Guatemala," 434.

[13] Opie, "Foreign Workers, Debt Peonage, and Frontier Culture in Lowland Guatemala," 41.

problem was then exacerbated in 1897, when poor fiscal policies and the rise of Brazilian coffee led to an economic crisis.[14]

When forced to choose between development and self-reliance, Liberal governments chose development almost every time. In the late nineteenth century, the Guatemalan government welcomed foreign corporations, "granted a number of mining concessions to North Americans," and encouraged colonist settlement on lands to establish plantations.[15] The greatest contributors to metastasizing foreign influence in Guatemala's economy were the foreign companies, engineers, and laborers who facilitated the construction of infrastructure, most notably the railway system.

Following in the footsteps of other Latin American nations, the Guatemalan state sought out foreign capital for their railroads by forwarding "concessionary policies that included generous tax exemptions, subsidies, and land grants."[16] This began at the end of the President García Granados administration in April 1873, when a contract was made with W.F. Kelley (a United States citizen) who ultimately failed to build the line.[17] The first major and lasting concession, however, was the 1877 contract between the "Republic of Guatemala" and "Mr. Guillermo Nanne," in which the government awarded Nanne and his Guatemala Central Railroad Company construction and operation privileges for the San José-Escuintla line.[18] The contract allowed Nanne to organize his company abroad or in Guatemala, urging him to choose whichever location was "most advantageous" for him "to obtain the necessary capital."[19] The contract also established a precedent for a "gratuitous grant" of state and expropriated lands for construction as well as exemptions on duties and taxes for necessary materials.[20] "Seventy-four years after the expiration of the first twenty-five years of the concession," the railroad would be transferred "in operating condition" and "become the property of the Nation."

Though the Guatemalan government generously provided land rights and tax exemptions, these provisions were simply a means "to obtain the necessary capital" for a railroad that would eventually belong to the Republic. As Ross points out, "the government was to receive an operating railroad at the end of the concession period at only a small cost to itself: less than 210,000 pesos in cash, plus 120,000 pesos in bonds."[21] Additionally, the land grant was not actually a major loss to the government, as "the original value of the land was quite small since almost all of it was uninhabited public land" and "coastal jungle."[22] In short, the government paid a fair

[14] Little Siebold, "Guatemala y El Anhelo de Modernización," 29; Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 32.

[15] Rippy, "Relations of the United States and Guatemala," 603.

[16] Opie, "Foreign Workers, Debt Peonage, and Frontier Culture in Lowland Guatemala," 41.

[17] Ross, "The Construction of the Interoceanic Railroad of Guatemala," 434. This name is spelled "W.J. Kelly" in the 1877 contract (see next footnote).

[18] Contract for construction of railroad from San José to Escuintla, April 7, 1877, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees, 1877-1912* (Boston: Press of Geo. H. Ellis Co., 1913), Microfilm, 94-100.

[19] Contract for construction of railroad from San José to Escuintla, April 7, 1877, 94.

[20] Contract for construction of railroad from San José to Escuintla, April 7, 1877, 95.

[21] Ross, "The Construction of the Interoceanic Railroad of Guatemala," 436.

[22] Ross, "The Construction of the Interoceanic Railroad of Guatemala," 437.

cost (significantly less than they would have paid to construct the railroad themselves) and "sacrificed" undeveloped lands, so that a foreign company could construct a railroad, make the lands valuable, then return everything to the government. As Ross points out, the contract with Guatemala Central Railroad Company was therefore a "good bargain" for the Liberal government and a far cry from foreign manipulation.

In 1881, the Guatemalan government approved a contract with three American citizens to construct a railroad from Champerico to Retalhuleu.[23] Like the Central Railroad Company contract, this contract provided exemptions on import duties, granted the concessionaires national lands, and allowed the concessionaires to "form a stock company" in whichever location facilitated "the object of obtaining the funds necessary."[24] After ninety nine years, the railroad would "become the property of the nation."[25] In addition to this automatic transfer, however, the contract also stipulated that if the company decided to "dispose of the railroad," the Guatemalan government would have a "preferential right to acquire it."[26] This new language demonstrated a clear desire for eventual Guatemalan ownership, which President Rufino Barrios augmented in his Executive Order approving the contract: "The Company shall always be considered as a Guatemalan Company even though all or several of its members be foreigners," and "no foreign diplomatic agent shall have the right to interfere."[27] Though Rufino Barrios was willing to use foreign capital to further his goals, he wanted the project to remain under Guatemalan control.

For the next two decades, railroad contracts negotiated with both foreign and Guatemalan businessmen followed the precedents set by these early contracts. For example, when Guatemalan *finqueros* (owners of coffee plantations) purchased the railway between Champerico and Retalhuleu from its American owners and secured a contract for the construction of another line, they were granted land and tax emptions on similar terms.[28] Throughout the 1890s, contracts with both foreign and Guatemalan companies continued to grant the Guatemalan government "the right to buy the line for a just price," or a "preferential right" for purchase.[29] Contracts also explicitly banned foreign state participation in these dealings. For example, in an 1895 contract with the Ocós Railroad Company, the concessions were deemed "transferable in their entirety or in part to Guatemalans or to foreigners; but in

[23] Henry C. Hall to T.F. Bayard, January 11, 1888, No. 87 in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress, With the Annual Message of the President, December 3, 1888, Part I* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1889), 108-109; Contract for construction of railroad from Champerico to Retalhuleu, March 12, 1881, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees.*

[24] Contract for construction of railroad from Champerico to Retalhuleu, March 12, 1881, 195.

[25] Contract for construction of railroad from Champerico to Retalhuleu, March 12, 1881, 192.

[26] Contract for construction of railroad from Champerico to Retalhuleu, March 12, 1881, 195.

[27] Executive Order approving contract for construction of railroad from Champerico to Retalhuleu, June 20, 1881, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 198.

[28] Articles of Incorporation and By-laws of Occidental Railroad Company, July 6, 1889, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*; Henry C. Hall to T.F. Bayard, January 11, 1888, No. 87, 108-109; Contract for construction of railroad from Retalhuleu to San Felipe, February 12, 1890, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*.

[29] Contract for construction of railroad (Santa María) mainline to Patulul, October 24, 1893, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 133; Contract for construction of Ocós Railroad (Ocós to Santa Catarina or El Mango), September 23, 1895, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 184.

case they are transferred to foreigners, the latter shall not under any circumstances have recourse to diplomatic intervention."[30] Additionally, the railroad could not "be transferred to a foreign Government." When Ocós and the government modified this contract in 1898, they explicitly prohibited the transfer of concessions or privileges "to any foreign Government" and forbid that the railroad "be given to such Government as security."[31] Any company in possession of the railroad was "subject to the laws of [Guatemala]" and needed to "have a representative in Guatemala empowered to act for it."

As the nineteenth century closed, the Guatemalan government navigated a complex relationship with foreign capital, increasingly asserting control over foreign operations. Unfortunately, despite Liberal hopes of garnering enough funds to purchase these railroads sooner rather than later, the economic crisis of 1897 exacerbated the Republic's money problems. President Estrada Cabrera inherited this problem after the assassination of President Reina Barrios (1892-1898) in 1898. Faced with an incomplete railway system and a failing economy, Estrada Cabrera decided to sell the Northern Railway, placing it in the hands of two North Americans, Minor C. Keith and William C. Van Horne.[32]

The 1904 contract introduced key provisions that enhanced the power and economic advantages of entities like the United Fruit Company, while redefining the government's role in controlling critical infrastructure and land use. For one, the government transferred "the wharf at Puerto Barrios" to Keith and Van Horne and granted them the "right to construct wharves and establish agencies for shipping and receiving freight and passengers in the Gulf of Amatique."[33] This concession enabled United Fruit Company, for which Keith served as vice president, to take control of the north coast ports and Guatemala's principal steamship routes to the United States.[34] Additionally, whereas earlier contracts assumed that both parties would meet their required payments and the railroad would be transferred to the Guatemalan government after a century of operation, the 1904 contract admitted that "if the Government at the end of the 99 years mentioned and six months additional [did] not notify the Contactors of its desire to enter into possession of the railroad and railroad properties by paying their value, […] the obligation of the Contractors to make the said transfers [would] be terminated."[35] The contract also provided favorable freight rates and land for banana cultivation, terms that, as Dosal points out, were "denied to the independents who had operated there since the 1880s."[36]

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[30] Contract for construction of Ocós Railroad (Ocós to Santa Catarina or El Mango), September 23, 1895, 181.

[31] Agreement modifying preceding contract for construction of Ocós Railroad, July 23, 1898, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 187.

[32] Contract relating to termination and operation of the Ferrocarril al Norte, January 12, 1904, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 1.

[33] Contract relating to termination and operation of the Ferrocarril al Norte, January 12, 1904, 1, 6.

[34] "Minor C. Keith Dies; United Fruit's Head," *New York Times*, June 15, 1929, 8; Arthur C. Frost, "Guatemala Seeking Immigrants," Letter from Guatemalan consul to the US Department of State, July 12, 1921, 814.55/6 in Roll 29 of *Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Guatemala*, 2.

[35] Contract relating to termination and operation of the Ferrocarril al Norte, January 12, 1904, 2.

[36] Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 47.

Article XI of the 1904 contract granted the Guatemala Railway Company the "right to purchase or lease any other railroad and to consolidate with other railroad corporations," although the Company had to provide the government "previous notice" if they intended to do so.[37] This article foreshadowed the 1912 incorporation of the International Railways of Central America; in fact, Keith was already on good terms with the Central Railroad Company.[38] Therefore, though the majority of its terms followed the precedents set by earlier contracts, the 1904 contract was a major turning point in Guatemalan history, simultaneously abandoning the state's Northern Railway project to private interests and providing Keith a foot in the door for both a railroad and a banana monopoly.

Facing dwindling funds and a rapid economic crisis, Estrada Cabrera and his Liberal colleagues had reasons to agree to the 1904 contract and its terms. The 1904 contract provided opportunities for industrial and agricultural expansion. In Decree 581, the National Legislative Assembly approved the contract and argued that the agreement would promote Guatemalan interests, since the "early completion of the said railway line [was] necessary in order to develop the national commerce, agriculture, and industry."[39] Aiming to "give all the protection possible to national agriculture," the government promised thirty five years of exemptions on "export duties and local taxes" for "fruits and agricultural products, with the exception of coffee" carried by the railroad.[40] While the 1904 contract took government efforts to reinvigorate the economy to a new level, Estrada Cabrera was not breaking from the Liberal mold. After all, President Rufino Barrios had granted the Central Railroad Company adapted land grants because he believed the change was "to the interests of country" because the large sections allowed "the establishment of large plantations."[41] What changed, then, were not Liberal motivations but circumstances.

Liberal governments always desired agricultural and infrastructure developments, and they were always willing to use foreign capital to benefit the Guatemalan economy. As historian Todd Little Siebold argues, when faced with a difficult economic situation, Estrada Cabrera simply followed the "legacy of Liberalism initiated by Barrios in 1870 and continued by the [presidents] that followed him."[42] The 1904 contract was a *triunfo pírrico (pyrrhic victory)*, but a triumph nonetheless, as the railroad was soon completed and the economy began to recover.[43]

Decreasing Demands: From Recruitment to Resentment of Foreign Labor

Initially, Liberal administrations allowed companies to recruit foreign labor to work on the north coast and complete major infrastructure projects. When possible,

[37] Contract relating to termination and operation of the Ferrocarril al Norte, January 12, 1904, 9-10.

[38] Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 48.

[39] Legislative Decree No. 581, April 9, 1904, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 19-20.

[40] Contract relating to termination and operation of the Ferrocarril al Norte, January 12, 1904, 15.

[41] Executive Order relative to grant of land, May 16, 1884, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 111.

[42] Little Siebold, "Guatemala y El Anhelo de Modernizacion," 29.

[43] Little Siebold, "Guatemala y El Anhelo de Modernizacion," 35.

however, Liberal governments increasingly placed limits on how many and what kind of foreigners were allowed. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Guatemalan state first restricted Chinese and other Asian immigrants, before expanding restrictions to Black immigrants of both African American and West Indian origin. Before this shift, the Liberal state allowed the recruitment of foreign laborers largely in response to pressures such as labor scarcity, the urgency to develop infrastructure, and economic demands.

The most obvious reason for importing foreign labor was labor scarcity at home. As David McCreery argues at length, this perception of labor scarcity resulted from Indigenous workers' resistance to employment. In his analysis of debt servitude in rural Guatemala, McCreery notes that the Guatemalan government "periodically floated schemes to import 'white' immigrants or Asian contract labor, but the [clearest and largest source] of agricultural workers for Guatemala was the rural Indian population."[44] Indigenous workers were tied to their highland communities, "bound by the demands of subsistence agriculture and [social] commitments" and preferring "petty commodity production and small-scale commerce" over formal employment.[45] Indigenous workers also preferred to work as *temporalistas* (seasonal workers), so they could regularly return to their highland communities.[46]

The Liberal state responded to Guatemalan landowners' labor problem by "intervening in the labor supply" to "generate adequate numbers of workers at low cost and under conditions favorable to those in the export sector."[47] To enforce Indigenous labor, Liberal leaders first returned to the *mandamiento* system, which required rural inhabitants to work for large landowners. After abolishing the *mandamiento* system in 1893, President Reina Barrios issued Decree 243, a new form of debt servitude that forced Indigenous Guatemalans to choose between annual payment, military service, construction work, and agricultural work (in the coffee, sugarcane, cacao, and banana industries).[48] With the aim of Guatemalan (and Ladino-dominated) homogeneity, the Decree also provided an exemption for Indians that learned "to read and write" and "abandon[ed] their traditional dress."[49]

The challenges surrounding Indigenous labor in Guatemala not only shaped agricultural business practices but also revealed the Liberal state's active role in labor recruitment and regulation. First, the difficulties of recruiting and using Indigenous labor incentivized foreign companies to seek out foreign labor options. Second, the government response to this issue demonstrated Liberal states' willingness to interfere in labor issues, especially regarding Indigenous labor. As Liberal governments became disenchanted with imported labor, they repeatedly combatted labor shortages by involving themselves in labor recruitment and providing Indigenous labor on behalf of private interests.

[44] McCreery, "Debt Servitude in Rural Guatemala," 737. McCreery covers an economic sector primarily under Guatemalan ownership, so imported labor was likely not a serious consideration for these businesses.

[45] McCreery, "Debt Servitude in Rural Guatemala," 738.

[46] McCreery, "Debt Servitude in Rural Guatemala," 744.

[47] McCreery, "Debt Servitude in Rural Guatemala," 736-737.

[48] McCreery, "Debt Servitude in Rural Guatemala," 743.

[49] Decree 243, issued by the Legislative Committee of Guatemala in 1894, quoted in McCreery, "Debt Servitude in Rural Guatemala," 743.

Additionally, Liberal administrations were more willing to accept foreign labor due to the unique demands of the north coast, a site of significant development and railroad construction at the turn of the century. According to Jason M. Colby, the Guatemalan elite viewed the north coast as "a region of tropical disease and degenerate peoples."[50] Cart roads were not built until the 1870s, and the region "remained sparsely populated" even as the railroads were constructed through its lands.[51] Indigenous and Ladino Guatemalans were uninterested in moving to the coasts due to "the heat, humidity, and insects" which could result in parasites, infections, and other forms of disease when combined with "frequent rains" and "inadequate shelter."[52] Of course, foreign laborers were not immune to these conditions. For example, in 1885, the US government sent a vessel to relieve some American laborers who were "exhausted by humid heat and tropical fevers."[53] Nevertheless, many foreign laborers were uninformed about the environment of Guatemala's coast, and most could not give up and return home as easily as Guatemalan nationals.

The final reason that the Guatemalan state was accommodating of foreign labor was the claim that these workers were simply easier to manage. For one, foreign companies preferred both workers and management who had experience on similar projects elsewhere in Central America. For example, United Fruit Company was more inclined to recruit West Indian workers who already had experience in the "banana business."[54] Jamaicans in particular were described by foreign businessmen as "among the world's best banana farmers" and "magnificent port workers and stevedores."[55] Similarly, United Fruit Company preferred to relocate experienced managers such as superintendent Victor M. Cutter, who "learned the business of banana growing and negro management" in Costa Rica before working in Guatemala.[56] In addition to recruiting laborers who were familiar with the work, companies preferred workers that were easy to manipulate. In the case of African American and West Indian workers, managers took advantage of their "limited options for alternative employment" due to difficult economic conditions in Jamaica and the Jim Crow South.[57] Liberal governments already aimed to appease foreign companies for the sake of economic and national development, but if foreign labor was a more efficient means to reach the end goal, the Guatemalan state was even more inclined to usher in workers.

The Guatemalan state was particularly willing to comply with the importation of labor for railway projects. According to Opie, "North American contractors work[ed] closely with Guatemalan government officials" to import hundreds of Jamaican laborers, attract experienced workers from other Central American railroad projects, and recruit American workers out of New Orleans.[58] Railroad

[50] Colby, "Banana Growing and Negro Management," 600.

[51] Colby, "Banana Growing and Negro Management," 607; Ross, "The Construction of the Interoceanic Railroad of Guatemala," 432.

[52] McCreery, "Debt Servitude in Rural Guatemala," 753.

[53] Rippy, "Relations of the United States and Guatemala," 603.

[54] Elisavinda Echeverri-Gent, "Forgotten Workers: British West Indians and the Early Days of the Banana Industry in Costa Rica and Honduras," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24, no. 2 (1992): 279.

[55] Charles Morrow Wilson, quoted in Echeverri-Gent, "Forgotten Workers," 281.

[56] Hugh Wilson, quoted in Colby, "Banana Growing and Negro Management," 600.

[57] Echeverri-Gent, "Forgotten Workers," 277.

[58] Opie, "Foreign Workers, Debt Peonage, and Frontier Culture in Lowland Guatemala," 41.

concessions demonstrated the Guatemalan government's willingness to allow foreigners to contribute to the modernization of the nations, while also pointing to the government's lukewarm and slowly waning support for foreign labor.

The 1877 contract with the Guatemala Central Railroad Company introduced key labor policy that Liberal governments continued to recycle in sequential railroad agreements. The Secretary of the Interior, Manual Herrera, and President Rufino Barrios granted the contractor "the right to import workmen in such numbers as he may consider necessary" and promised that "the Government [would] employ all means within its power to enforce" these labor contracts.[59] Additionally, all railroad workers were "exempt from military service and civic duties, except natives of the country in [times] of war."[60] This language demonstrates that the Guatemalan government, at least in 1877, was perfectly willing to import whatever labor that the company deemed necessary. For the most part, the government trusted and backed this foreign company's judgment. Additionally, the possibility of losing workers to wartime efforts provided another, albeit limited, incentive for the company to import foreign workers over natives.

These same two terms appeared in the 1880 contract that permitted the Central Railroad Company to expand to Guatemala City.[61] However, in an 1882 Executive Order modifying this contract, Rufino Barrios introduced limitations to the privileges these laborers received. While Central could hire and import foreign workers, the company now needed to annually confirm with the Secretary of the Interior "the quantity of foodstuffs, clothes, etc., it may import free of duty […] for the exclusive use of the workmen in its service."[62] "Under no circumstances," the Executive Order continued, "shall more than 50 employees of the Railroad enjoy this privilege." Here, the Liberal government took a measured approach. The state understood that foreign companies would desire (and possibly require) foreign labor to complete the railroad, but they did not want Central to import this labor without restraint.

This restraint increased a negligible amount across the next decade. In an 1893 *Modus Vivendi,* the Guatemalan government summarized changes and additions made since the initial 1877 contract with the Guatemala Central Railroad Company. This document did not address issues of labor beyond the reduction of the number of employees that could receive duty exemptions from fifty to forty.[63] However, the *Modus Vivendi* was followed by a new contract for the construction of a line from the (Santa María) mainline to Patulul. The 1893 contract reaffirmed the importation of labor as deemed "necessary," but took a step back by not explicitly delineating how many workers would receive tax emptions for "foodstuffs, provisions, and clothing."[64] The contract also "exempt[ed] the workmen from military service," seemingly without

[59] Contract for construction of railroad from San José to Escuintla, April 7, 1877, 98.

[60] Contract for construction of railroad from San José to Escuintla, April 7, 1877, 98.

[61] Contract for construction of railroad from Escuintla to Guatemala City, July 13, 1880, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 103-104.

[62] Executive Order modifying the Contract of the 13th July, 1880, December 22, 1881, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 110.

[63] *Modus Vivendi*, Résumé of the Contracts and Agreements relative to the Southern Railway and Approval thereof, June 21, 1893, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 124.

[64] Contract for construction of railroad from (Santa María) mainline to Patulul, October 24, 1893, 136, 135.

differentiating between Guatemalan nationals and foreigners. Lastly, in Article 36 of the contract, the Guatemalan government promised to "afford the Company all the facilities compatible with justice in order that the Company may obtain the necessary number of workmen."[65] This new provision lined up with other labor policies under Reina Barrios, such as Decree 243. Therefore, the most notable change across the 1880s and early 1890s was that the state recognized and entrenched their authority over the problem of labor scarcity. As a result, they continued to allow foreign labor but aimed for greater control over labor in general.

In railroad contracts between Guatemalan companies and the government, however, foreign labor was less of a consideration. After purchasing the railway between Champerico and Retalhuleu from its American owners, the Guatemalan-owned Occidental Railroad Company made plans for further construction to San Felipe.[66] In the 1890 San Felipe contract, the government, now under President Manuel Barillas (1885-1892), and Occidental did not discuss foreign labor whatsoever. They only mentioned labor in Article XV, in which railroad employees and laborers were "excused from all civic duties and from military service, except in time of war."[67] This pattern continued with the initial 1895 contract for the Ocós Railroad Company, where President Reina Barrios' Liberal government "exempted [railroad employees] from civic duties and from military service except in time of war."[68] This absence of foreign labor stipulations suggests that Liberal governments believed Guatemalan companies did not require specific guidance nor support on labor recruitment, foreign or otherwise.

Later, Occidental and Ocós contracts revealed a shift in this perspective. In 1895, the Guatemalan Secretary of State worked out a contract with an agent of the Occidental Railroad Company to extend a railway line to Mazatenango.[69] In addition to similar exemptions from civic duties and military services, the government promised to assist Occidental "by all lawful means within its power in obtaining laborers" and to allow the company "the right to bring from abroad laborers or workmen in such numbers as it may consider necessary."[70] Additionally, the government acknowledged the possibility of labor scarcity "caused by wars, uprisings, and similar occurrences," and promised to consider the scarcity "as a case of *vis major* in so far as it affect[ed] the time fixed for the conclusion of the work."[71] This language was strikingly similar to the terms of the 1893 contract with the Central Railroad Company, and therefore demonstrated that President Reina Barrios aimed to extend governmental control over all labor, whether the employer was Guatemalan or foreign.

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[65] Contract for construction of railroad from (Santa María) mainline to Patulul, October 24, 1893, 139.

[66] Articles of Incorporation and By-laws of Occidental Railroad Company, July 6, 1889, 202-203; Henry C. Hall to T.F. Bayard, January 11, 1888, No. 87, 108-109; Contract for construction of railroad from Retalhuleu to San Felipe, February 12, 1890, 224.

[67] Contract for construction of railroad from Retalhuleu to San Felipe, February 12, 1890, 226.

[68] Contract for construction of Ocós Railroad (Ocós to Santa Catarina or El Mango), September 23, 1895, 183.

[69] Contract for construction of railway from Maluá to Mazatenango (connecting Occidental with Mazatenango), December 11, 1895, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 231.

[70] Contract for construction of railway from Maluá to Mazatenango, December 11, 1895, 233-234.

[71] Contract for construction of railway from Maluá to Mazatenango, December 11, 1895, 238.

After the assassination of Reina Barrios in 1898, however, the Liberal administration under President Estrada Cabrera implemented new provisions in their contracts with railroad companies. These contracts still allowed the importation of labor as deemed "necessary," but with one major exception: "persons of Chinese nationality."[72] In 1902, contractor Antonio Macías del Real and President Estrada Cabrera signed a contract for the construction of a railroad between Caballo Blanco and Coatepeque that included this Chinese exclusion stipulation. A few weeks later, however, the National Legislative Assembly decided that this exemption was insufficient and modified the contract to also forbid "laborers from other countries inhabited by the same race."[73] These anti-Asian provisions were only the beginning of a slow shift toward racist and xenophobic government labor policy.

Then in 1904, the infamous Northern Railway contract between the Guatemalan government and Van Horne and Keith solidified the Guatemalan relationship to foreign influence. This contract included the standard military and civil service exemptions for railroad employees, as well as customs exemptions for the materials these employees required (though the Guatemala Railway Company was tasked to provide "a list of the articles which it may be necessary to make the object of free importation, stating the maximum quantity").[74] Also in line with previous contracts under the Estrada Cabrera administration, the Guatemala Railway Company benefited from the "free importation of laborers and the validity of contracts made with them in other countries, excepting those of Chinese nationality."[75]

In addition to these continuities, however, the Guatemalan government offered unprecedented collaboration to access laborers. In Article VII of the 1904 contract, the government promised exemptions "from payment of port dues or any other dues [to] all vessels belonging to or chartered" by the Guatemala Railway Company and carrying "laborers, employees, or colonists."[76] In return, the company was simply required to provide the government with "corresponding notice." In that same article, the government permitted the company "to bring in immigrants and to influence immigration into the country." Lastly, the government expressed a renewed commitment to facilitating the recruitment of a labor force. In Article XX, the Liberal government promised to "aid the Contractors morally and materially, as far as possible, to obtain at all times the necessary number of laborers" to ensure "the prompt termination of the works" for "the interest of the country."[77]

These new terms demonstrated major (and possibly contradictory) goals of the Guatemalan government. First, the Guatemalan government knew that Van Horne and Keith would require foreign labor, and that they were willing to sacrifice funds

[72] Contract for construction railroad Caballo Blanco to Coatepeque, April 18, 1902, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 152, 154; Agreement modifying preceding contract for construction of Ocós Railroad, July 23, 1898, 189; Contract for construction of railroad Los Cocales to Mazatenango, March 1, 1901, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 144.

[73] Legislative Decree No. 528 modifying April 18, 1902 Contract, May 1, 1902, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 157.

[74] Contract relating to termination and operation of the Ferrocarril al Norte, January 12, 1904, 7.

[75] Contract relating to termination and operation of the Ferrocarril al Norte, January 12, 1904, 6.

[76] Contract relating to termination and operation of the Ferrocarril al Norte, January 12, 1904, 8.

[77] Contract relating to termination and operation of the Ferrocarril al Norte, January 12, 1904, 14.

gained from port dues to facilitate this need. This collaboration suggested that the Estrada Cabrera government saw no need to disincentivize foreign labor for the sake of increasing domestic labor use. Second, the government desire for the Guatemala Railway Company to "influence immigration into the country" was generally in line with earlier attempts to increase immigration. For example, in the 1880s, President Rufino Barrios had offered North Americans colonization grants in the "rich but undeveloped lands" surrounding the Northern Railway.[78]

Although the Estrada Cabrera government likely retained the intention of developing northeastern lands through immigration, they did not provide any specifics on what kind of immigrants they were seeking. Similarly, when promising to support the company to obtain laborers, the government did not clarify whether these workers would be foreigners or Guatemalan. On the one hand, the Guatemalan government's support for workers and immigrants of any background suggested friendly relations with foreign businessmen. On the other hand, however, the Guatemalan government did not hide their principal incentive for their support: to complete these major development projects for "the interest of the country." Therefore, government support of foreign labor remained contingent on furthering Liberal goals of progress. Simultaneously, the government continued to entrench themselves in the processes of labor recruitment and management, including limitations such as Chinese exclusion.

According to Dosal, the Guatemala Railway Company "relied heavily on the Indians conscripted by the government" for Northern Railway construction, although they hired some Black laborers as well.[79] Nonetheless, the use of Indigenous labor retained the same drawbacks as before, as demonstrated in 1905 when an outbreak of yellow fever delayed construction. One American *finquero* commented that Indigenous workers "taken for the railway" might lose months of their time, fall ill with a "bad sort of fever," or even die.[80] The labor issue was further complicated by war in early 1906, which led to the transfer of workers and instability in financing.

The government explicitly responded to these labor problems in the 1908 Contract for a line between Zacapa and the border of El Salvador. With the belief that "the prompt conclusion of the works" would "promote the interests of the country," the government promised "to supply the Guatemala Railway Company" with "the number of laborers judged necessary."[81] The contract further stipulated that this "necessary" amount would be no greater than "thirty-five hundred (3500) men at one time." Additionally, the contract set daily wages at 25 percent "higher than the average paid by the coffee planters of the country." These terms demonstrated that, after so many delays in the past, the state felt compelled to provide greater support in the labor supply. Yet with more government assistance came greater government surveillance and control over labor, such as forcing the foreign-owned Guatemala Railway Company to pay higher wages than other Guatemalan businesses.

Although funding issues delayed construction on the El Salvador line for years to

[78] Rippy, "Relations of the United States and Guatemala," 603-604.

[79] Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 49.

[80] Kenneth Champney, quoted in Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 49-50.

[81] Concession for railroad between Zacapa and frontier of El Salvador, February 19, 1908, in *International Railways of Central America: Concessions, Contracts and Decrees*, 29.

come, the railroad connecting the north and south coasts was finally completed in 1908.[82] In the years that followed, railroad companies exchanged hands: Occidental capitulated in 1909, Central acquired Ocós in 1910, and the Guatemala Railway Company acquired Central in 1912.[83] Alongside the acquisition of Central in 1912, the International Railways of Central America was formed, giving Minor C. Keith and his associates control over the nation's transportation.

Nonetheless, the Liberal government of Guatemala had achieved its goal. The completion of the railroad connected the nation and provided the Republic with new economic opportunities. The end to the decades-long construction also obviated their need for foreign labor. Even if foreign companies in Guatemala maintained a preference for foreign labor (as seen with United Fruit Company managers who recruited Jamaican laborers), the Guatemalan state gained nothing from supporting these preferences. Therefore, Liberal administrations built on the precedent of Chinese exclusion and began implementing restrictions on Black immigration.

In October 1914, Guatemalan officials began demanding a $100 deposit for any passenger arriving at the Puerto Barrios port.[84] One American speculated that the deposit aimed to prohibit "the entry of vagrants and paupers."[85] The American consul general, however, believed the motivations to be racialized, hypothesizing that the "regulation was due to the closing down of saw mills in British Honduras," which left "numbers of Jamaica negroes out of employment."[86] "The consequent fear," claimed the consul general, was that these Jamaicans "would come to Guatemala." Later that month, President Estrada Cabrera clarified the issue in an executive decree which required "every colored immigrant" who entered "at any of the ports of the Republic" to deposit "the sum of fifty dollars gold."[87] Although Black workers and migrants could get their money back upon leaving Guatemala, the goal of limiting Black immigration and entry into the Republic was clear.

This ideal did not change when Estrada Cabrera was removed from office. In fact, under President Carlos Herrera (1920-1921), the Guatemalan government forwarded a new regulation that required a deposit of $200 for every "negro" that entered the country.[88] This $50 to $200 change was met with frustration from foreign businessmen who preferred West Indian labor, such as one "Mr. Shaw, the

[82] Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 71; "Guatemala Railroad Done: Begun Thirty-Six Years Ago and Just Completed," *The Washington Post*, May 17, 1908.

[83] Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 58.

[84] Letter from American Consul General Stuart K. Lupton to US Secretary of State, September 14, 1914, 814.55 in Roll 29 of *Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Guatemala*; Letter from Penfields to US Secretary of State, October 8, 1914, 814.55/1 in Roll 29 of *Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Guatemala*.

[85] Letter from Penfields to US Secretary of State, October 8, 1914, 1.

[86] Letter from American Consul General Stuart K. Lupton to US Secretary of State, September 14, 1914, 2.

[87] Executive Decree issued on October 23, 1914, by President Estrada Cabrera, quoted in letter from Warren D. Robbins to US Secretary of State, November 10, 1914, 814.55/3 in Roll 29 of *Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Guatemala*, 1.

[88] Translation of Decree No. 875, October 18, 1924, in Letter from Vice Consul Bliss, October 29, 1924, 814.111/17 in Roll 13 of *Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Guatemala*, 4.

manager of the United Fruit Company's plantations in Guatemala."[89] Mr. Shaw allegedly complained to the British legation that the change would "hamper that company in its operations, as they [were] largely dependent on negro labor." Despite such complaints, President José María Orellana (1921-1926) doubled down three years later with Decree 875. The 1924 decree explicitly prohibited ministers and consuls from "issuing or extending passports of Chinese citizens or of those of the Mongolian race," as they were deemed "undesirable immigrants."[90] The decree also provided details on the $200 deposit for Black immigrants, clarifying that the "depositor forfeit[ed] the deposit in [the] case that he remain[ed] for more than six months in the Republic.[91] In sum, Asian people were outright banned from entering Guatemala, whereas Black people could only enter if they had the funds to cover the deposit. Black immigrants were then forced to choose between the permanent loss of that money or a temporary stay in the nation.

In 1926, three African American workers summarized "the mistreatment the Guatemalan government [was] doing [to] foreigners" in a letter to Calvin Coolidge.[92] "We all were contracted by said government to do certain works the natives were unable to do," claimed the Black workers. "They have the law here charging $4.00 per year tax for walking on the streets, and we think that the way they are doing us foreigners must be done to them who reside in the United States." These three workers did not draw attention to their race and instead appealed to President Coolidge as three United Citizens. However, the patterns here are clear: the Guatemalan government utilized Black labor for their own needs, then mistreated Black workers once they were no longer incentivized to support them.

Of course, the completion of the railroads was not the only reason for this change in state response. As demonstrated by the later railroad contracts, anti-Asian sentiment was already present by the turn of the century. Additionally, the presence of Black workers enabled racist and xenophobic sentiments to build among Guatemalan officials, a problem exacerbated by mounting conflicts and violence at work sites. For instance, Colby argues that a "three-year strike by railroad workers from 1898 to 1901 […] heightened antiblack hostility among Guatemalan elites and officials" and led state officials to apply vagrancy laws to Black workers.[93] Nonetheless, as the railroad was completed and the economy recovered, the Guatemalan state no longer had reason to support outside labor. They demonstrated this disinterest by enacting more and more racist restrictions. By the 1930s, even the United Fruit Company, which had historically preferred Black labor, followed the government's lead and excluded Black workers from their Pacific expansions.[94]

Although foreign capital and foreign labor transformed Guatemala at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the Guatemalan

[89] Letter to Secretary of State regarding deposit increase, November 9, 1921, 814.55/8 in Roll 29 of *Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Guatemala*, 2.

[90] Translation of Decree No. 875, October 18, 1924, 3.

[91] Translation of Decree No. 875, October 18, 1924, 4.

[92] Letter from three African Americans to President Calvin Coolidge, March 4, 1926, 814.111/21 in Roll 13 of *Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Guatemala.*

[93] Colby, "Banana Growing and Negro Management," 604.

[94] Colby, "Banana Growing and Negro Management," 621.

state played an active role in realizing these developments. Across multiple Liberal governments, Guatemalan officials negotiated contracts and forwarded policies to achieve their vision for the Republic, maintaining agency even as they utilized outside investments. As a result, foreign companies received a foot in the door, an opportunity that the United Fruit Company exploited in the decades that followed. Foreign workers, meanwhile, contributed invaluable labor to the nation, only for the Guatemalan government to turn against them once they no longer served the government's needs.

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The Art of Controversy: Hiram Powers's Greek Slave

Tracy Miller

Abstract: Hiram Powers's Greek Slave is one of the most celebrated sculptures of the nineteenth century, yet it embodies deep contradictions in its portrayal of slavery, freedom, and representation. This study examines the statue's artistic significance, its reception in antebellum America, and its role in both reinforcing and challenging contemporary attitudes toward race and captivity. Using primary sources such as exhibition reviews and abolitionist critiques, alongside scholarly analyses, this paper explores how Greek Slave was simultaneously admired for its neoclassical beauty and co-opted by opposing ideological factions. The methodology includes a comparative analysis of the statue's representations, including William Wells Brown's abolitionist intervention at the 1851 Great Exhibition. The findings suggest that while Powers's work was widely praised, its racialized imagery and selective moral appeal illustrate the complexities of public discourse on slavery. Ultimately, Greek Slave serves as a compelling case study in the intersection of art, politics, and social justice in nineteenth-century America.

Naked and abashed, a lowly woman stands alone on a pedestal with only the chains that bind her to aid in her attempt at modesty as thousands gaze upon her; some with contempt, others with awe. The captivating allure of Hiram Powers's Greek Slave statue (see fig. 1), celebrated for its exquisite artistry, belies the profound contradictions and complexities embedded within its portrayal of slavery, freedom, and representation in nineteenth century America. Powers's masterpiece depicts a young woman, bound and draped in classical attire, symbolizing the plight of Greek women captured during the Greek War of Independence. However, beneath its aesthetic allure lies a web of contradictions and convolutions, particularly within the context of antebellum America. As one of the most iconic sculptures of its time, the Greek Slave garnered widespread acclaim and sparked intense debate, becoming a symbol of both artistic achievement and social critique. Hiram Powers's Greek Slave, while celebrated for its artistry, also embodies the contradictions and complexities of a nation grappling with issues of slavery, freedom, and representation.

Figure. 1. Hiram Powers's *Greek Slave* statue. Source: Joy S. Kasson, Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 64.

Hiram Powers, the sculptor behind the iconic Greek Slave statue, was a prominent figure in nineteenth century American art. He was known for his neoclassical style and mastery of marble carvings.[1] His artistic journey took a significant turn after relocating to Florence, Italy, in 1837, seeking greater artistic freedom and opportunities than what America could offer at the time. Initially created in 1845, the inspiration of Powers's Greek Slave statue has been attributed to a wide range of varying factors. Including a seemingly random dream of a stark white woman, and the Greek War of Independence in 1822.[2] Besides these varying attributions, there is no one conclusive source for Powers's creation. [3]

The most significant aspect of the Greek Slave was the critical consideration Powers gave to the statue's nudity. Powers was concerned American audiences may not be ready to accept such revealing art, potentially condemning it as far too reprehensible for the notoriously prude population. Many American conservatives viewed nudity in art as indecent or inappropriate and Powers was aware of these sensitivities. As such, he chose to clothe the Greek Slave in a manner that conveyed the theme of captivity and vulnerability without resorting to overt nudity. [4] This decision allowed the statue to convey its message effectively while also mitigating potential controversies and criticisms from certain segments of the audience.

Furthermore, when Powers sent his Greek Slave statue to exhibit the United States in 1847, tensions were increasingly escalating there between the North and South.[5] In these regions the abolitionist movement was gaining momentum as they advocated for

[1] Caroline McGuckian, "Hiram Powers' Greek Slave and the Captivation of America" (dissertation, 2012), 3.

[2] McGuckian, "Hiram Powers' Greek Slave," 18.

[3] McGuckian, "Hiram Powers' Greek Slave," 18.

[4] Joy S. Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 50.

[5] Tanya Pohrt, "The Greek Slave on Tour in America" (Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide, January 1, 1970), 184.

the emancipation of enslaved individuals. Moreover, they drew attention to the moral and ethical foundations of a nation built on the exploitation of human labor. Against this backdrop, Powers's sculpture emerged as a powerful statement of the human condition, capturing the anguish and vulnerability of a captive woman stripped of her freedom. The statue's depiction of a Greek woman enslaved by Ottoman Turks resonated with audiences:

> The Slave has been taken from one of the Greek Islands by the Turks, in the time of the Greek Revolution; the history of which is familiar to all. Her father and mother, and perhaps all her kindred, have been destroyed by her foes, and she alone preserved as a treasure too valuable to be thrown away. She is now among barbarian strangers, under the pressure of a full recollection of the calamitous events which have brought her to her present state; and she stands exposed to the gaze of the people she abhors, and awaits her fate with intense anxiety, tempered indeed by the support of her reliance upon the goodness of God. Gather all these afflictions together and add to them the fortitude and resignation of a Christian, and no room will be left for shame.[6]

Powers's choice of subject matter unknowingly reflected the prevailing abolitionist sentiment of the time, aligning his artistic vision with the moral imperatives during social and political change in antebellum America.

Powers's Greek Slave statue quickly gained immense popularity and became a controversial cultural phenomenon in mid-nineteenth century America. Its exquisite artistry, coupled with the timely depiction of a female figure in captivity, captured the attention of audiences across the nation. However, with popularity came controversy. The statue's portrayal of a vulnerable woman in chains sparked intense debates about slavery in the United States. While some noted the hypocrisy of the strong admiration for the statue by slaveholding southerners, others criticized the hypocrisy of the same admiration among those who claim to be against the institution. Some abolitionists even praised the statue saying, "Here [a]rt has indeed magnified its office. The sorcery of genius has expelled far-hence every impure emotion. Even the dullest spirit of influence of this untainted atmosphere, and for a time the imagination and the heart cease to be of the earth."[7] In contrast, others pointed out "that many rabid abolitionists who have seen her, are loud in their demonstrations of delight."[8] The controversy surrounding the statue reflected the broader societal tensions and ideological divisions of the time, illustrating the difficulties of representing such sensitive subject matter in the realm of sculpture.

The American abolitionist conversation that surrounded Powers' art followed the statue even as it went abroad. After the Greek Slave's popular exhibition tour throughout the United States, the statue was prominently displayed in the American Pavilion in London's Crystal Palace at the 1851 Great Exhibition. This solidified the

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[6] C. Edwards Lester et. Al., *The Artist, the Merchant, and the Statesman, of the Age of the Medici, and of Our Own Times* (New York: Paine & Burgess, 1845).

[7] Unsigned, "POWERS'S STATUE OF THE GREEK SLAVE.," *The National Era,* September 2, 1847.

[8] "Scrapbook of Hiram Powers Publicity, between 1847 and 1876, from the Hiram Powers Papers, 1819-1953, Bulk 1835-1883: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

legitimacy of Powers as an artist and his statue within the art world on an international level.[9] However, during the exhibition, abolitionist and African American writer William Wells Brown strategically positioned an illustration portraying an enslaved Virginian woman (see fig. 2) at the base of Powers's Greek Slave. Brown himself had previously fled from slavery in the American south. This deliberate act directly connected Powers's statue to the issue of slavery in the United States. It further added layers of complexity to its narrative by underscoring the multifaceted role of art as a medium for activism and representation. By juxtaposing the Greek Slave with an image of a recent enslaved woman, Brown aimed to draw attention to the stark contrast between the idealized portrayal of captivity in Powers's sculpture, and the harsh realities faced by enslaved individuals in America.[10] This act highlights the power of visual comparisons in conveying social and political messages. Brown's placement of the illustration challenged spectators to confront the contradictions inherent in the representation of slavery in art. Conflictingly, the Greek Slave symbolized the concept of captivity and suffering while, simultaneously, its presentation within the context of a prestigious international exhibition could also be seen as a form of aestheticization or romanticization of slavery. Brown's intervention disrupted this romanticized narrative by grounding it in the harsh truths of slavery, forcing viewers to reckon with the brutal realities behind the idealized imagery.

Figure. 2. *The Virginian Slave.* (John Tenniel, "The Virginian Slave," *Punch, or the London Charivari,* 1851.)

The cultural context in which Hiram Powers's Greek Slave was created and exhibited significantly shaped its reception among American audiences. In antebellum America, there was a complex interplay of social, political, and artistic dynamics that influenced

[9] Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives*, 58.

[10] Timothy Anglin Burgard, "An Abolitionist Symbol: Hiram Powers's 'Greek Slave,'" FAMSF, October 1, 2020.

how the statue was perceived. As such, the Greek Slave struck a chord with American spectators in the context of the growing abolitionist movement. While debates over slavery and freedom intensified, the statue's depiction of a captive woman evoked empathy and stirred emotions among viewers decrying, "waste not your sympathies on the senseless marble, but reserve some tears for the helpless humanity which lies quivering beneath the lash of *American freemen*."[11] Powers's Greek Slave became a symbol not only of artistic excellence but also of moral and political significance, aligning with the sentiments of those advocating for the abolition of slavery.

The US reception of the Greek Slave varied depending on the viewer's perspective and background, yet "was easily relatable to everyone that viewed it."[12] For abolitionists and reformers, the statue served as a powerful tool for raising awareness about the injustices of slavery, sparking discussions about human rights and liberation. At the same time, however, some conservative audiences viewed the statue through a more traditional lens. Downplaying its underlying social commentary, some argued that "if the object of Mr. Greeley's peculiar admiration had happened to be some poor negress from the rice fields of the South, we should no doubt have heard of great doings among the abolitionists, and read some fearful denunciations […] about the cruelty and hard-heartedness of slave owners."[13] Despite these differing interpretations, or perhaps *because* of them, Powers's Greek Slave sparked discussions and debate that centered on the realms of social justice and human rights.

Powers's portrayal of the female slave's race led to both widespread sentimental response and paternalistic moral concern. [14] On one hand, the statue's representation as a white woman invokes a sentimentality and moral concern among viewers. This depiction diverted attention from the cruel realities of American and transatlantic slavery, as well as the specific oppression experienced by black female slaves. This is because the image of a white woman in distress often triggers sympathetic reactions and a sense of protectiveness among white audiences.[15] The notion of race in sculpture is a complicated and versatile issue that has been the subject of debate and scrutiny throughout history.

After the success of his Greek Slave statue, Hiram Powers encountered significant challenges in maintaining the same level of acclaim and recognition throughout his post-Greek Slave career. Despite the international praise garnered by the Greek Slave, Powers faced difficulties in achieving similar success with subsequent works. American critics, particularly were not always kind to Powers's artistic talents, questioning his originality and technical proficiency. This critical reception extended beyond the Greek Slave, affecting many of the sculptures that followed, including his attempts at depicting notable figures like Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. Powers's post-Greek Slave career saw him experimenting with different styles and subjects in an effort to regain artistic prominence. His sculptural depictions of historical figures reflected his attempts to diversify his artistic repertoire and appeal

[11] Unsigned, "POWERS'S STATUE."

[12] McGuckian, "Hiram Powers' Greek Slave," 22.

[13] "Scrapbook of Hiram Powers Publicity."

[14] Charmaine A. Nelson, *The Color of Stone: Sculpting the Black Female Subject in Nineteenth-Century America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 80.

[15] Nelson, *The Color of Stone*, 95.

to broader audiences. However, these efforts were met with mixed reviews, with some critics praising his attention to detail and historical accuracy while others criticized his handling of the subjects' likenesses and expressions.[16]

Aside from artistic challenges, Powers also faced financial difficulties and personal setbacks in the aftermath of the Greek Slave's success. Managing his artistic career and navigating the competitive art world proved to be daunting tasks, and he struggled to replicate the commercial success of his iconic masterpiece.[17] Despite these challenges, Powers's legacy endures as one of the pioneering sculptors of the nineteenth century, known for his innovative techniques and contributions to American sculpture. As an artist who emerged during a transformative period in art history, Powers contributed significantly to the evolution of sculptural aesthetics and thematic exploration. His subjective depth and engagement with social and political issues distinguish him as a visionary artist of his time.

The ability of Powers's Greek Slave to transcend its historical context and continuing reverberation with audiences across generations is evidence of its enduring significance. Despite being created in the mid-nineteenth century, the statue's themes of captivity, resilience, and the struggle for freedom remain deeply relevant. This is particularly so when it comes to contemporary discussions about human rights, social justice, and the complexities of power dynamics. The statue's image as a woman in captivity, yet dignified and composed, has become a universal symbol of endurance despite adversity. This resonates with diverse audiences who see in the statue a reflection of their own struggles and aspirations for freedom and self-determination. Furthermore, the Greek Slave continues to provoke critical dialogue about the role of art in addressing societal issues. Its ability to evoke empathy, spark debate, and challenge established norms emphasize the power of art as a catalyst for social change and cultural reflection. The statue's historical context within the abolitionist movement also serves as a reminder of the ways in which art can intersect with activism and contribute to movements for justice and equality.

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[16] McGuckian, "Hiram Powers' Greek Slave," 42.

[17] McGuckian, "Hiram Powers' Greek Slave," 42.

The Fattened Ebon Eagle: Foreign Perceptions of Russian Cuisine, 1810-1870

Adrian Enrique C. Reyes

Abstract: In the wake of the War of the Sixth Coalition, the Russian Empire found itself thrust into the limelight for its major role in the defeat of Napoleonic France. In a new ascendant position, the Russian Empire sought to ingratiate itself into the wider cosmopolitan milieu of the Western world. The trajectory of high Russian cuisine in the early to mid-nineteenth century serves as a useful focal point to contextualize the efforts of the Russian Empire to develop cultural prestige, establishing itself as a cultural peer of the major imperial power. Through study of contemporary accounts from Western officials, travelers, and expatriates, their generally positive experiences with Russian cuisine and their acceptance of it illustrate the success of the Russian Empire cementing itself as a part of the cultural milieu of the imperialist elite, even as the empire suffered decline and ruin in its efforts.

In the early nineteenth century, the Russian Empire was brought into the forefront of the European political stage with its leading role in subverting and defeating Napoleonic France. Amidst this ascendance of national renown, Russian high culture experienced substantial development, heralding a golden age of literature as its crowning achievement in the cultural arts. Situated within this context, Russian food culture received a great deal of development through the intersection of traditional and imported foreign cuisines. Building up from its already extensive history of Westernization (defined as the adoption of Western European, Central European, and American cultural artifacts and technologies), the Russian Empire continued on the path of modernization through the path carved out by the pioneering states of the West. Alongside modernization, Imperial Russia also sought to refine its high society in the mode of the domineering high cultures of the Western imperialist powers. Within such a context, the acceptance of Russian cuisine and dining from traveling elite and middle-class Westerners served to instill a sense of prestige and cultural inclusion of which Russians had strived for through the widespread adoption of Westernization. The development of Imperial Russian high cuisine and dining culture serves as a prime example of Russia building up soft power through its development of cultural prestige comparable to its status as a major imperialist power.

Though established as an empire well before the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire was largely considered as a peripheral region by its European contemporaries in spite of substantial modernization efforts and reforms that brought it closer to Europe. Part of this perception is derived from the specific location of Russia, being found at the intersection of both Europe and Asia. Russia, geographically distant from cultural centers of Europe, was left relatively isolated from European developments until Peter I forcefully brought European customs and technologies into the Russian

fold. Other issues are derived from the hostility of the Russian environment, where adverse weather, harsh climes, and pests instill a particular sense of scarcity in Russian life.[1] The frequent outbreaks of famines or food shortages did not help matters, as the high tendency of low harvest yields or crop failures made them a familiar facet of Russian life. The isolated nature of Russia as well as the general difficulty of life in Russia (as a consequence of its harsh environment and adverse climes) carried a sense of underdevelopment as perceived by its European peers, especially highlighted through the image of austerity and squalor of the lower classes of Russia.[2] Though Russian high culture and nobility increasingly aligned itself to Western norms through wholesale adoption of Western cultural artifacts, Western observers generally perceived Russia as a peripheral backwater due to its isolation and societal character of austerity.

This marginalized view of Russia only changed following a series of momentous events that elevated the political status of the Russian Empire to its apex, which began to instill its status as one of the top imperialist powers of Europe. The first was the abject failure of the French invasion of Russia in 1812, where Napoleon failed to bring Russia in line with the Continental System (intended to isolate Britian from trade). From its march into Russia and the retreat from Moscow, the much-vaunted veteran *Grand Armée* that ensured French hegemony within continental Europe was decimated from attrition. With the military of France heavily crippled amongst other concurrent crises for Napoleon (such as the Peninsular War in the Iberian Peninsula), this sudden opportunity prompted a formation of a coalition aimed to unseat Napoleon, sparking war. The war, known as the War of the Sixth Coalition, led to the defeat of France. From start to finish, Russia contributed significantly to the coalition, participating in many major battles. Exulting in its major role in defeating France, Russia triumphantly marched into Paris at the lead. At the head of the Russian army, Tsar Alexander I was considered the 'savior of Europe' for his skilled leadership of Russia.[3] Imperial Russia now found itself at its apex in national prestige and reputation in the West, lauded for its defense of Europe against Napoleonic domination as a major contributor in the Sixth Coalition.

Within this particular context of national prestige, Russians liberally took inspiration from the Western culinary arts as an effort to refine their cuisine. In *A Gift to Housewives* (her famous prolific cookbook directed towards middle to high class Russians), Elena Molokhovets, a minor Russian noblewoman, articulated numerous recipes inspired or directly taken from French and other Western cuisines. As articulated in her cookbook, "tomato sauce," "roux for white sauces," "bechamel made from cream" are notably listed, with roux and bechamel sauce being originally developed in French cuisine and tomatoes being not natively found in Russia.[4] Another page features "chestnut purée with whipped cream," a dessert directly

[1] Darra Goldstein, *The Kingdom of Rye: A Brief History of Russian Food* (Oakland: University of Oakland Press, 2022), 64-65.

[2] This sense of backwardness was further impressed by the persistence of the institution of serfdom, only being abolished formally in Russia at May 1861 during the reign of Alexander II.

[3] Janet M. Hartley, "Is Russia Part of Europe? Russian Perceptions of Europe in the Reign of Alexander I," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 33, no. 4 (1992): 373-375.

[4] Elena Molokhovets, *Classic Russian Cooking: Elena Molokhovets' A Gift to Young Housewives*, trans. Joyce Toomre (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 165, 172.

taken from France.[5] Though some of these dishes and condiments contain Russian adaptions such as tartar sauce derived from horseradish (with the traditional French sauce being made of mayonnaise), they incorporate new ingredients and concepts wholly imported from abroad, even including fruits that are difficult to grow locally.[6] Taking Western culinary developments and crops and merging them into the Russian culinary arts serves as a foundation for the melding of Russian cuisine into the Western cultural sphere. Given the incorporation of foreign concepts in Russian cookbooks, Russian cuisine had shown a level of deep acquaintance with the Western cultural milieu, utilizing its newfound to elevate their cuisine into new heights.

A high level of immersion into Western food culture is mostly clearly articulated with the Russian upper class, utilizing Westernization to pursue refinement. The Durnovo household, an elite noble family, provides an insight through a collation of dinner menus from their residence in St. Petersburg.[7] For example, the menu served on February 28, 1858, featured "*soupe printanière,*" "salmon coulibiac with vesiga," "*pourlarde* with tarragon," "roast hazel grouse," "Artichokes in Malaga," and "*Charlotte de pommes.*"[8] Another month in 1858 featured dishes such as "fillet of beef English style," "peas French style," and "meringue kisses with cream," based on the fragmented notes left behind.[9] The menu from February 28, though attended by exclusively Russian guests, was mostly comprised of dishes from French cuisine. The dishes in April are primarily derived or inspired from European cuisines based on their direct references to European countries in their styles or being directly taken from their European country of origin. Though only snapshots, both menus attest to how Western cuisines have entrenched themselves into Russian high dining. Especially from an important aristocratic household, the prevalence of Western dishes in these domestic dinners fully express how committed Russian high society is in adapting to fulfill their aspirations of opulence.

In the pursuit of their Western influenced image of affluence, the upper class of Imperial Russia ignored their local hostile climes to fulfill their culinary aspirations. Though Russia in the nineteenth century held control of agriculturally productive temperate lands such as its territories bordering the Black Sea (Ukraine and Crimea), the majority of Russian land is not arable. Despite extensive efforts of agricultural reform and centralization of agricultural control, efforts to improve food security and agricultural production were rendered moot from a lack of sufficient government investment.[10] Yet, this failure did little to deter the elite of Russian society. Wealthy aristocrats could sustain hothouses capable of producing fruits year-round or import

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5 Molokhovets, *Classic Russian Cooking*, 332. The dessert is originally referred to as a *Mont Blanc* (White Mountain), in reference to its resemblance to a snow-capped mountain.

6 Molokhovets, *Classic Russian Cooking*, 176.

7 Certain members of the Durnovo household in the nineteenth century held high ranking positions in the imperial government with close ties with the imperial family. As such, said members held residence in St. Petersburg, the capital of the Russian Empire and the city where Western influence was at its highest.

8 Yuri Lotman and Jelena Pogosjan, *High Society Dinners: Dining in Tsarist Russia*, trans. Marian Schwartz (Prospect Books, 2014), 371.

9 Lotman and Pogosjan, *High Society Dinners*, 407.

10 Alison K. Smith, *Recipes for Russia: Food and Nationhood under the Tsars* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), 43, JSTOR.

foodstuff from abroad for extensive periods of time.[11] The practice of constructing hothouses amongst the upper classes of Russia became prolific among high society in the middle of the nineteenth century. The embrace of hothouses and its fruity bounties reached to its fever pitch, where tropical sensibilities were considered in vogue in Russian high society, though only the prodigiously wealthy could realize them.[12] At great expense, the upper classes of Russia bypassed the inhospitable harshness of the Russian environment to fulfill their aspirations of becoming a part of the wider cultural elite as embodied by Westerners.

One important aspect of Russian cuisine that should not be ignored is the Russian inclination and love for drink, both alcoholic and fermented, easing it into the drinking cultures of the West. Before their love of alcohol, Russians held (and continue to hold) a deep appreciation for products of fermentation, especially in regard to drink. From *medovukha* (mead), *sbiten* (hot, spiced honey drink), *braga* (akin to a light beer without hops) to the prolific *kvas* (lightly alcoholic fermented drink made from cereals, fruits or vegetables), Russian society from all strata of socioeconomic status enjoyed these fermented traditional drinks.[13] Such an appreciation also extended to alcoholic drinks, especially that of vodka. Though not indigenous to Russia, many Russians, from rich to poor, became fond of vodka (as implied from its inherently diminutive form for "water"), a marker for its high popularity in society. It was so beloved that the Russian government had difficulties in approaching the regulation of vodka, though its role as a lucrative source of tax revenue also played a major factor.[14] Such an appreciation for alcohol extends for foreign drinks, as evidenced by the popularity of European liquors and wines in high society as noted by an English traveler.[15] Despite the Russian love for their own local drinks, middle class and elite Russians also enjoyed consuming luxury foreign wines like champagne in both wholly domestic events and more international ones. The enjoyment of fermented products as embodied through drink embodies a rich culinary and cultural tradition in Russia, allowing it to easily acclimatize to the drinking tastes of the West.

Another particular aspect of Russian food culture derived from Western influence is an increasing sense of theatricality and excess, emblematic of Russian efforts to Westernize and gain recognition. Though ostentatious displays of food and wealth were already a central part of Russian hospitality, the level of excess expressed in these displays of food reached new heights in the nineteenth century.[16] From the viewpoint of J. G. Kohl, a German travel writer, a snapshot of how meals in the high society of St. Petersburg are served can be seen:

> A St. Petersburg meal is served on so large a scale, that a native of that city must think himself in a land of famine in Hamburg, Vienna, or on the much-praised Rhine. The prologue to a dinner consists of so many appetizing dainties, that

[11] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye*, 30, 110.

[12] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye*, 109.

[13] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye*, 20-22.

[14] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye*, 25

[15] A. B. Granville, *St. Petersburgh: a journal of travels to and from that capital. Through Flanders, the Rhenish provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, the federated states of Germany and France* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), 2: 423-425.

[16] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye*, 96.

> one may easily mistake it for the dinner itself […]. A Russian grand dinner is like a piece of music, of which long after the chords have announced the approaching end, a multitude of thrills and cadences flourish as it were into a new part, till at last it comes to a close in a profusion of fruits and sweetmeats.[17]

As elaborately illustrated by Kohl, meals served amongst the elite in the Russian capital contained such an abundance of food that even the bounties of Germany and Austria paled in comparison. Modeled in the traditional style of *service à la russe*, these dishes were presented in a sequence through a highly stylized performative manner on a decorated table initially devoid of food.[18] Through the direct comparison to a vibrant piece of music, elite Russian dinners express a particular flair of ostentatious prosperity and luxury through an extensive procession of dishes, ending in a flourish of sweets to temper the tastebuds in a final burst of energy. Even the appetizers themselves can be mistaken for the main dishes as they are served in such plentiful capacity. The astonishment towards the abundance of food expressed Russian dinners carry an undercurrent of implicit criticism towards the peculiarities of Russian dinners, a sharp contrast from the palatial display of food in *service à la française* (where all the food is served at once) common in formal European dining. Nevertheless, this view would soon fade with the later boom of popularity for the Russian style of service in the West, becoming the foundation of later styles of fine dining.[19] These bountiful displays of luxury, especially that of fruits and sweets, embodied Russian efforts to pursue sophistication, earning Russian society a level of recognition in both respects of the word within the Western sphere.

Among the culinary and dining trends developing in Russia, tea was of particular interest in society, becoming a social phenomenon that reflected the tea craze across Europe. Tea was first introduced into Russia from China through the Siberian wasteland, with trade between the two countries established in the late seventeenth century.[20] However, a national tea culture did not become well established in Russia until the midst of the nineteenth century.[21] From its high quality and to its increased affordability, appreciation of tea in Russia rapidly developed across all strata of society. As an example of its renown, a traditional Russian tea, known as Russian Caravan, became beloved for its famed smoky flavor, developed from the tea leaves absorbing smoke from the campfires of the tea caravans (as it was initially imported through camel caravans from China).[22] Such an appreciation of tea reached to the point where even the container used to brew tea became highly important. The samovar, an ornate metal container used to boil water, became a fixture of Russian life, a source of pride for any Russian who owned one.[23] Elevated into a national emblem of Russian

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[17] J. G. Kohl, *Russia. St. Petersburg, Moscow, Karkoff, Riga, Odessa, the German provinces on the Baltic, the steppes, the Crimea, and the interior of the empire* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1842), 139, Internet Archive.

[18] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye,* 111.

[19] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye,* 112.

[20] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye,* 115.

[21] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye,* 117.

[22] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye,* 115-6. Contrary to the overwater journey that much of the tea exports towards Europe, the overland trade routes for tea for Russia imparted its distinctive dark and smoky qualities.

[23] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye,* 118-120.

society, the samovar became a symbol to how tea deeply subsumed itself into Russian society, wholly considered a part of Russian culture itself.

As a distinct cultural factor, the Russian reputation for quality tea carried a certain prestige that helps support its claim as an elite imperialist society amongst its European peers. During his time spent in St. Petersburg, A. B. Granville, an Italian physician who made his home in London, had a curious thought towards Russian tea. He remarked that "the inhabitants of St. Petersburgh, high are as fond of tea as I am of their Neva water: but I should be sorry to be condemned to drink the former again; not because it is bad; but on the contrary, because it is too good."[24] He found that the scent and taste of their high quality tea to be too stimulating for his nerves, coming to an understanding that Russian tea and its tea culture are at minimum equal to the English, if not surpassing it.[25] His refusal of Russian tea did not come from displeasure, but from his inability to cope with the sheer quality of the drink based on his recognition of it. His expression of fear towards further consumption of Russian tea implies that he was afraid that such good tea may diminish his enjoyment of other tea. The supreme quality of Russian tea helped buttress the national cultural reputation of Russia as an elite imperial society within the European context.

Another culinary aspect that helped support the idea of Russian cultural sophistication was the local preference for seafood and the wealth of resources that sustained it, despite Russia's reputation as a continental nation. With proximity to the Baltic Sea, Caspian Sea, and the Black Sea as well its abundance of rivers and lakes, the Russian Empire had access to plentiful sources of fish, consequently birthing many seafood dishes in Russian cuisine. Sturgeon, being found in great abundance in the Caspian Sea, was a prominent feature of Russian cuisine, being widely beloved in the Russian milieu.[26] Beluga sturgeon was one specific variant highly prized for its prodigious size and equally prodigious bounty of roe. From the sturgeon, caviar (prepared salted sturgeon roe) was famous for its deliciousness and delectable texture, later gaining wide acclaim abroad as a luxury good. For the benefit of Russia, caviar was so abundant that even the poor was able to relish both common red caviar and luxurious black caviar with ease even up to the early nineteenth century.[27] Beyond caviar, Russian cuisine featured a wide assortment of seafood dishes, from fish soups, fish pies, to prepared cuts of fish served hot or cold. Though compared to the popularity of caviar, these traditional Russian seafood dishes were markedly less popular due to their specific cultural conceits specific to Russian society. Nevertheless, many foreigners found them to be enjoyable experiences, such with the admiration of Granville towards the sterlet as a prime feature of great Russian dinners.[28] Seafood, as a notable part of Russian food culture, adds another level of depth to the Russian culinary body, creating a sense of luxurious allure especially for those unsuited to seafood delights.

Even beyond Western and Western-adjacent dishes within Russian cuisine, non-

[24] A. B. Granville, *St. Petersburgh*, 425-426.

[25] A. B. Granville, *St. Petersburgh*, 426.

[26] Alexandra Kropotkin, *How To Cook and Eat in Russian* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949), 120, Internet Archive.

[27] A. B. Granville, *St. Petersburg,* 412.

[28] A. B. Granville, *St. Petersburg,* 412.

negative views of traditional Russian dishes reflect the acceptance of Russia into the Western cultural milieu. In his personal memoirs detailing his tenure as a foreign minister for America in Russia, John Quincy Adams, the sixth president of the United States, detailed a brief description of his attendance of a nightly event hosted by the Russian imperial family. Most importantly, he described "the supper was equally excellent [to the illumination event], and the fruit as plentiful and as various, as the dinner."[29] Though nothing about the characteristics of the food itself is detailed explicitly, the positive view of Adams towards the supper highlights its compatibility to American (and by extension, Western) sensibilities on culinary and customary notions. In his perspective, the supper was not foreign and alien to his own personal sensibilities as an elite individual who grew up in the Western cultural milieu (as a part of the American gentry). The style and dining customs of the supper were also well within expectations of good Western taste, earning no criticism. Under Western sensibilities, he viewed it as an excellent meal, carrying the implication that the supper was entirely suitable from an American perspective of a political elite.

Beyond food, Western perceptions of Russian drink are central to understanding to how this acquaintance of Western culture correlated with reality. During his stay in Russia, John Quincy Adams imparted a curious impression on the native alcoholic beverages of Russia. He mentioned that the taste of kvass and chitslisky (presumably *kislye shchi*) was that "of small beer, with an acid not unpalatable to [him], though much so to all the rest of the family."[30] Given the status of Adams as a highly experienced statesman and diplomat, his measured impression of the drinks tells a great deal about their suitability to Westerners. Though tempered by the (supposed) unpalatable impression from the rest of his family, the comparison of kvass to a small beer tells how traditional Russian drinks fall within the purview of taste among Westerners. The acidity of the drink might even play well among Westerners when accompanied by complementary dishes suited to the palate. Such impressions serve as a starting point for shifting perspectives towards Russia, where traditional characteristics of Russian culture are perceived as acceptable to Western tastes and perspectives.

Through the middle of the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire entered a new period through the death of Alexander I, beginning a period of stagnation that nullified the gains that Russia held. In the brief interregnum following the death of Alexander I, the youngest brother, Nicholas I, rose to succeed him, albeit after the failed Decembrist Revolt that attempted to prevent his succession in favor of his older brother.[31] A portent for the future, the brutal suppression of the Decembrists was a sign for the direction of Russian internal policy. Shunning the reformist ideology that the Decembrists embraced, Nicholas I chose to pursue a reactionist stance, entrenching a traditionalist view of Russian autocracy and governance in the political mainstream. Despite rapid developments in the world shifting the balance of power, Nicholas I failed to see the need for reform even as many other European states adapted accordingly to these global developments. As a consequence, the Russian

[29] John Quincy Adams, *The Russian memoirs of John Quincy Adams: his diary from 1809-1814* (New York: Arno Press, 1970), 286.

[30] Adams, *The Russian memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 50.

[31] Frances Anne Vanne Londonderry, *Russian Journal of Lady Londonderry, 1836-7*, ed. W. A. L. Seaman and J. R. Sewell (London: John Murray, 1973), 10, Internet Archive.

Empire remained stagnant, self-assured in its position granted by past glories, leading Russia to fall behind as other empires capitalized on new developments that shifted the balance of world power.

Despite this Russian cuisine continued to be well-regarded by Western peers, indicating the status of the Russian Empire as a civilized and cultured Western imperialist power. In *La Russie En 1839*, Astolphe de Custine, a traveling French nobleman, briefly described a dinner he had with a Russian noblewoman.[32] He remarked that "I ate and drank with good appetite. There was excellent claret and champagne on the tablet, but I saw clearly that they had put themselves out on my account," largely enjoying his meal.[33] It is of particular notice that he had prefaced this with a lengthy diatribe about the supposedly sordidly poor cold fish soup that he was served (presumably *ukha*) and his unpleasant experience of the sour taste of kvass.[34] Yet, he still found the rest of his meal largely agreeable to his French tastes, highlighting his good appetite. As for the drinks, he definitively appreciated the high quality of the served French wines. Though his appreciation was diminished by the conscious and deliberate effort of the host, such a faux pas does little to affect the intrinsic character of the wines themselves. Despite his criticisms, Custine still articulated an overall positive impression of his Russian-hosted dinner. Instances of his acceptance or even praise for aspects of Russian cuisine and dinners reflect the high status of Russian culture within the Western milieu, even amongst the elites of the elites.

Building on his reserved and critical attitude towards Russia, Custine offered another positive impression of Russian food and food culture, confirming its quality as comparable to the West. Following his time spent in St. Petersburg, Custine proceeds further into the Russian heartland, onwards to Moscow and beyond. Spending his time at Yaroslavl (a provincial city northeast of Moscow), he describes his impressions of the dinner of the local governor of which he attended:

> The governor's dinner was good and well served, without superfluity, and without useless *recherche*. The abundance and excellent quality of the watermelons astonishes me: it is said that they come from the environs of Moscow, but I should rather imagine they send to the Crimea for them. It is the custom in this country to place the dessert upon the table at the commencement of the dinner, and serve it plate by plate. This method has its advantages and inconveniences: it seems to me only perfectly proper at great dinners.[35]

Amidst his stern attitude and sharp wit towards the perceived ills of Russia, Custine lavishes a large helping of praise towards his dinner, both at the customs and

[32] *La Russie en 1839*, as originally published in 1843, became well known throughout Europe in the nineteenth century for its sharp criticism towards Russian society and its government. Such an account even drew some published rebuttals from Russians disagreeing with the conclusions of Custine.

[33] Astolphe de Custine, *Empire of the Czar: A Journey Through Eternal Russia*, trans. from French [translator unknown] (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 340.

[34] Custine, *Empire of the Czar*, 340.

[35] Custine, *Empire of the Czar*, 484.

the quality of food, especially in regards towards the fruit.[36] His description of the serving style encapsulates the traditional *service à la russe*, given its sequential nature of serving dishes. His praise of it as the ideal serving method for high class dinners as a marker of great social propriety elevates Russian dining customs to the highs of European high culture. This praise is especially remarkable in consideration of the relatively more modest means of the host, in comparison to the wealthier aristocrats in St. Petersburg or Moscow. His astonishment towards Russian watermelons also stands out, especially towards his incredulity towards the local nature of the fruit. Though his musings of its Crimean origins are sensible and logical, the local nature of the fruit is not without merit, given the prolific use of hothouses by the upper echelons of Russian society.[37] Given the high-ranking position of governor and the proximity of Yaroslavl to Moscow (a few hundred kilometers), it is quite likely that watermelons are sourced locally. His rare and unmitigated praise for his dinner stands out, especially given his otherwise broad reservations with Russian cuisine. Positive perceptions of Russian culinary and dining artifacts reflect its inclusion as a part of the wider cosmopolitan culture of the West, especially when earned from the Western purveyors of cosmopolitan high culture.

Even under the discerning eye, the Russian culinary arts are capable of passing even the higher standards of the cosmopolitan elite. Alexandre Dumas, famous French author and gourmand, regaled stories about his trip to Russia and the Caucasus through his travel journals. With his travels in near Moscow, he proclaims his surprise enjoyment of Russian cuisine, stating that "without the slightest reservation I can praise one of Russia's national dishes–a lightly boiled sturgeon seasoned only with horse-radish and served cold."[38] Beforehand, he had several criticisms leveled towards Russian cookery from his St. Petersburg lunch, lambasting them for their self-assured culinary superiority leading to them ruining quality ingredients with their inferior culinary skills.[39] Yet when presented with that sturgeon dish, Dumas recognizes the skill of the Russian chef from the excellent taste of the dish implied from his unfiltered praise. This praise is even more striking based on his earlier claims that he himself can cook a better meal than most Russian chefs, with the sturgeon dish earning recognition from one accomplished for their culinary ability.[40] Though one may think this is an exception, the locale of this dish being in Moscow lends evidence to the contrary, given its cultural significance as a major city and former capital of Russia (during its time as Muscovy).

This positive perception even extends to female observers to Russia, further articulating the high status of Russian cuisine through a rare female perspective on cuisine. One particular instance had an anonymous Englishwoman briefly comment the quality of Russian food relative to Europe. Amidst her reflections about the

[36] *La Russie en 1839* was famous throughout contemporary Europe for its unfailing criticism of Russia and political institutions, with specifics to the nobility, Nicholas I, and its particular brand of oppressive autocracy specific to the Russian milieu.

[37] Goldstein, *Kingdom of Rye*, 109.

[38] Alexandre Dumas, *Adventures in Czarist Russia*, ed. by Alma Elizabeth Murch (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton Company, 1961), 128.

[39] Dumas, *Adventures in Czarist Russia*, 97-98.

[40] Alexandre Dumas, other than his body of literary work, was also known for his love for food and his own cooking ability. Many of his non-fiction works were comprised of his own thoughts about food, his own personal recipes, and his gastronomic escapades.

poor and sordid quality of Polish bread (with eastern Poland being under Russian dominion), she suddenly interjected that "perhaps the best bread in Europe is made in Moscow, it is perfectly delicious."[41] Though little is known about the author, her presumably middle-class background as illustrated by her ability to travel and stay abroad for a lengthy period of time imparts a certain appreciation for the indulgences of life, including that of food. Her sudden, unprompted comment about Moscow white bread being potentially the best in Europe is quite striking in that respect. This perspective of Russian baking especially stands out in light of the notoriety revolving around Russian agriculture and its supposed poor quality held amongst Europeans in the early nineteenth century.[42] Such a positive impression in the face of prevailing how certain Russian foods is seen as comparable or even surpassing that of foods made in the West. The highly positive impression of Russian food from the rare Western female perspective indicates how Russian cuisine had incorporated itself into the Western milieu, from a diverse body of people enjoying its culinary products.

This admiration for Russian cuisine and its food culture among women was not limited to the middle class; it extended into the upper class and nobility, demonstrating its high regard. From 1836 to 1837, a British nobleman, the third Marquess of, was appointed as ambassador to Russia, taking up residence in Russia alongside his family. His wife, Frances Anne Emily Vane-Tempest, had some musings towards her attendance at a dinner hosted by Count Nesselrode (Russian high-level foreign minister). She reflected that "the dinner was perfect. At least everybody pronounced the cook without a rival and the wine nectar."[43] Her high praise towards the dinner indicates the high level of sophistication and taste as expressed in Russia, especially highlighted by her high status as of English nobility. With nary a mention of a blemish on her experience, the dinner was up to the standards of British elite society, both on a culinary level and cultural level, as befitting the standards of the high European society. Describing the cook as without peer, her elevation of the skills of the cook indicates the level of cookery within Russian high culture to be that comparable to the elites of Western cuisine. The unidentified wine was particularly of high quality, through the metaphor of nectar as a descriptor of an excellent drink. On all levels from culinary to customary, the dinner was a sublime experience for Lady Londonderry. Especially as her status as a noblewoman, her Russian culinary experience details much towards the trend of favor towards high Russian culinary culture among the European elite, the gatekeepers of elite cosmopolitan culture. Russian culinary culture is strictly included as a part of the wider elite environment of high culture from its acceptance from European elites.

In the midst of its period of stagnation, the hollow strength of the Russian Empire was revealed with its defeat in the Crimean War, heralding a new period for Russia. Still self-assured of its military strength, Russia continued to advance its imperialist interests, taking an opportunity to capitalize on territorial gains against

[41] *The Englishwoman in Russia; Impressions of the society and manners of the Russians at home. By a Lady, ten years resident in that country.* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1855), 298, University of Michigan Digital Collections.

[42] Smith, *Recipes for Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), 3-5, JSTOR. Rye bread was historically associated with the lower classes across Europe as a hardy, staple crop. Its distinct tangy and sour state and its prolific popularity in Russia carried a certain negative implication towards Russian society, especially for bourgeoisie and nobles that found rye to be utterly unpalatable.

[43] Londonderry, *Russian Journal of Lady Londonderry*, 51.

the Ottomans in the Balkans. As Ottomans lost ground against the Russians, Britain and France feared the potential of Russian hegemony and staged an intervention against Russia. Faced against a primarily Anglo-French coalition aimed to counter its interests, Russia buckled under a concerted coalition offensive at the Balkans and a coalition landing at Crimea. Forced to sue for peace, the Russian Empire was humiliated from its defeat and the shattering of its mythical reputation of military hegemony. Though both sides faced unexpected losses in the conflict, the Russian Empire faced significant economic and military losses, crippling Russia and forcing a change in national policy.

Yet, the end of the Crimean War provided an opportunity for the Russian Empire to move past its stagnation, in order to maintain its relevancy as an imperialist power. In the midst of the Crimean War, Nicholas I died, leading Alexander II, his son and heir apparent, to ascend to the throne and deal with leading Russia out of its conundrum at the aftermath of the war. A contrast from his militant predecessor, Alexander II was known for his reform-minded orientation. Though relatively restrained, he oversaw a wide series of radical reforms known as the Great Reforms that attempted to change the fabric of Russian society. One of them even went as far as to abolish serfdom, a longstanding practice that dated to the pre-imperial years of Muscovy. The Great Reforms served as a shift from the reactionary attitudes that dominated the political mainstream of Russian society, compelled from the humiliation from the Crimean War. Though his reforms ultimately ended up less effective and radical than expected, Alexander II served as a symbol for change that seemed to illuminate an alternate path for the Russian Empire for the rest of the nineteenth century.

During this period of great change, the culinary arts of Russia continued to be well regarded by European peers among the middle class, cementing its place in the cosmopolitan milieu. In a trip to the famous trade fair in Nizhny Novgorod, William Forsythe, a British lawyer, had a few choice words about Russian culinary offers on the railway. He reflects that "soup, hot cutlets, and vegetables are always ready the refreshment rooms […]" and "the choice of wines, both French and German, with liqueurs is abundant, and they are in quart and pint bottles with the price marked on each."[44] He then contrasts it with that offered in English stations, "where stale bunds, greasy sandwiches, and choking pork form the chief staple of the refreshments, and the only wine you can get is Marsala usurping the name of Sherry."[45] His celebration of the quality and variety of foods and drinks offered in Russian railways, contrasted with the comparably dismal fare seen in England, illustrates the high regard of Russian food amongst Westerners, especially highlighted by the status of the commentator as a lawyer. In eyes of Forsyth, Russian railways offered warm, fresh varied foods with a sizable offering of quality drinks for the hungry and weary traveler, implying Russians held a greater sense of appreciation of life through luxury.[46] This quality is further emphasized through the contrast of the prosperity and wealth of his home, England (the heartland of the British Empire), and its dismal culinary offerings at the railway. This high regard for Russian culinary fare reflects the higher status of Russian culture amongst Westerners. This inclusion within the wider cosmopolitan cultural milieu

[44] William Forsyth, *The Great Fair of Nijni Novogorod, and how we got there* (London: printed by W. Clowes & Sons, 1865), 39-40, Google Books.

[45] Forsyth, *Great Fair*, 40.

[46] Forsyth, *Great Fair*, 39.

through its acceptance among the Western middle class serves as a marker for the continued relevance of the Russian Empire as an imperialist peer of the West, even following its diminishment.

Even in the face of criticism, Russian food products remained well regarded by Westerners, demonstrating acceptance among Western cosmopolitans despite some challenges. In his time at the *Hôtel de Russie* in Germany, George Augustus Sala, a prolific English journalist, was delayed in his journey to Russia and complained of having traveled abroad "to eat candles and drink train-oil----or, at least, the equivalent for that which is popular supposed to form the favorite food of our late enemies---and not feast on Bisque soup and *suprême de volaille*."[47] Yet further on his travels in Russia, he discovers the delight of Russian raspberries, "delicious, full-sized, juicy, and luscious, and devoid of that curious furry dryness that make western raspberries as deceptive and annoying to the palate as the apples of the Dead Sea."[48] This contrast of views highlights a shift of acceptance towards Russian cuisine from complete unpalatable slop to a pleasurable experience containing one of the best examples of fruit that he had the chance to try. His preference for Russian raspberries over western ones due to their size and flawless juiciness talks much about their quality, especially in light of the harsh climes of Russia. It is even more telling that he holds the quality of western raspberries to be utterly inferior comparatively through an unflattering comparison to the highly bitter fruit associated with the lands near the Dead Sea. Though this praise is tempered by his following harsh criticism of the poor quality of Russian strawberries, his commentary of Russian raspberries nevertheless stands out for its level of detail in describing its superiority over Western grown ones.[49] Contrary to the perception of inferiority, Russian food surpasses the low expectations set upon them by unwary and stereotyping Westerners, cementing its position as a part of the cosmopolitan cultural elite.

As parcel of Russian cuisine, bread making in the upper levels of Russian society remained fondly regarded as a part of the realm of Western cuisines. Contrary to his earlier dismal of Russian food as indigestible garbage, Sala discovers the delight of the products of Russian baking in St. Petersburg. Amidst his attendance at a tea party, he notes "as the Russian high-priced flour is the best in the world, and the Estonian and Livonian bakers, who almost monopolize the baking trade in St. Petersburg, are the most cunning in their art, the substitutes for Sally Lunns are delicious."[50] Though the bakers he applauds do not originate in the Russian heartlands, they invariably come from regions under the control of the Russian Empire in Eastern Europe at the time (composing of modern-day Latvia and Estonia). Given their dominance in St. Petersburg, his lauding of their skills in baking imparts a particular sense of credence to the high reputation of elite Russian bakers. In particular, he finds Russian imitations of Western pastries meeting his standards, favorably describing a Russian version of a Sally Lunn as delectable (as the Sally Lunn was famous in England as a local delicacy). Such praise from an Englishman of such an adaption is particularly noteworthy, establishing acceptance of Russian efforts to emulate Western food. His

[47] George Augustus Sala, *A Journey Due North: Being Notes of a Residence in Russia, in the Summer of 1856* (London: Richard Bentley, 1858), 23, Google Books.

[48] Sala, *Journey Due North*, 235.

[49] Sala, *Journey Due North*, 235.

[50] Sala, *Journey Due North*, 192.

unvarnished praise for Russian bread affirms the ability of the Russian culinary arts to equal itself to Western cuisines, especially when their emulation of Western baked goods is comparable to their originals.

Despite feelings of reservation among many who visit abroad, Russian cuisine remains relatively accepted by the wider Western community, suggesting that Russian culture has been relatively acclimatized to the wider Western milieu. As a part of his train tour of Russia in 1869, Lewis Caroll (real name Charles Lutwidge Dodgson) visits Moscow as his second main stop in Russia. After his visits to various landmarks and religious sites across two weeks, he described his traditional Russian dinner at a restaurant, highlighting the "marajensee" (ice cream) as "delicious: [with] one lemon, one black-currant, a kind new to [him]," the Crimean wine (krimskoye) as "very pleasant."[51] Generally, he described the dinner as "a very good one," vividly describing the soup (composed of chicken and chopped vegetables) and pirozhki (made with hard-boiled eggs), sturgeon (mixed with other seafood and gravy), kotlety (supposedly veal cultets), and a cold sauced pork dish.[52] Though he found the sturgeon dish not to his satisfaction, Caroll concluded that the dinner as a very enjoyable experience despite its exoticness. The novelty of the fruity flavors of the ice cream was especially memorable, given how he could only describe the taste as simply delicious. Though considered exotic by many foreigners, traditional Russian cuisine remained within the realm of acceptability in the Western cosmopolitan milieu.

As a facet of tea culture, Russian tea remains ever the highlight for many foreigners, affirming the high status of Russian culinary artifacts and its continued participation in the cosmopolitan milieu. In his travelogue throughout the northern states of Europe, there is a curious section by George Augustus Sala about his experience with tea in Russia. He described it as "the most delicious, the most soothing, the most thirst-allying drink you smoke withal in summertime, and in Russia. But it is not imagined that, because of this tumbler of tea exquisite, I have forsworn cakes – or ale."[53] As a highlight of his time spent in Russia, Sala describes Russian tea as the most pleasurable drinking experience he had in summer. Heedless of location, Russian tea was truly an unforgettable experience for him. Noting its great taste, highly soothing quality, and refreshing character, he impresses such a delightful opinion towards Russian tea that it would be remiss to think he had earlier disparaged Russian beverages as undrinkable poison. Realizing that the reputation of Russian tea was not merely an illusion, his elevation of tea reaffirms its highly prestigious reputation as a luxurious product fit for refined Western tastes. Even Russia languished in the shadow of its former glory, Russian tea remained a beacon of splendor and luxury for Russian society to the wider world.

From the early to mid-nineteenth century, favorable impressions from foreign travelers and diplomats about imperial Russian cuisine indicated the incorporation of Russian culture into the elite cosmopolitan culture of the West. This cultural development is set within the context of the path of the Russian Empire becoming a major imperialist power in Europe. From its soaring ascent to the forefront of

[51] Lewis Caroll, *The Russian Journal and other selections from the works of Lewis Caroll*, ed. John Francis McDermott (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1935), 103.

[52] Caroll, *The Russian Journal*, 103.

[53] Sala, *Journey Due North*, 264.

the European political stage through its substantial contributions to the defeat of Napoleon, the Russian Empire sought to gain international recognition and repute to actualize its own perceptions of itself as a major influential power on the global stage. On a cultural factor, Imperial Russia, in part through its cuisine, articulates its parity and equality with Western culture through its acceptance from middle class to elite Western travelers. Though filled with idiosyncrasies specific to the Russian milieu, imperial Russian cuisine, as a part of the wider body of high Russian culture, helped earn the Russian Empire the recognition it sought as a major imperialist power in Europe. Status is important in delineating the reputation of a national culture in respect to the wider global cultural milieu, especially within the context of the era of imperialism and its accompanying supremacist attitudes. Even though imperial Russia suffered several setbacks and declined in national status through the mid-nineteenth century to its end, its culture, including its cuisine, remained a stellar highlight situated amidst the wider cosmopolitan milieu of European high culture. Its high cuisine remained well regarded, heedless of the diminishment of its host nation. The interplay between tradition and "modernization" as embodied in Russian cuisine colors much of the history of the Russian Empire all the way from its founding to its ignominious end. Imperial Russian culinary arts and dining culture served as a mirror for the strident efforts that Russia underwent to carve out a role for itself in the wider world.

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Kaho'olawe and Cultural Hegemony: Hawaiian Resistance and Environmental Discourse, 1969-2024

Justin Moore

Abstract: Since Hawai'i's occupation in 1893, the United States has recognized Hawai'i's environment not as a center of Kanaka Maoli culture, but as an exploitative peripheral site within the American empire that serves the interests of United States military without regard for Native Hawaiian beliefs such as the notion of aloha 'aina, or a love for the land, reflecting the colonial project. Kanaka Maoli have continuously opposed such harmful treatments of the Hawaiian environment and the case study of Kaho'olawe demonstrates this resistance to U.S. views of Hawai'i as America's military laboratory. Officially given to the United States Navy in 1953, Kanaka Maoli groups such as the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana have advanced environmental discourse on the bombing of Kaho'olawe through alternative strategies of inclusion and protest such as the transcendence of age, education, and politics within their efforts due to the status of Native Hawaiian experiences as second-class in the confines of the American Pacific settler colonial project. In doing so, the Kanaka Maoli succeeded in ending the bombing of Kaho'olawe in 1990, but the legacies of the American militarization project persist in the present. As such, the physical remnants of militarized bombing operations on Kaho'olawe remain as a long-lasting reminder of the settler colonial confines that the Kanaka Maoli live within in the twenty-first century.

For decades, Native Hawaiians have challenged the legacies and contemporary iterations of the American settler colonial project. Since the annexation of the islands in 1893, the United States has attempted to establish a hegemonic American cultural system that has placed Kanaka Maoli practices as inferior and incompatible to the "standard American" culture. Integral to resisting the eradication of Native Hawaiian culture and practices, the physical environment has shaped numerous debates within the last century related to Native Hawaiian sovereignty and cultural expression. In the context of indigeneity, identity directly interconnects with the environment. Physical landscapes represent not only a relation to resources and food but also symbolize spirituality and cultural ties to the land.[1] The U.S. occupation of Hawai'i and its later rapid developments in tourism and militarization undermined this relationship with the land. Within the settler colonial project, the United States has exploited Hawai'i's physical landscapes for resources, large business interests, and military advantages while disregarding the importance of land in Native Hawaiian culture. From a cultural perspective, the imbalanced power dynamics between the United States and the Kanaka Maoli reflect the hegemonic permeation of western views of land, militarization, and culture throughout Hawai'i.

[1] Michael S. Spencer et. al., "Environmental Justice, Indigenous Knowledge Systems, and Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders," *Human Biology* 92, no. 1 (2020): 49. https://muse-jhu-edu.proxy.lib.csus.edu/article/772232/pdf.

The history of the island of Kaho'olawe, located roughly seven miles southwest of Maui, is one of both extensive environmental destruction and Native Hawaiian resistance. Given to the United States Navy in 1953, the island has endured a history of militarization, occupation, and protest. This research serves to add to the narrative of environmental justice and Native Hawaiian resistance by examining how Kanaka Maoli employed varying forms of resistance against the rise of militarization and environmental degradation on Kaho'olawe. Despite the institutional presence of the United States Navy and its view of Kaho'olawe as a military necessity, Native Hawaiians actively resisted cultural hegemony within a settler colonial state by radically transforming the discourse of land rights and environmental protection from an American perspective to a Native one. The application of environmental justice concerning settler colonialism in the Pacific serves as a major reminder that the legacies of European and American imperialism remain present not only within Pacific Islander groups but also in the physical landscapes of the Pacific. This research takes into consideration not only the methods of resistance employed by Native Hawaiians to end the bombing of Kaho'olawe but also the contemporary environmental dialogues in 2024 that have resulted from the legacies of U.S. militarization on the island.

Sacred Environments Turned Profitable

Wahi Pana*: Indigenous Relations to Land*

The concept of *wahi pana* provides a foundation for viewing the environment from a cultural Kanaka Maoli perspective. *Wahi pana* refers to sacred locations in the Hawaiian Islands and stems from ancestral and generational ties to traditional knowledge and mythological systems, often providing a sense of identity and stewardship to the land.[2] These *wahi pana* represent familial ties and spiritual connections to the physical land, establishing a unique identity that often harmonizes the individual and community with nature. Furthermore, *mo'olu'auhau*, or genealogical succession, also shapes indigenous perceptions of Hawai'i's natural environment. The birth of *akua*, or gods, follows a genealogical context, linking many of them to humans in their characteristics.[3] The *akua's* embodiment in the land and their relationship to the Kanaka Maoli create a cosmological kinship in which they practice '*aloha aina,* as younger siblings and protectors of the land.[4] The concept of *wahi pana* represents just one of numerous beliefs that comprise traditional Hawaiian culture, yet its spiritual connections highlight the pertinent role of land that differentiates the Kanaka Maoli's view of the environment from western conceptions of land, ownership, and culture.

These spiritual connections to land have also acted in conjunction with the concept of *'ohana*, or family. In this sense, *'ohana* describes a kinship beyond strict blood

[2] Davianna Pōmaikaʻi McGregor, *Na Kua`aina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 5.

[3] ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui, "Mai Kahiki Mai Ka Wahine, 'o Pele (From Kahiki Came the Woman, Pele): Historicizing the Pele and Hi'iaka Mo'olelo," in *Voices of Fire: Reweaving the Literary Lei of Pele and Hi'iaka*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014, 6.

[4] Ho'omanawanui, "Mai Kahiki," 6.

ties that extends to the surrounding community and land.[5] This concept constitutes the notion of *aloha 'aina* and posits that cultivating the land creates reciprocity and balance in Hawaiian society.[6] The lands that Hawaiians reside on act as communal spaces and produce kinship networks that extend between individuals and the physical environment. Since the mid-twentieth century, this concept of *aloha 'aina* has also become commodified and exploited in Hawaiian society by American officials and business owners who have successfully initiated large-scale business and tourist projects under the pretense of ecological protection, reflecting just one way in which traditional Hawaiian culture has been suppressed or altered.[7]

Wahi pana and related concepts have faced suppression and commodification for decades due to their direct contradictions to western values of land that emphasize economic profit or extractive exploitation. The rise of cultural conflict with the United States in the late nineteenth century and varying views on land rights shifted the hegemonic narrative to perceive *aloha 'aina* and *wahi pana* as uncivilized practices. Since Hawai'i's integration of statehood in the United States, this cultural hegemony has served as the foundation for the decline and attempted eradication of traditional Hawaiian views of the physical environment that tie directly with Kanaka Maoli cultural practices.

The White Man's Burden or the White Man's Profit?

With the closure of the western frontier in mainland America, the United States looked beyond in hopes of establishing a global empire at the turn of the twentieth century. The overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani on January 17, 1893, symbolized the beginning of the active erasure of traditional Kanaka Maoli culture and sovereignty. As Rudyard Kipling's famous poem "The White Man's Burden" explained, America had a duty, a burden, to patiently educate their new "half devil and half child" people.[8] This attitude persisted throughout America's occupation of the Hawaiian Islands, systemically suppressing Kanaka Maoli voices and practices. Coupled with this attitude, American business leaders understood their role as trespassers infringing on Hawaiian sovereignty. In an 1893 letter from Lorrin Thurston, the leader of the Annexation Club, later renamed to the Committee of Safety, to Samford Dole, the first president of the Republic of Hawai'i, Thurston advocated for the deportation of former Queen Lili'uokalani due to her ability to form a rallying group that opposed the American provisional government.[9] In order to suppress active resistance from Native Hawaiians, American leaders attempted to undermine all aspects of Kanaka Maoli life including culture, language, and leaders of the former kingdom. The settler colonial project of Hawai'i focused not only on establishing a profitable periphery in

[5] Haunani-Kay Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands": Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," in *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*, Honululu: University of Hawai'i Press, 143.

[6] Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands": Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," 141.

[7] Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands": Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," 143.

[8] Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden: The United States & The Philippine Islands, 1899." *McClure's Magazine* 12 (1899).

[9] Lorrin A. Thurston, "Confidential Accompanying Dispatch No. 1: Relating to Suggested Future Political Policy: Thurston to Dole, June 13, 1893," ark:70111/h3k, box 1, folder 1: Biographies and Reminiscences of Sanford Ballard Dole and Lorrin Andrews Thurston, Dole, Sanford Ballard, Digital Archives of Hawai'i, https://digitalarchives.hawaii.gov/, 5.

the American Pacific empire but also on altering and westernizing Native Hawaiian society to prevent dissent and cultural incompatibilities within the islands.

To gain greater approval for the annexation of Hawai'i in the mainland, Thurston published a handbook. Thurston opened his handbook with a description of the relationship between the United States and Hawai'i comparing it to an "indulgent and protecting elder brother toward a little sister,"[10] yet focused much of his argument on the islands' geographic benefits for the United States. For instance, Thurston argued that Hawai'i's position in the Pacific supported the growth of American shipping vessels and the United States' global influence in maritime trade.[11] Thurston's opening remarks described a familial relationship between Hawai'i and the United States though he contradicted this metaphor in most of the handbook through a focus on the economic value of annexing Hawai'i. Thurston's work exemplified the origins of the commodification of Hawaiian lands and the portrayal of Hawai'i as a land destined for serving American interests as a periphery. The invisibility of the Kanaka Maoli in his handbook supported this notion. When describing the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani, Thurston argued that "the people thereupon overthrew the monarchy," because of her attempts to consolidate political power.[12] Implying unified action against the monarchy. From this perspective, Hawaiians righteously reclaimed their land and government in 1893, serving the United States in exchange for protection and proper westernization. However, for many Kanaka Maoli, 1893 represented the loss of autonomy in many aspects of life, including their views on their culture and surrounding environment.[13]

One of its Kind: Militarizing Kaho'olawe

Historical Site or Testing Site?

As America dominated the global stage in the twentieth century, the United States set its sights on consolidating land on the Hawaiian Islands for greater security and military training. As the smallest and least populated island, Kaho'olawe became a perfect target for aerial and shore bombardment training.[14] On February 20, 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed Executive Order No. 10436 which reserved the island of Kaho'olawe for naval purposes. In addition to transferring ownership to the U.S. Navy, the order also stipulated that the Navy would be responsible for making the island "reasonably safe for human habitation, without cost to the Territory (of Hawai'i)" once the island had served its purpose for military training.[15]

[10] Lorrin A. Thurston, *A Hand-Book on the Annexation of Hawaii* (1898), 1.

[11] Thurston, *A Hand-Book on the Annexation of Hawaii,* 9-11.

[12] Thurston, *A Hand-Book on the Annexation of Hawaii,* 24.

[13] For additional information on indigenous resistance and opposition to the annexation of the United States, refer to Noenoe K. Silva, Gilbert M. Joseph, and Emily S. Rosenberg, *Aloha Betrayed* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2004) and James Keauiluna Kaulia and Enoch Johnson, "Petition Against Annexation," (1897).

[14] Department of the Navy, "Department of the Navy: A Report on the Island of Kaho'olawe, 1976 March," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61060 , box KL2, folder 1: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'i at Manoa eVols Repository, 17.

[15] "Executive Order 10436 of February 20, 1953 – Reserving Kahoolawe Island, Territory of Hawaii, for the Use of the United States for Naval Purposes and Placing it Under the Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy," February 20, 1953, https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/3724d0a1-7bc7-4d2c-b799-ec0f1a57ec3c/content.

Under the Navy's control, Kaho'olawe transformed into an island that served the exclusive purpose of target practice, decimating the island's environment. By 1972, a total of seventeen air-to-surface and twenty-one surface-to-surface targets had been constructed on the island with large concentrations in the center, exacerbating soil erosion and degradation.[16] In addition, the Navy left permanent scars elsewhere through other forms of experimental tests such as the detonation of five hundred tons of TNT that created a large ocean-filled crate on the island.[17] These acts of destruction demonstrated not only the legacies of settler colonialism but also the perpetuation of an imperialistic exploitative view of nature. Under the control of the United States amid the Cold War, Hawai'i served the needs of American global dominance, undermining the beliefs of '*aloha aina* and the land as a significant aspect of *ohana* directly with the effects of militarization and the usage of land as military testing sites. In comparing the ideals of land usage, the militarization of Kaho'olawe presented a continuation of the eradication of Kanaka Maoli culture and autonomy from an environmental and cultural lens.

From a western perspective, the usage of Kaho'olawe as a bomb testing site could be seen as a necessity for national security. However, from a Native Hawaiian perspective, Kaho'olawe represented an opportunity to explore cultural beliefs and histories lost as a result of annexation. Originally named Kohmalamalama O Kanaloa, Kaho'olawe has deep spiritual connections with Kanaloa, the god of the ocean and navigation.[18] This connection extends to the physical land, as demonstrated through Hawaiian traditions claiming that the island contains a portion of Kanaloa's *mana*, or spiritual energy.[19] Furthermore, the island houses various abandoned homes, temples, and stones that support this spiritual relevance. For instance, archaeologists have uncovered many images of humans and mythical elements on petroglyphs scattered throughout the island.[20] These remnants of the past provide native Hawaiians an opportunity to explore their past and preserve their heritage in the form of *'aloha aina*. These connections have made many consider the island as a *wahi pana*, or a sacred place, and as a significant component of Hawaiian culture. In addition to the island's connections to Hawaiian culture, the island also has historic ties that connect the Kanaka Maoli to the rest of Polynesia. Oral traditions identify Lae O Kealaikahiki, the southern tip of the island, as the "Point of the Pathway to Tahiti" and place Kaho'olawe as the central point in navigation between Hawai'i and Tahiti.[21] From a historical perspective, Kaho'olawe entails more than just an obscure island and serves as a major site that explores the maritime history, culture, and traditions of the Kanaka Maoli and Polynesia. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the United States

[16] Department of the Navy, "Department of the Navy: Final Environmental Impact Statement, 1972 February," 4-5, http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61180.

[17] Mansel G. Blackford, "Environmental Justice, Native Rights, Tourism, and Opposition to Military Control: The Case of Kaho'olawe," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 2 (2004): 551, https://doi.org/10.2307/3660711.

[18] Noa Emmett Aluli and Davianna Pomaika'I McGregor, "*Mai Ke Kai Mai Ke Ola,* From The Ocean Comes Life: Hawaiian Customs, Uses, and Practices on Kaho'olawe Relating to the Surrounding Ocean," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 26, (1992): 235, http://hdl.handle.net/10524/217.

[19] Rowland Reeve, "Kaho'olawe: Ka Mokupuni O Kanaloa," *Manoa* 7, no. 1 (1995), 202, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4229198.

[20] Reeve, "Kaho'olawe: Ka Mokupuni O Kanaloa," 211-212.

[21] Aluli and McGregor, "Mai Ke Kai Mai Ke Ola, From the Ocean Comes Life: Hawaiian Customs, Uses, and Practices on Kaho'olawe Relating to the Surrounding Ocean," 243-244.

Navy ignored these historical ties and defended their right to the island through western conceptions of land as an exploitable resource.

Initial Dialogues: The Western View

In the 1960s, the people of Hawai'i formed a small-scale resistance group in opposition to military presence on Kaho'olawe. Mayor Elmer Cravalho, mayor of Maui County, became one of the most influential figures in this infant stage of the resistance movement. Local Maui Island residents expressed greater opposition to the militarization of Kaho'olawe, owing to the discovery of an unexploded 500-pound bomb on a cattle ranch belonging to Mayor Cravalho in September 1969.[22] Only seven miles away from Kaho'olawe, Maui residents began realizing that military operations on the island implied greater potential consequences than simply noise pollution. The designation of the island as a training site implied a process of experimentation and inaccuracy but for the first time, residents of Maui recognized the tangible threat that militarization of the island posed to their lives, homes, and property. By 1970, politicians such as Cravalho, U.S. House Representatives Matsunaga and Mink, as well as Senator Daniel Inouye begun expressing safety concerns about the Navy's actions on Kaho'olawe.[23]

This predicament forced the U.S. Navy to develop new arguments to assure public safety and to preserve their right to the island. In 1972, the U.S. Navy released its Environmental Impact Statement on Kaho'olawe and presented numerous arguments to curtail resistance against military operations on the island. Firstly, it countered numerous proposals for alternative uses of the island that had grown in popularity in 1970 and 1971 such as the proposal of a thermonuclear power plant.[24] These initial dialogues surrounding the usage of Kaho'olawe largely centered on western conceptions of land usage, even from Hawaiian politicians. As a result, the Navy reports as well as resistance to the bombing of Kaho'olawe largely focused on the island's monetary and material value. The other main argument presented in the Navy's 1972 report centered on Kaho'olawe's cultural insignificance, which sparked a new wave of resistance to shifting the perceptions of the island from material value to cultural value. Within the report, the Navy argued that "the lack of traditions for Kahoolawe is mute evidence of the unimportance of the island"[25] and determined that bombing operations caused negligible threats to valuable cultural surroundings.[26] While this lack of consideration for the cultural sites on Kaho'olawe shifted towards the end of the 1970s, the depiction of Kaho'olawe as a barren island only suitable for bombing and degradation emphasized the relationship between Native Hawaiian values and western values in the context of settler colonialism.

[22] Jonathan Kamakawiw'ole Osorio, *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (New York: Duke University Press, 2020), 139.

[23] Peter MacDonald, "Fixed in Time: A Brief History of Kahoolawe," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 6, (1972): 79, https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/36726863-4ea3-4b8d-a396-c65764ce110a/content.

[24] Department of the Navy, "Department of the Navy: Final Environmental Impact Statement, 1972 February," 22, http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61180.

[25] Department of the Navy, "Department of the Navy: Final Environmental Impact Statement, 1972 February," A-3, http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61180.

[26] Department of the Navy, "Department of the Navy: Final Environmental Impact Statement, 1972 February," 20, http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61180.

Members of the Navy also perpetuated these views beyond the confines of reports and documents. In May 1970, Admiral Donald C. Davis, a ranking Naval commander in Kaho'olawe commented that the island was a "barren hellhole."[27] The Navy's belief in Kaho'olawe as the only site in the Pacific that met the necessary criteria for artillery and weapon training coupled with its members comments of the unimportance and unattractiveness of the island demonstrated the continued legacies of settler colonialism and the perpetuation of western conceptions of land as expendable. [28] The island's remnants of petroglyphs, temples, and cultural connections to Kanaloa held little importance to leading navy officers under American evaluations of land and portrayed Native Hawaiian views of Kaho'olawe as un-American beliefs that threatened national security.

Express and Oppress: Dialogues in the 1970s Within a Settler State

As the Navy continued to destroy Kaho'olawe's environment for the sake of testing and security in the 1970s, Native Hawaiians decided to act and express themselves to a greater extent than in 1969. Inspired by the Native American seizure of Alcatraz in 1969, members of organizations such as Hui Alaloa, a group focused on fighting for public access to roads and beaches, proceeded to participate in a series of landings on Kaho'olawe in 1976 and 1977.[29] As Native Hawaiians landed on the desecrated island, they developed intimate spiritual connections to the island and their indignancy towards the Navy for its environmentally damaging training intensified. They viewed the island as a direct record of Hawai'i's history and represented the traditions that had been supplanted under American occupation.[30] Richard Sawyer, a Hawaiian who participated in the series of occupations, claimed that "it is useless to wait for politics to save our island […]. This island has taught me how to be honest with myself by bringing me closer than I have ever been to my living culture."[31] Hawai'i's precarious status within the United States as a colonized state situated Native Hawaiians in a power struggle with American institutions regarding culture, language, and sovereignty. As a result, the landing became one of the first major strategies to garner public and national attention to the issues posed by the militarization of Kaho'olawe. From a Hawaiian perspective, these series of landings marked the beginnings of a cultural renaissance and provided Hawaiians an opportunity to engage with oppressed Kanaka Maoli traditions within a settler colonial state while shifting public focus towards the military operations in Hawai'i.

As public attention shifted towards the exploitation of Kaho'olawe in the late

[27] James E. Bylin, "Battle of Kahoolawe: Hawaiians Blast Use of Island as a Target: They Dream of Developing It, But Navy Calls Bombing, Strafing Practice Essential," *Wall Street* Journal, May 1970, http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61060, box KL3, folder 1: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 3.

[28] Chief of Naval Operations, "Kahoolawe: A Report on the Utilization and Feasibility/Cost of Clearing the Island of Unexploded Ordnance." http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61184, box KL1, folder 8: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'i at Manoa eVols Repository, 3-4.

[29] Mansel G. Blackford, "Environmental Justice, Native Rights, Tourism, and Opposition to Military Control: The Case of Kaho'olawe," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 2 (2004): 557, https://doi.org/10.2307/3660711.

[30] Jonathan Kamakawiw'ole Osorio, *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (New York: Duke University Press, 2020), 144.

[31] Richard Sawyer, "Diary Entry: January 29, 1977," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61186, box KL1, folder 6, Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'i at Manoa eVols Repository.

1970s, the U.S. Navy countered the cultural arguments presented by Hawaiian grassroots organizations. One of the main ways that the Navy attempted to counteract the rise of resistance to militarization on Kaho'olawe was through the denial of the right to practice Hawaiian cultural practices. On August 27, 1977, six of the participants in the landings faced charges of trespassing on Kaho'olawe and received a maximum sentence of six months of imprisonment.[32] While the court argued that the bombing of the island was "deplorable," the ruling concluded that the Navy's regulations prohibiting entry did not violate the landing participants' right to religious freedom.[33] The presence of cultural artifacts and sites on the island coupled with the island's spiritual connections to Hawaiian history and mythology demonstrated a cultural significance for Native Hawaiians, but the resistance from American laws and institutions exemplified the power dynamics present within Hawai'i as a settler colonial state. The sympathetic court, which still ruled against the Native Hawaiians who participated in the landing, sided with the Navy and followed American conceptions of religious sites of value, rendering Hawaiian perspectives secondary to the views of American institutions.

By 1978, support for both the U.S. Navy and Hawaiian grassroots organizations had grown significantly in the debates surrounding Kaho'olawe. Supported by laws and American institutions, the U.S. Navy held prominent power in its ability to discredit, apprehend, and undermine groups that resisted the bombing and militarization of Kaho'olawe. However, these major grassroots groups such as the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, formed shortly after the initial landing in 1976, found alternative practices to protest and advocate for the revitalization of Kaho'olawe as a *wahi pana.* In doing so, Hawaiians transgressed numerous boundaries and advanced their cause while living within the precarious space of a settler colonial state from the late 1970s to the present.

Spreading the Message of *Aloha 'Aina*

The Kupuna: The Leaders of the Hawaiian Renaissance

For decades, the annexation of Hawai'i as a settler territory and later, a state, resulted in the suppression and censorship of Hawaiian customs, traditions, and cultures. New generations born in Hawai'i only understood the land, culture, and geography from an American perspective but the *kupuna*, or the elders who acted as mentors, still remembered Hawaiian life before statehood. In a sense, the *kupuna* acted as the true leaders of the landings and inspired the key philosophies of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana through guidance and insight into the spiritual meaning of Kaho'olawe. Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana member Walter Ritte's remarks on *kupuna* Mary Lee exemplified this mentor-mentee relationship. As a wise mentor, Mary Lee often told stories about Hawai'i's past and invigorated the group through her ability to spark "all our energies."[34] As a result, the movement's focus on the revitalization of Hawaiian culture also entailed the renewal of traditional relationships with their

[32] Alma Kaiama Cooper, "Commentary: Kahoolawe: A Nation on Trial," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61186, box KL 1, folder 6, Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 1.

[33] Ken Kobayashi, "Six in Kahoolawe Trial Found Guilty of Trespass," *Honolulu Advertiser,* June 24, 1977.

[34] Edwin Tanji, "Auntie' Mary Lee, Molokai kupuna, dies." *The Honolulu Advertiser*, August 27. 1982.

kupuna, the final generation that had direct experiences with Hawaiian customs and traditions. This relationship between Hawaiian activists and the *kupuna* only grew as the movement gained traction in Hawai'i, particularly beginning in 1976. On February 13, 1976, under the leadership of Walter Ritte and Emmett Aluli, a religious blessing ceremony was held on Kaho'olawe and included the *kupuna* and *kahuna*, or priests, to "clear the pathway toward making right the wrongdoings" that had occurred on the island.[35] The inclusion of the *kupuna* provided an outlet for curious Hawaiians to learn more about the history of Kaho'olawe as well as Hawaiian traditions such as *aloha 'aina* but they also physically participated in the movement to restore Kaho'olawe to its pre-annexation beauty. In doing so, the *kupuna* worked both in the background and the forefront of the movement to restore Kaho'olawe to its status as a *wahi pana* and influence younger generations of Hawaiian residents.

As the *kupuna* became more involved with the movement and reasserted their Hawaiian practices and customs alongside younger protesters, they also participated in the movement as active agents of change. Roughly one month after the religious cleansing ceremony on Kaho'olawe, five *kupuna* asked Mayer Elmer Cravalho to arrange a helicopter trip to Kaho'olawe.[36] On February 13, 1976, these five *kupuna,* "did not have the physical strength to make the final leg of the journey on our own" due to the rough waters and only paid an offshore visit to Kaho'olawe, hence the request for a helicopter trip.[37] Cravalho approved the request and attempted to negotiate with the U.S. Navy but unfortunately for the *kupuna*, the Navy denied the request, noting the February thirteenth landing as an exception to civilian visits to the island.[38] This rejection did not end the involvement of the *kupuna* in the movement. On the contrary, the participation of the *kupuna* in advocating for the demilitarization of Kaho'olawe only expanded. Following the first rejection, the five *kupuna* sent letters to numerous representatives including Senator Daniel Inouye and Representative Patsy Mink, imploring them to negotiate with the Navy for the right to land on Kaho'olawe.[39] It took until mid-1979 for the *kupuna* to receive authorization to visit the island and renew their appreciation of Kaho'olawe and its importance in an oppressed culture.[40] As they had done before, the *kupuna* served as mentors for the fourty-seven Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana members on the island and assisted in studying and providing "ethnographic interpretations" of key sites.[41] Serving as cultural experts, the *kupuna* worked alongside scholars to identify and analyze the relevance of Kaho'olawe to the history of the Kanaka Maoli. The initial inclusion of the *kupuna* in the early stages of the movement to demilitarize Kaho'olawe established a rekindled cultural alliance between Hawaiian elders and the younger generations of activists, creating a united front advocating for the revitalization of Hawaiian cultural views of the environment.

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[35] Keith Haugen, "Culebra, Kahoolawe: A Tale of Two Target Islands," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 24, 1977.

[36] "Kupunas Ask Trip to Kahoolawe," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* March 3, 1976.

[37] "Kupunas."

[38] Edwin Tanji, "Navy rejects kupunas' request to visit Kahoolawe." *The Honolulu Advertiser*, March 11, 1976.

[39] Hugh Clark, "Molokai kupunas try again." *The Honolulu Advertiser*, March 20, 1976.

[40] Edwin Tanji, "Auntie' Mary Lee, Molokai kupuna, dies." *The Honolulu Advertiser*, August 27. 1982.

[41] Betty Shimabukuro, "Ohana Starts Research Task on Kahoolawe." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 13, 1979.

From State to the Nation and the Entire World: Reversing Roles Through Law and Politics

While the judicial system and U.S. Navy restricted Native Hawaiians practices on the island, Native Hawaiians took advantage of inconsistencies in the Navy's view of Kaho'olawe and pursued legal action to enact change. From 1976 to 1977, archaeologists from the Office of Historic Preservation and the Department of Land and Natural Resources surveyed 34 percent of the island and reported that roughly 90 sites qualified for the National Register of Historic Places.[42] Using this information, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, led by Noa Emmett Aluli, filed a lawsuit against the United States Navy for its reckless bombing of archaeological sites. They demanded the submission of a new environmental impact statement report and argued that the Navy's bombing of Kaho'olawe violated the National Environmental Policy Act, the National Historic Preservation Act, and Executive Order 11593 due to the lack of a complete archaeological survey of the island.[43] In response, the Navy claimed that the island had not been registered under the National Register of Historic Places and that a new environmental impact statement had little merit until the completion of a full archaeological survey.[44] In a partial victory for the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, the court ruled that the Navy had violated the National Environmental Policy Act and Executive Order 11593 and demanded that the Navy file annual environmental impact statement reports as well as nomination of discovered historic sites to the National Register of Historic Places.[45] Hawaiians used the institution that had originally imprisoned them for their protest against the bombing of Kaho'olawe to engage in dialogues with the United States Navy that advanced the view of Kaho'olawe as a cultural and spiritual site. The ground of the right to religious freedom had failed in court and so, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana implemented arguments that used data and records that supported the archaeological western perspective on land as opposed to the cultural Kanaka Maoli perspective centered on *aloha 'aina*.

For many Hawaiians, this court ruling became a disappointment with the release of the U.S. Navy's Environmental Impact Statement draft in October 1977. Numerous criticisms of the report emerged from the public. For one, the report scarcely mentioned the archaeological and cultural value of the island for Hawaiians. The three-page section, with nearly a whole page dedicated to referencing the 1972 Environmental Impact Statement, included little on the cultural relevance of the archaeological sites discovered and simply claimed that targets near sites had been closed.[46] The following year, the U.S. Navy held a series of public hearings to receive feedback on the draft. During one hearing, Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana member and scholar Haunani-Kay Trask, expressed her frustration with the lack of consideration of the concept of *aloha 'aina* and the cultural effects of the bombing. In her remarks on the Navy's "cultural imperialism," she remarked:

[42] Jim McCoy, "Target Island and Archaeology Lab: Double Role for Kahoolawe?" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 2, 1977.

[43] *Aluli v. Brown*. 437 F.Supp, 602 (D. Hawai'i, 1977).

[44] *Aluli v. Brown.* 437 F supp, 602 (D. Hawai'i, 1977).

[45] *Aluli v. Brown.* 437 F supp, 602 (D. Hawai'i, 1977).

[46] Department of the Navy, "Department of the Navy: Draft Supplement to the Final Environmental Impact Statement, 1977 October," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61182, box KL1, folder 10: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, A-5-A-7.

> Why does the protection of America mean the destruction of the Hawaiian Island of Kahoolawe? Gentlemen, if you must bomb, destroy and annihilate, why not practice on your own historic sites? Does it repel you to think of daily bombing runs over Washington monument, Mt. Vernon, or the Statue of Liberty?[47]

Numerous other complaints also persisted throughout the hearings such as the lack of discussion on the impact of natural resources, the controversies surrounding the island, and the potential of ceasing bombing operations on the island.[48] The eventual legal victory that resulted from these hearings brought to light the inadequate accounting produced by the U.S. Navy. Their position that the bombings were uncontentious, absolute, and harmless reflected the persistent perception of their power dynamic with the Kanaka Maoli.

Subsequent developments marked a major shift in the dispute. By June 1979, the Navy had not completed the ordered archaeological survey of the entire island for historic sites. In response, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana returned to the judicial system for recourse. On May 17, 1979, Judge William Schwarzer of San Francisco extended the deadline for the completion of the Navy's survey by four months and ordered both parties to establish negotiations, preferably in the form of a consent decree.[49] This marked the beginning of a new period in the movement, one in which Native Hawaiians had greater power in advancing their arguments not only from within the state but also beyond. In December of 1980, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and the U.S. Navy signed a consent decree. In it, the United States Navy declared they would grant the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana access to the island for ten consecutive days per month for ten months out of each year to conduct religious, environmental, and cultural practices.[50]

For the 'Ohana, this agreement provided a few strategies to bring the status of Kaho'olawe more powerfully into public consciousness. For one, educating the masses became much easier for the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. The protection group no longer had to rely on public hearings or meetings throughout the state, rather they could simply arrange to bring groups to Kaho'olawe and witness firsthand the environmental damage done to the island. In 1980, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* reported that an ethnic studies course at the University of Hawai'i spent four days on the island of Kaho'olawe to validate the findings from the U.S. Navy's 1977 Environmental Impact Statement.[51] Educating the youth and providing spaces for groups to learn, evaluate, and observe the status of the island became a significant priority following the passage of the consent decree. By 1991, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana had taken over 3,000 visitors to the island for religious and

[47] Pat Guy, "Song, Dance at Navy Hearing," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 14, 1978.

[48] Edwin Tanji, "Attorney says Kahoolawe EIS inadequate: Navy study criticized in hearing," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, April 11, 1978.

[49] Harriet Gee, "Navy Gets 6 Months, Kahoolawe Survey Pressed by Judge," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May18, 1979.

[50] United States District Court for the District of Hawaii, "Civil No. 76-0380 Consent Decree and Order," box KL3, folder 5, Kaho'olawe. Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'i at Manoa eVols Repository, http://hdl.handle.net/10524/62370, 13.

[51] Stu Glauberman, "Navy Denies Extension of Visit to Kahoolawe," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, HI), March 15, 1980.

educational activities.[52] In doing so, visitors saw the physical reality of the damage done to the island through decades of bombing. Harry Whitten, a writer for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* visited the island in 1982 and published his experience. In what he described as an "emotional experience," his group especially noticed the "parts of bombs or shells scattered over the barren ground" and the "red, hard-packed soil where no vegetation grows, and the deep gullies caused by erosion."[53] Whitten's account revealed the complexities that visitors had to reconcile. Visitors simultaneously learned about Hawaiian customs, culture, and the island's history while surrounded by the environmental scars of American militarization such as signs and fences that warned of unexploded ordnance. This served as a pivotal strategy for directly engaging with the public's perceptions of Kaho'olawe and educating groups through place-based education.

The agreement also enabled further growth in the revitalization of Hawaiian cultural celebrations. In 1982, with the assistance of the *kupuna* and the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, the Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation revived Hawaiian ceremonies related to the Makahiki, a period from November to late January dedicated to the celebration of the god Lono that had not been celebrated since 1819.[54] The revitalization of the Makahiki ceremonies on Kaho'olawe reinforced the view of the island as a symbol of autonomy and resistance against the destruction of Kanaka Maoli culture. The younger Hawaiians who never experienced or learned about the Makahiki from their family were taught chants and ritual practices dedicated to Lono and the healing of Kaho'olawe's land.[55] A Kailua high school student who attended the 1988 Makahiki opening ceremonies remarked that they learned about their ancestral history and had "never felt so touched by the kindness and closeness of people I had not known before."[56] Clearance to practice these ceremonies on the island of Kaho'olawe established greater opportunities for education and growth in interest towards the movement to end the bombing of Kaho'olawe. Furthermore, the discussions on *aloha 'aina* and the cultural relevance of Kaho'olawe held greater meaning following 1980 due to the increase in civilian visits to the island coordinated by the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. Audiences no longer simply listened to the belief of *aloha 'aina* and the *mana* of Kanaloa present on Kaho'olawe in the abstract, they actively practiced and embraced them within the physical space.

While the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana used its 100 days a year wisely on Kaho'olawe to practice *aloha 'aina* and educate the public about the island's history, the U.S. Navy continued to conduct its operations for most of each year. In 1981, many became even more displeased with the militarization of Kaho'olawe following the designation of the entire island as a historic site in the National Register of Historic Places due

[52] Protect Kaho'olawe Fund, "Special Edition: Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission Hearings Newsletter," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/62312, box KL 3, folder 2: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 3.

[53] Harry Whitten, "With the 'Ohana on Kaho'olawe," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 2, 1982.

[54] Burt Lum, "Kaho'olawe and the Makahiki Ceremony: The Healing of an Island," *Californian Journal of Health Promotion* 1, special issue (2003): 26-27.

[55] Pualani Kanaka 'Ole Kanahele, "Ke Au Lono I Kaho'olawe, Ho'i (The Era of Lono at Kaho'olawe, Returned)" *Manoa* 7: no. 1 (1995): 157-161, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4229184.

[56] Protect Kaho'olawe Fund, "Kaho'olawe Aloha 'Aina: Mei RIMPAC Edition 1988," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61186, box KL1, folder 6: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 5.

to its archaeological and cultural significance.[57] The following day, the Navy released a press release that announced that the designation would not impact training activities on the island.[58] Despite the efforts of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana to garner support against the Navy's operations on Kaho'olawe, the bombing continued. While the Navy assured the public that training operations would not threaten archaeological sites, many remained doubtful due to the Navy's previous incidences with training materials landing outside their designated target zones. A letter from an attorney representing the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana to Senator Daniel Inouye in 1982 detailed the concern of the discovery of naval gunfire rounds that landed in the off-shore waters of Kaho'olawe as opposed to the directed targeted zones.[59] Concerns only grew with the announcement of the 1980 Rim of the Pacific Exercise (RIMPAC), an international maritime series of warfare preparation exercise, which included the bombing of Kaho'olawe as a portion of its training. In 1982, Hawai'i's House of Representatives passed House Resolution No. 189, which requested that the U.S. Navy terminate the use of Kaho'olawe as a bombing target and included the concept of *aloha 'aina* within the justification of the resolution:

> Whereas, aloha 'aina embodies the life and spirit of Hawai'i, especially when one considers the importance of the land which nurtures our bodies and spirits; and Whereas, the U.S. Navy has shown great disrespect and insensitivity to the people of Hawai'i by using Kaho'olawe as a bombing target and by inviting other nations to participate in the bombing of Kaho'olawe.[60]

The passage of House Resolution No. 189 exemplified the growth of the movement to end the militarization of Kaho'olawe since the late 1970s. Fractures began to develop between local politicians and the U.S. Navy at large. The movement had shifted from a grassroots movement to a movement of statewide attention and concern.

Despite the heightened concerns with the announcement of the 1982 RIMPAC exercises, the U.S. Navy refused to terminate bombing practices on the island and assured the public that the training would pose no threat to the island's archaeological sites. In a letter to Senator Daniel Inouye, Vice Admiral William Lawrence assured Inouye that "these operations include nothing out of the realm of normal training that has occurred on Kahoolawe in the past" and that the Navy's staff archaeologist had concluded that RIMPAC training would not pose any danger to archaeological sites.[61] With a refusal to locate an alternative site for bomb training, the Protect

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[57] Jerry Rogers, "Letter to Captain B.F. Montoya," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/62373, box KL3, folder 1, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 1-4.

[58] Lee Gomes, "Kahoolawe National Listing Won't Halt Navy's Bombing," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, January 29, 1981.

[59] Cynthia Thielen, "Letter to Senator Daniel K. Inouye, 1982," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61184, box KL1, folder 8: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 2.

[60] State of Hawaii House of Representatives Legislature, 19, "House Resolution 189 H.D. 1" http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61186, box KL1, folder 6: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 2.

[61] William P. Lawrence, "Letter to Senator Daniel K. Inouye, April 1982," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61184, box KL1, folder 8: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 1.

Kaho'olawe 'Ohana expressed their position and dissatisfaction with the other nations participating in the RIMPAC exercises, shifting the issue of Kaho'olawe from a statewide issue to an international issue. By outlining the concept of *aloha 'aina,* the relevance of Kaho'olawe to Hawaiian culture, and the recent inclusion of the island in the National Register of Historic Places, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana successfully stopped Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Great Britain from bombing the island in the 1982 RIMPAC exercises.[62] By writing to government leaders around the world, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana expanded the issue of Kaho'olawe to an international context. Furthermore, the emphasis on place-based education and physically presenting the desolated landscape of Kaho'olawe to visitors began producing results. Over 16,000 signatures from Hawai'i, the United States, and foreign countries were included in a petition to the United States Navy to protest the bombing of Kaho'olawe in RIMPAC exercises.[63] Even newspapers from the mainland United States, such as *The New York* Times provided coverage of the controversies surrounding the island and included statements from members of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and Greenpeace, an environmental justice organization that had joined the movement.[64] In addition, the House of Representatives and Senate of Hawai'i passed similar resolutions akin to House Resolution No. 189 in 1982. The beginning of Kaho'olawe's inclusion within RIMPAC brought about a new cycle of resistance and change that demonstrated the growth of the movement and respect for the concept of *aloha 'aina*.

The success of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana in stopping numerous countries from participating in the RIMPAC bombing of Kaho'olawe in 1982 did not equate to the end of RIMPAC exercises on the island. Numerous countries, including the United States and Canada, proceeded with the training agenda while Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Great Britain abstained. To the dismay of the organization two years later, the 1984 RIMPAC operations also included the bombing of Kaho'olawe. The same nations that had abstained two years before did so again. Similarly, The House and Senate passed resolutions denouncing the bombing. Senate Resolution No. 96, passed on May 4, 1984, exemplified the growing fractures between the politicians of Hawai'i and the U.S. Navy. In a newspaper article published on June 13, 1984, the Navy declared that the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana had no right to act as the steward of Kaho'olawe, according to the 1980 consent decree, and that the Navy had maintained its promises of protecting historic sites from bombing in the RIMPAC exercises.[65] However, the language of Senate Resolution No. 96 directly attributed the stewardship of Kaho'olawe to the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and stated that the Navy had "shown great disrespect and insensitivity to the people of Hawaii by using Kaho'olawe as a bombing target."[66] These contradictions reflected the tumultuous relations that existed between legislators who represented their

[62] Richard Collins, "Return of Kahoolawe Plan," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/62312, box KL3, folder 2: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 2.

[63] Noa Emmett Aluli, "Letter to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, April 1984," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61184, box KL1, folder 8 Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'I at Manoa eVols Repository, 3.

[64] "Hawaiians Try to Stop Shelling of Sacred Land," *The New York Times*, April 25, 1982.

[65] "Navy's Stand on Kahoolawe" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 13, 1984.

[66] The Twelfth Senate Legislature of Hawaii, "Senate Resolution 96 S.D. 1" http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61184, box KL1, folder 8: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'i at Manoa eVols Repository, 2-3.

constituents, a growing population of people against the bombing of Kaho'olawe, and the United States Navy. The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana's emphasis on experience-based education laid the foundations for the emergence of Kaho'olawe as an issue beyond the confines of a few grassroots organizations. Unfortunately for many Hawaiians, RIMPAC would ensue for numerous years after 1984.

In response to the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and its growing coalition, the Navy reaffirmed its positions and perpetuated the Kanaka Maoli view of *aloha 'aina* concerning Kaho'olawe as impossible and un-American. In 1985, the Navy privately reaffirmed its perspective on Hawaiian grassroots organizations as a threat to American security through the Beach Thunder War Games, a military scenario designed for training. In these mock combat exercises, the Navy created a "terrorist group" known as "the Alliance for an Independent Kahoolawe." This was an allusion to the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana whose use of likeness was investigated by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.[67] While the Navy claimed that the name had no connection to any real groups, the name still exemplified the tensions between the U.S. Navy and Hawaiian groups. The military's association between the movement to demilitarize Kaho'olawe and terrorism centered on using military training as a source of indirect retaliation against Native Hawaiian groups and perpetuated the Navy's conception of Kaho'olawe as a military training site to its training military personnel. The Beach Thunder War Games of 1985 exemplified the continued western perception of Kaho'olawe as an island only suitable for military training but also denounced Native Hawaiian cultural beliefs connected to Kaho'olawe as un-American and as a threat to national security. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana grew in popularity and employed various strategies to garner support for their case while the U.S. Navy maintained the positions that they had outlined since the obtaining of Kaho'olawe in 1953.

A *Wahi Pana*: The Return of Kaho'olawe to the State of Hawai'i

No More Bombs: A Victory for Hawaiians

With the decline of the Cold War in the late 1980s, the decades-old argument that bombing Kaho'olawe was necessary for national security began to lose credibility.[68] As a result, the movement to end the bombing of Kaho'olawe only grew as the 1980s progressed and by 1990, President George Bush addressed their concerns over the island's environmental degradation. On October 22, 1990, President Bush signed a memorandum to the Secretary of Defense calling for an immediate end to the militarization of Kaho'olawe.[69] In September of the same year, Senate Bill 3088, sponsored by Hawai'i Senator Daniel Akaka, established the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission (KICC) to investigate the terms and conditions for the return of Kaho'olawe to the state of Hawai'i.[70] The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana

[67] "OHA chairman is satisfied with Navy's explanation." *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, October 29, 1985. http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61184, box KL1, folder 8: Kaho'olawe, Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'i at Manoa eVols Repository, 2-3.

[68] Mansel G. Blackford, "Environmental Justice, Native Rights, Tourism, and Opposition to Military Control: The Case of Kaho'olawe," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 2 (2004): 568, https://doi.org/10.2307/3660711.

[69] George Bush, *Memorandum on the Kaho'olawe, Hawaii, Weapons Range*, October 22, 1990.

[70] U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Services, *Senate Bill 3088,* September 20, 1990.

succeeded in advancing their narrative of Kaho'olawe despite the impediment of the United States Navy. While the growing support from U.S. politicians may have included personal political gains, particularly given that Akaka was on the ballot to maintain his seat in the Senate, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana garnered the widespread support needed for politicians to consider alternatives for Kaho'olawe. In addition, Native Hawaiians ensured that their arguments remained prevalent in debates and investigations regarding the island following its long history of bombing exercises. Importantly, the beliefs of Native Hawaiians were supported by the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission, with numerous key figures in the movement such as Noa Emmett Aluli, a pivotal leader in the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, and Hannibal Tavares, Mayor of the County of Maui, serving on the board.

At the end of March 1993, the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission completed its report. The report's executive summary included a firm and resolute justification for the transfer of Kaho'olawe to the state of Hawai'i using the traditional tenants of Hawaiian culture:

> KICC's major finding is that Kaho'olawe is a *wahi pana* and a *pu'uhonua* – a special place with unique and important cultural, archaeological, historical, and environmental resources of local, national, and international significance. Because of this, KICC has concluded that all military use of Kaho'olawe must cease, and that the State of Hawai'i must guarantee in perpetuity that the island and its surrounding waters be used exclusively for the practice of traditional and contemporary Native Hawaiian culture, including religion – and for educational and scientific purposes.[71]

In addition, the KICC accounted for alternative proposals in its report and declared that commercial activity and development were inappropriate given the island's relevance to Native Hawaiian culture.[72] The KICC's report denounced the encroachment of the tourism industry, another long-term consequence of settler colonialism, on Kaho'olawe and affirmed all the major arguments advanced by the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, demonstrating the growing sovereignty and agency of Native Hawaiians within a settler colonial state. The blatant disapproval of commercial development on the island by the KICC also exemplified the permanence of Native Hawaiian philosophy and the recurring concept of *aloha 'aina*. With the growth of the movement throughout the state and world from politicians and environmental justice groups, the concept of *aloha 'aina* remained embedded in issues on Kaho'olawe despite the onslaught of alternative proposals and private interests. While the KICC affirmed Native Hawaiian beliefs and advanced greater autonomy within the settler hierarchy of Hawai'i, legislators had the final say in determining how to approach the transfer of Kaho'olawe.

Similar to their solidarity in the 1980s, the KICC's emphasis on the cultural value

[71] Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission, "Final Report of the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission to the Congress of the United States," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61185, box KL1: Kaho'olawe: Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'i at Manoa eVols Repository, 3.

[72] Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission, "Final Report of the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission to the Congress of the United States," http://hdl.handle.net/10524/61185, box KL1: Kaho'olawe: Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers, University of Hawai'i at Manoa eVols Repository, 7-8.

of Kaho'olawe resonated with Hawaiian legislators. On June 30, 1993, House Bill No. 2015 was passed to create a system that preserved "in perpetuity the island's cultural and historic resources for the people of Hawaii."[73] The act recognized the continuing stewardship role of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and established the Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission (KIRC) to oversee the management of the island.[74] The following year, the Department of Defense Appropriations Act mandated the return of the island to the state of Hawai'i and in May, a Memorandum of Understanding was established to underline the terms of the transfer.[75] In particular, the Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission, headed by many of the same leaders as the KICC, demanded full responsibility from the Navy for the environmental consequences of military training, stipulating a full removal of unexploded ordnance on the island as well as environmental restoration of 25 percent of the island.[76] Native Hawaiians succeeded not only in undermining the Navy's attitudes toward Kaho'olawe but also held the Navy accountable for the long-lasting environmental legacies of militarization. Regaining sovereignty over the island was simply the first step of many for Native Hawaiians. Riddled with unexploded ordnance and highly eroded soils, Kaho'olawe had not become a sanctuary for Native Hawaiian culture. Throughout the mid and late 1990s, the Navy and the KIRC committed to broad surveys of the island and developed cleanup plans to restore Kaho'olawe to its status as a *wahi pana* justly.

An Illusioned Victory?: Kaho'olawe in the Twenty-First Century

On November 11, 2003, Hawaiians celebrated the official transfer of access control from the U.S. Navy to the State of Hawai'i. However, the previous terms and agreements on cleanup on the island proved much more difficult to accomplish than anticipated. By the end of 2003, the $460 million appropriation from Congress had nearly run out and only 20,000 acres of the island's 29,000 had been cleared of unexploded ordnance.[77] Fortunately, officials deemed numerous parts of the island safe for additional projects. However, many areas on the island continued to suffer from the effects of erosion and incomplete surface and subsurface clearance. With the end of the Navy's cleanup in the early months of 2004, the KIRC had to find alternatives for funding and complete the cleanup on its own. The KIRC relied on its trust fund of $35 million to clean up and support its educational and cultural activities on the island. These funds have dwindled over time due to inadequate support from the state and the KIRC has continually faced financial insufficiency throughout the 2010s.[78] The depletion of allocated funds and the Navy's incomplete cleanup demonstrate the continued power dynamics of settler colonialism in Hawai'i. Despite securing Kaho'olawe as a historic site belonging to Hawai'i, political institutions have placed the cleanup and restoration projects in the backdrop. As a result, the island remains

[73] State of Hawai'i Congress, *House Bill No. 2015*, June 30, 1993.

[74] State of Hawai'i Congress, *House Bill No. 2015*, June 30, 1993.

[75] Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission, *Memorandum of Understanding Between the United States Department of the Navy and the State of Hawaii Concerning the Island of Kaho'olawe, Hawaii,* May 6, 1994.

[76] Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission, *Memorandum of Understanding*.

[77] Gregg Kakesako, "Navy's Kahoolawe cleanup nears finish," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, October 7, 2003.

[78] Melissa Tanji, "Trust fund being depleted as KIRC tried to regain financial footing," *The Maui News*, April 23, 2016.

inaccessible to the public at large in 2024 and danger signs plague the island as a reminder of the environmental legacies of the U.S. Navy.[79] The Hakiowa Watershed, a thirty seven acre area on the island used in the late 1970s to the twenty-first century as a site for the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana due to the area's prominent *heiaus*, or temples, represents just one of many instances of the environmental legacies of U.S. militarization. Excessive erosion has resulted in sediment runoff in the area that has threatened the island's coral reefs and coastal marine ecosystems.[80] Due to the incomplete unexploded ordnance cleanup from the Navy in the Hakiowa area, restoration projects have faced numerous challenges including logistical difficulties in accessing the island and the limited ability to dig merely four feet into the ground for planting.[81] Numerous cases similar to the Hakiowa Watershed plague the island and inhibit the ability of Native Hawaiians to fully practice *aloha 'aina* and restore Kaho'olawe to its pre-contact status as a *wahi pana*. The state of the island, as well as the environmental legacies of military bombing that remain present, serve a continual reminder of the hegemonic cultural power dynamics between American and Hawaiian cultural conceptions of land.

Despite the challenges they have faced following the 2004 cleanup, the KIRC and Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana have persisted in advancing dialogues on the cultural and environmental importance of Kaho'olawe. One of the major goals of the KIRC's 2009-2013 strategic plan included the development and implementation of a measurable education and communication program to "deepen understanding for the children and people of Hawai'i and the world of the natural, cultural, historical and spiritual significance of Kaho'olawe."[82] Throughout the 1980s to the 2020s, the University of Hawai'i at Manoa ethnic studies faculty have sent classes to Kaho'olawe for experience-based learning and to practice the concept of *aloha 'aina*. For instance, in 2007, Davianna McGregor, professor of ethnic studies at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and leader of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, sent fifteen students alongside forty-five other teachers, schoolchildren, parents, and environmentalists.[83] Students and other groups have had the opportunity to not only learn more about Kaho'olawe's rich cultural history, but also actively engage and practice *aloha 'aina* and *malama 'aina*, or caring for the land. Through this, the KIRC gathered a greater volunteer base to assist with the cleanup and restoration projects of Kaho'olawe. The KIRC has also managed to use Kaho'olawe as a representation of greater consciousness towards Native Hawaiian beliefs and customs within other aspects of life. In 2000, a group of physicians attended a conference on Kaho'olawe that focused on practicing the concepts of *'ohana* and *la'au lapa'au*, or Hawaiian herbal healing, to foster greater cultural competency in Kanaka Maoli healthcare.[84] The incomplete cleanup in 2004 left numerous disappointments and environmental scars that the KIRC and Native

[79] Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission, "Access and Risk Management Plan for the Kaho'olawe Island Reserve," November 2005, https://www.kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/plans/ARMPNov2005.pdf.

[80] Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission, "Kaulana & Hakiowa: Watershed Restoration on Kaho'olawe," 2009, https://www.kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/media/KIRC%20DOH%20brochure.pdf.

[81] Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission, "Kaulana & Hakiowa," https://www.kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/media/KIRC%20DOH%20brochure.pdf.

[82] Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission, "Strategic Plan 2009-2013," 2008, https://www.kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/plans/Strategic%20Plan%20April%202008.pdf.

[83] Blane Benevedes, "Kaho'olawe: An awakening of aloha," *Manoa Now*, November 29, 2007.

[84] Martina L. Kamaka, "Guest Editorial," *Hawaii Medical Journal* 60, no. 11 (2001): 293, https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/ae680f5d-c883-4d99-89ad-f1780657df7e/content.

Hawaiians must address but, the transfer of ownership has allowed Hawaiians to practice their culture and most importantly, teach and welcome others to practice the concept of *aloha 'aina* in treating Kaho'olawe as an important *wahi pana*.

Creating Dialogues: Kaho'olawe as a Wahi Pana

Since the annexation of Hawai'i, Kanaka Maoli beliefs and sovereignty have been undermined as a consequence of settler colonialism. The consequence of settler colonialism is undermining Kanaka Maoli beliefs and sovereignty stemming from the U.S annexation of Hawai'i. As Americans and Asian immigrants claimed the Hawaiian identity as their own, Native Hawaiians lost the ability to practice their own cultural beliefs amid the development of an American hegemonic culture in the territory. Kaho'olawe represented an instance in which Native Hawaiians actively resisted the persistence of American notions of land and the environment in hopes of expressing autonomy and sovereignty. As a result, Kaho'olawe is now on a trajectory to being respected as a *wahi pana*. From its listing in the National Register of Historic Places to the attempted cleanup in the early 2000s, Native Hawaiians have continually engaged in environmental dialogues not only within the state but around the world in hopes of resisting American conceptions of land. With the U.S. Navy projecting the view of Kaho'olawe as a barren land necessary for military training, Native Hawaiians advocated the concept of *aloha 'aina* through the transcendence of traditional barriers such as age, politics, and education. In doing so, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and the KIRC emphasized the inclusivity of *aloha 'aina* and created a rallying force against the United States Navy and its views of Kaho'olawe.

Biography: Justin Moore is a graduate student in the History M.A. program at California State University, Sacramento. His interests include Asian and Pacific Islander American history, race relations, medicine, and environmental history. Justin graduated *sumna cum laude* from California State University, Sacramento with B.A. degrees in History and Ethnic Studies. He mentors Supplemental Instruction leaders at the Peer and Academic Resource Center and welcomes thousands of students to the university as an Orientation Leader. Justin hopes to apply his research and experience in student affairs to provide equitable and inclusive historical education for students at the community college level.

Anansi Prize

Interview with Dr. Antonio T. Bly

Dr. Bly is the Peter H. Shattuck endowed chair for the History Department of Sacramento State University. A native of Virginia, he completed his undergraduate degree in History at Norfolk State University and his M.A. and Ph.D. in American Studies at the College of William & Mary. Before joining the History Department at Sac State, he served as the Director of Africana Studies at Appalachian State University. In addition to being an engaging teacher, this historian of early America and book history is an active scholar and researcher.

This interview was conducted as an introduction to his Anansi Prize, which is part of the larger Freedom Seekers project. Freedom Seekers is a collaborative project which aims to explore the sticky history around the enslavement of the African Diaspora here in the United States. Generous with his time, Dr. Bly allowed for this interview to be conducted for the benefit of Clio's readers.

Clio: ***"Thank you for giving me your time today. Could you start by telling us, in your words, who you are?"***

Dr. Bly: "I am a professor here at Sac State, sitting as the Petter Shattuck endowed chair. I am a specialist in everything Early America, Colonial English, or Anglo-American History. I teach several classes here at the university such as 150, 151, 150B, 151B, the lattermost being "Founding Documents," which is relevant to Freedom Seekers. Additional classes would be 17A, 10, as well as "History of Pop Culture" and 168, a summer class on film history. First and foremost, however, I want to say that I am a storyteller, and I believe that history provides us the opportunity to tell stories from those who at the time were not able to speak for themselves."

"Could you tell us a bit more about Freedom Seekers?"

"Well, the Freedom Seekers is a collective effort between American historians from the Universities of Wisconsin-Madison, Montana, and Sacramento State. Additionally, we have professors from Vanderbilt, Harvard, and South Carolina who help facilitate the project. Freedom Seekers' ultimate goal is give the "inarticulate masses" the ability to tell their story as we reconstruct their past. With this in mind, we focus on fugitives, runaway slaves who would not normally be at the forefront of the historical narrative. By looking at ads for their capture, we find these little moments in time that can be followed to larger stories. Because at the end of the day, they were more than these ads, they were human beings.

"What about the Anansi Prize? What was your inspiration for it?"

"The Anansi Prize was something I pushed for in order to give graduate students the opportunity to become published. I also wanted students to get acquainted with the process of peer review and biography writing process. You learn history by doing history and most students don't get the opportunity to submit to a public forum often. Freedom Seekers is that public forum. When I approached the board with this idea they were very receptive to it. The prize itself is an attractive lure to entice

students who I feel are a talent that has yet to be reaped."

"The Anansi Prize is for $1000 correct?"

"This is correct."

"I understand you approached Clio to feature this prize so that Sac State students specifically would see it. Why is that?"

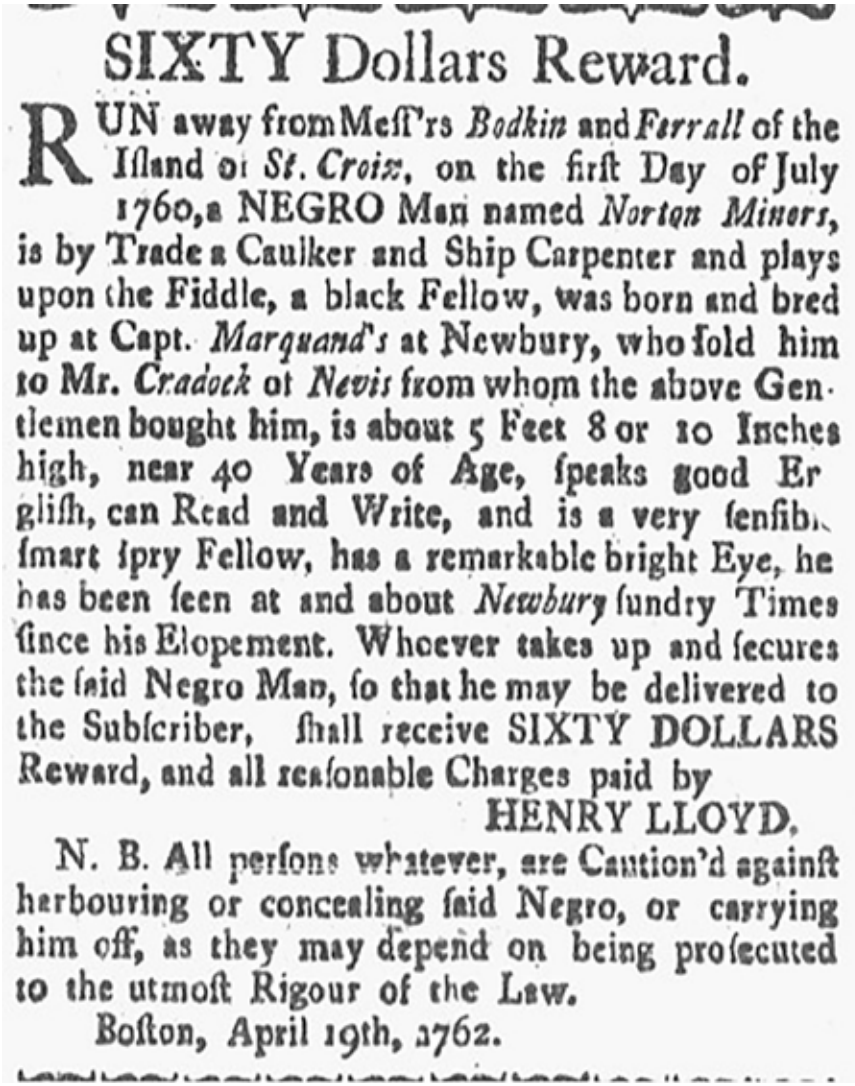
"I am the product of a state school. I am proud of those roots. I believe that any state school is just as capable as those from Ivy leagues or other big-name institutions. Part of our charm is that we have a hustle ethic, and a comradery shared amongst us. Sac State specifically has so much underutilized talent. We need the attention we deserve. My hope is that when a Sac student wins this prize we can show each other how to rise above the fray. After we succeed, and beat everyone else by doing it, we will know that we deserve it and continue rising to give those big-name institutions a run for their money."

"As I was going through some of the articles featured, I noticed a continual theme of survival. Many of the subjects did not go on to do "great things." I found this fascinating, with some parallels to the modern day and I was hoping you could speak to that."

"That is part of what I feel Freedom Seekers and the Anansi Prize is: bringing history to the modern day. Herbert Aptheker said, 'Everyday people do extraordinary things, but the most extraordinary thing they do is survive.' As a people we must persevere, survive, and thrive through unprecedented things. This hasn't changed much since the slave days. But regular people don't often find themselves as the subjects of monographs or publications. Something my father used to say, which I think about now is 'at the right time.' What both my father and Herbert said has stuck with me. Now it is that time. I feel that this prize moves the needle forward in trying to show what "normal people" can do. People survive, and if we can survive the past we can survive the present. Err by your angels. These people in those advertisements did, and they not only gained their freedom but thrived in the midst of great uncertainty. They made time to love, to cherish, to create life, to find a job, and through it all found meaning in despair."

"Is there anything else you want to say? Any other words you want to end on?"

"The future is bright in this bleak moment. I am forever the optimist. While things look down right now, this is just the test that we will pass. This ain't nothing but a Monday. And once we survive we will be better for it. Cushy schools make silk, we make leather here at Sac State. So, stingers up, and keep them up, rather than down. There is a bright day ahead of us."



SIXTY Dollars Reward.

RUN away from Meſſ'rs *Bodkin* and *Farrall* of the Iſland of *St. Croix*, on the firſt Day of July 1760, a NEGRO Man named *Norton Minors*, is by Trade a Caulker and Ship Carpenter and plays upon the Fiddle, a black Fellow, was born and bred up at Capt. *Marquand's* at Newbury, who ſold him to Mr. *Cradock* of *Nevis* from whom the above Gentlemen bought him, is about 5 Feet 8 or 10 Inches high, near 40 Years of Age, ſpeaks good Engliſh, can Read and Write, and is a very ſenſible ſmart ſpry Fellow, has a remarkable bright Eye, he has been ſeen at and about *Newbury* ſundry Times ſince his Elopement. Whoever takes up and ſecures the ſaid Negro Man, ſo that he may be delivered to the Subſcriber, ſhall receive SIXTY DOLLARS Reward, and all reaſonable Charges paid by

HENRY LLOYD.

N. B. All perſons whatever, are Caution'd againſt harbouring or concealing ſaid Negro, or carrying him off, as they may depend on being proſecuted to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law.

Boſton, April 19th, 1762.

Figure 1. Advertisement for the capture of the runaway slave Norton Minors.
Source: The Boston News-Letter, and New-England Chronicle, April 19, 1762.

The Story of Norton Minors (May 1762)

John Balz

Transcription: SIXTY Dollars Reward. RUN away from Mess'rs *Bodkin* and *Ferrall* of the Island of *St. Croix*, on the first Day of July 1760, a NEGRO Man named *Norton Minors*, is by Trade a Caulker and Ship Carpenter and plays upon the Fiddle, a black Fellow, was born and bred up at Capt. *Marquands* at Newbury, who sold him to Mr. *Cradock* at *Nevis* from whom the above Gentlemen bought him, is about 5 Feet 8 or 10 Inches high, near 40 Years of Age, speaks good English, can Read and Write, and is a very sensible smart spry Fellow, has a remarkable bright Eye, he has been seen at and about *Newbury* sundry Times since his Elopement. Whoever takes up and secures the said Negro Man, so that he may be delivered to the Subscriber, shall receive SIXTY DOLLARS Reward, and all reasonable charges paid by

HENRY LLOYD,

N.B. All persons whatever, are Caution'd against harbouring or concealing said Negro, or carrying him off, as they may depend on being prosecuted to the utmost Rigour of the Law.

Boston, April 19th, 1762.

Norton Minors fled slavery in St. Croix and traveled nearly 1,800 miles to his birthplace in northern Massachusetts. A ship carpenter and caulker like Minors could have found work in port cities up and down the East Coast. He had escaped a Caribbean death trap to come back to Newbury for a reason. Perhaps he wanted to reestablish kinship ties that gave him a sense of belonging. What did Minors feel when he stepped foot in Massachusetts again? Fear? Anger? Relief? Minors grew up around Newbury's waterfront where he learned a trade, before being sold to the Caribbean. Unlike many who faced this fate, Norton survived, returned to New England, slipped out of a slave catchers' grasp, joined the American Revolution, and bore seven sons with a woman named Mary. From fragmented records he appears as a self-determined man, though likely had help protecting his fragile freedom. May he appear someday in a historical document to tell the full story in his own words.

Minors was born as "Norton" around 1723 to an approximately twenty-six-year-old enslaved woman named "Mariah." She brought him in 1728 to Queen Anne's Chapel in Newbury, Massachusetts, to be baptized along with herself.[1] How and when Minors got his surname and what it meant to him is a mystery. Perhaps it came

[1] The baptism date was April 21, 1728. *Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. 1* (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1911), 564. https://archive.org/details/vitalrecordsofne01newb_0/page/n1131/mode/2up (accessed March 12, 2024). Queen Anne's Chapel would later become part of what is today called St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Queen Anne's Chapel no longer exists. A special thank you to St. Paul's church historian Bronson de Stadler who tracked down the original baptism records that show both Norton and Mariah baptized on the same day. The original records also include Mariah's age.

from his father, who remains unknown. Mariah and Norton lived in the house of Richard Brown, who made his money trading around the Atlantic. In his 1730 will, Brown included a condition to release Mariah and Norton from bondage if he and his wife Mary died.[2] Brown died a few years later when he was probably in his late fifties and Mary was about twenty-four.[3] Mary remarried 40-year-old Captain Daniel Marquand, another merchant trader.[4] She could have met him at the Episcopal Church where he became warden and then vestryman in the 1740s.[5]

By then Daniel did a thriving trade with the Caribbean on ships he captained and announced in the *Boston Post Boy*.[6] Under coverture Mary's property transferred to Daniel. If Richard had paternalistic feelings toward Minors as a boy, Daniel appears to have viewed him through the credit and debit sides of his accounting books.[7] Daniel had ideas for how young Norton could help his business. Minors probably learned caulking and carpentry around this time. Like many other Black New Englanders, Minors could read and write. As one advertisement put it, he was "a very sensible,

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[2] "In case of my death and my wife, I give my Negro Wench Maria & her Son their Freedom." This clause was perhaps as part of an agreement related their Christian conversion. Brown made a separate direction to leave half of his "Negro slaves" to his wife Mary Brown. "Richard Brown, Will, September 16, 1730." *Essex County, Massachusetts, Probate Records and Indexes 1638-1916*; *Massachusetts. Court of Insolvency (Essex County)*; Probate Place: *Essex, Massachusetts* Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1635-1991* [database on-line] (Lehi, Utah, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015).

[3] There is conflicting information about Brown's death date and his age at the time of his death. Brown died February 26, 1732/33 or 1734/35. *Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. 2* (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1911), 555. https://archive.org/details/vitalrecordsofnew02newb/page/554/mode/2up?q=Brown (accessed March 18, 2024). This record indicates he was about 43 when he died. However, there are no baptisms of a Richard Brown in 1690 in the Newbury vital records. There is a Richard Brown born September 12, 1675, which would make Brown 56 or 58 at the time of his death. *Vital Records of Newbury, Vol. 1*, 71. https://archive.org/details/vitalrecordsofne01newb_0/page/n145/mode/2up (accessed March 17, 2024). Mary Brown was probably March 24, 1708, as Mary Hudson, *Vital Records of Newbury, Vol. 1,* 232. https://archive.org/details/vitalrecordsofne01newb_0/page/n467/mode/2up (accessed March 18, 2024). Separate records from Ancestry.com list a second possible birthdate as December 31, 1709. Mary Hudson married Richard Brown on June 19, 1726, which would mean she was 16 or 18 at the time of her marriage. *Vital Records of Newbury, Vol. 2*, 69. https://archive.org/details/vitalrecordsofnew02newb/page/68/mode/2up (accessed March 17, 2024). She died in 1785. *Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849, Vol. 2* (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1911), 713. https://archive.org/details/vitalrecordsofne02esse/page/n717/mode/2up (accessed March 18, 2024).

[4] On May 12, 1740, his former wife Mary Brown ""alias Marquand" amended some debts "of her late husband Richard Brown." Brown had recently remarried. Newbury town records for February 23, 1739/40, refer to a "Capt Daniel Marquand of Newbury," who "informed…his intent of marriage with Mrs. Mary Brown of Newbury."

[5] *Two Hundredth Anniversary, St. Paul's Parish, Newburyport, Mass. Commemorative Services with Historical Addresses* (Newburyport, Mass., 1912), 40-41. https://archive.org/details/twohundredthanni00newbiala/page/40/mode/2up (accessed March 20, 2024).

[6] "These are to give Notice to all Persons whom it may concern, by Capt. Daniel Marquand, the late Commander of the Ship Experiment, That whoever has any Demands for Service done on Board said Ship on the late voyage to Jamaica, are hereby desired to make them of the said Marquand; or leave them in writing with Mr. Daniel Wentworth, merchant in Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, before the Middle of February next." *Boston Post Boy*, January 9, 1744.

[7] A surviving tax list dated around 1750 lists 44 enslaved people in Newbury. "Essex County tax list, circa 1750," box 3, Hudson collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. New York, New York. Information obtained via email correspondence with NYPL librarian, March 15, 2024. Fifty enslaved people, 34 men and 16 women, are listed as living in "Newburyport," in the 1754 Massachusetts Slave Census, Primary Research, https://primaryresearch.org/slave-census/?town=newbury&county=essex (accessed March 20, 2024). This information probably includes both Newbury and Newburyport. See footnote 20.

smart, spry Fellow" with a "remarkable bright Eye."[8]

Marquand sold Minors to a "Mr. Craddock of Nevis," a critical event without satisfying answers for questions like when, where, or why.[9] To sell someone as skilled as Minors suggests Marquand's business might have been faltering.[10] Or had Minors challenged Marquand's authority? Regardless of the intent, sale to the Caribbean was often a death sentence for the enslaved. In 1756, a twenty-six-year-old, mixed-race cooper named "Cuff, belonging to Capt. Daniel Marquand" fled a ship in Halifax, Nova Scotia.[11] Minors and Cuff had grown up together in the Brown and then the Marquand household.[12] He might also have been baptized.[13] Perhaps Norton's fate lead Cuff to escape to Canada? The details of Minors's life in Nevis and his relationship with Craddock are unknown, but he was sold again in 1757 to "Messrs. Bodkin and Farrall on the Island of St. Croix."[14] Nearly twenty-five years after Denmark purchased the island from France, St. Croix was rapidly filling out with settlers and slaves. What were Minors's impressions of plantation slavery? Who became his kinfolk? Was he afraid of dying on a sugar plantation?

Historians have created a term for Minors's next bold move: "Maritime maronage." On small Caribbean islands like Danish St. Croix, enslaved people did not have the advantage of large forests, mountain ranges, or swamps where they could hide for long periods of time. Most people who wanted to "go maroon" for months or escape

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[8] Kelly and Lloyd's ads were always generic about Minor's physical description. He stood between 5'8" and 5'10."

[9] *Boston Evening-Post*, March 29, 1762. Some of the early advertisements for Norton Minors claimed that his enslaver in "New England" was a "Mr. Mark Quane" who sold him to Craddock. The later advertisements named Daniel Marquand as the enslaver. I think it is unlikely Marquand sold Minors to Quane who then sold him to Craddock, although such a possibility exists. More likely, I think, is that the early ads named the incorrect enslaver. I have not found references to Mark Quane in Newbury vital records.

[10] Economic problems in 1760s Boston led New England enslavers to sell enslaved people. Marquand's sale of Minors was probably before this downturn. Jared Ross Hardesty, "Disappearing from Abolitionism's Heartland: The Legacy of Slavery and Emancipation in Boston," *International Review of Social History* 65, (2020): 145-168.

[11] Cuff is described as a "Molatto Servant Man," and a "good Cooper, aged about 26 years." *Boston Evening Post*, July 26, 1756.

[12] Minors would have been about 33 in 1756. A 1735 probate inventory of the Brown household includes 8 "Negroes," Thomas, Benneto, Cuffee, Norton, Cuffee "Jun.," Mariah, Peach, and Frann. Norton is assigned a value of $80, the highest value among the 8 servants. Cuffee is assigned a value of $70 and Cuffee Jr. is assigned a value of $35. Given that "Cuff" is 26 in 1756 newspaper ad, he is probably "Cuffee Jr. in Norton's probate inventory. "Richard Brown, Probate Inventory, April 8, 1735." *Essex County, Massachusetts, Probate Records and Indexes 1638-1916*; *Massachusetts. Court of Insolvency (Essex County)*; Probate Place: *Essex, Massachusetts* Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1635-1991* [database on-line] (Lehi, Utah, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015).

[13] On September 28, 1735, "Coffee" of "Madam Brown" was baptized in the same church as Norton. It is possible this is the adult "Cuffee" rather than young Cuffee Junior, in Brown's probate inventory. Coffee's baptism does not appear in the published vital records available online. Special thanks to Bronson de Stadler for providing information from the original church book.

[14] "Bodkin" and "Farrall" were almost certainly Laurence Bodkin and Mathias/Matthew Ferrall, part of an Atlantic network of Irish Catholic merchants who traded legally and illegally with Dutch, Danish, British, French, and Spanish colonies. Olga Power has written extensively about Bodkin, who owned warehouses in Christiansted, St. Croix's largest city, and sugar plantations. He participated in the slave trade, shipped crops to multiple markets, including smuggling to Saint Domingue. Olga Power, "Irish planters, Atlantic merchants: the development of St. Croix, Danish West Indies, 1750-1766" (Ph.D. diss., University of Galway, 2011), esp. 121-123.

slavery permanently had to flee to the sea.[15] Whether he stayed in town or on a rural plantation, Minors was never far from a port. On July 1, 1760, he hopped aboard the sloop Boscawen in St. Croix bound for Louisbourg, Nova Scotia.[16] Somewhere, probably Boston, he slipped off. His enslavers got word to William Kelly and Henry Lloyd, prominent merchants in New York City and Boston, about Minors's escape. Over the next two years they placed at least twenty-six ads in newspapers from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire.[17] By 1762, Lloyd believed Minors had come back to Newbury, noting he had "been seen in and about (town) sundry Times since his Elopement."[18] They raised the initial reward to $60, ten times the $6 average reward in Massachusetts newspapers around this time.[19] But Minors always stayed one step ahead of them. He might have seen the ads and used an alias to evade detection with help from free and enslaved people in the area. Was his mother Mariah, now in her 60s, still alive? What sorts of risks would a daring Minors take to try and see her and what was their possible reunion like?

Then in June 1762 the ads stopped. Bodkin and Farrall had seemingly given up. Minors's next moves mixed patience with brashness and a talent for evasion. In March 1768, almost six years later, Norton entered a church in Canterbury, New Hampshire, fifty-seven miles northwest of Newbury, to baptize a son "John" with "Mary," apparently his wife.[20] Minors seemed to be moving throughout Massachusetts and New Hampshire, finding work and creating a family. Then, less than a year later in April 1769, two men, possibly slave catchers, captured Minors in Middlesex County and delivered him to the jail in Charlestown.[21] After nearly two

[15] N. A. T. Hall, "Maritime Maroons: 'Grand Marronage' from the Danish West Indies," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (1985): 476-498.

[16] *New-York Gazette*, November 17, 1760.

[17] The 26 ads I have found are: *New-York Mercury*, November 10, 1760; *New-York Gazette*, November 10, 1760; *Boston Post-Boy*, November 17, 1760; *New-York Gazette*, November 17, 1760; *New-York Mercury*, November 17, 1760; *New-York Mercury*, November 24, 1760; *Boston Post-Boy*, November 24, 1760; *Boston Post-Boy*, December 1, 1760; New-York Gazette, December 1, 1760; *Pennsylvania Journal*, December 11, 1760; *Pennsylvania Journal*, January 22, 1761; *Pennsylvania Journal*, February 12, 1761; *Pennsylvania Journal*, February 19, 1761; *Pennsylvania Journal*, February 26, 1761; *Boston Evening-Post*, March 29, 1762; *Boston Gazette*, March 29, 1762; *Boston Post-Boy*, March 29, 1762; *Boston News-Letter*, April 1, 1762; *Boston Gazette*, April 5, 1762; *Boston Post-Boy*, April 5, 1762; *Boston Evening-Post*, April 12, 1762; *Boston Post-Boy*, April 12, 1762; *Boston Evening-Post*, April 26, 1762; *Boston Evening-Post*, May 3, 1762; *New-Hampshire Gazette*, May 28, 1762; *New-Hampshire Gazette*, June 4, 1762. The *Freedom on the Move* database lists an ad in *Parker's New York Gazette*, November 20, 1760, without an image of the ad. I believe this is the same as the *New York Gazette* from November 17, 1760, since the paper did not publish an issue on November 20. *The Freedom on the Move* database also lists an ad in the *Boston Gazette*, November 16, 1761, also without an image. I could not locate this ad in the actual newspaper.

[18] *Boston Gazette*, March 29, 1762.

[19] The initial reward was $40. Average reward of $6.14 dollars calculated from sample of 51 ads in Massachusetts newspapers published between 1760-1765. Ads collected from *Freedom on the Move* database. Calculation includes 3 ads offering rewards in pounds. One ad indicated $20 = 6 pounds, which was used as an exchange rate. The sample excludes one ad of freedom seeker from Connecticut that offers reward in "York" money. The sample also excludes 7 ads which do not give specific reward amount but instead say a person will be "well" or "handsomely" rewarded. The largest award for a freedom seeker other than Minors was $20 for man named Boston. *Boston Post Boy*, June 28, 1762.

[20] The baptism took place on March 22, 1768. *Vital Records of Newbury, Vol. 2*, 322. https://archive.org/details/vitalrecordsofne01newb_0/page/n647/mode/2up (accessed March 16, 2024).

[21] The two men, "John Densmore" and "Alexander Gitriot" cited the *New Hampshire Gazette* ad from April 19, 1762. Suffolk County (Mass.) court files, 1629-1797, Court files v. 812 cases 131736-131825 1768-1769, Family Search (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSR4-DG3S?i=393) Images 394-399 of 805. (accessed March 18, 2024). Note: Family Search doesn't provide a recommended citation for this source.

months the Middlesex Sherriff was ordered to transfer Minors to Essex County. He wrote back two days later: "Since my receipt of this writ I have not had the body of Norton Miners (sic) in my custody."[22] Minors had escaped again. Near capture did not dissuade Norton and Mary from returning to a church in Newburyport (Newbury's new neighboring town[23]) in 1771 to baptize their second child, Timothy.

Norton probably lost his fugitive status between 1775 and 1783. During the fog of the Revolutionary War enslaved people, possibly hundreds, walked away from the homes of absent enslavers or were manumitted in wills.[24] Minors joined the Continental Army. He served almost nine months between 1778-1779 near Boston's North River and another month in 1780.[25] Between 1777 and 1786, he and Mary baptized five more boys – Stephen, Joseph, Leadington, James, and William – in Newbury.[26] By taking these steps, Mary and Norton showed a determined Christian faith, a shrewd understanding of Christianity's liberatory potential in New England, or both.

When Minors died and where his body rests remain two final mysteries. On March 27, 1790, Samuel Marsh recorded his intent to marry Norton's widow Mary "Minah" in a Newburyport church.[27] That year, the country's new census takers identified Marsh as the head of a Newbury household with seven other free, "non-white" people.[28] Whether those seven people were Mary and six of her children with Norton cannot be confirmed.

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[22] John Densmore" and "Alexander Gitriot", *New Hampshire Gazette,* April 19, 1762.

[23] Newburyport, which was closer to the ocean, split off from Newbury to form a separate town in 1764. The Marquand house, where Minors had lived in his youth, was in Newburyport.

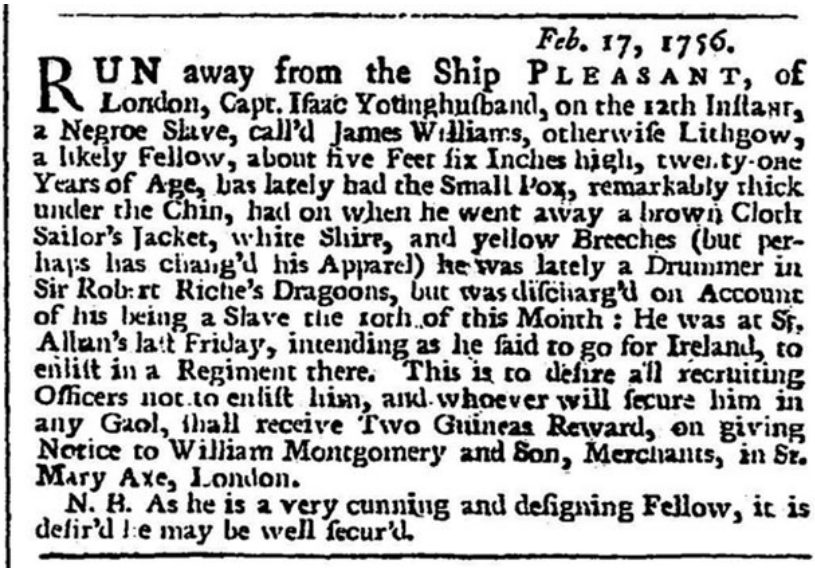
[24] Gloria Whiting, "Emancipation without the Courts or Constitution: The Case of Revolutionary Massachusetts," *Slavery & Abolition* (2019): 1-21.

[25] "Massachusetts, Revolutionary War, Index Cards to Muster Rolls, 1775-1783," database with images, FamilySearch (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSQZ-6WHT-F?cc=2548057&wc=QZZQ-MHC%3A1589088739 : 20 September 2019), Mills, Drake - Moffatt, Joseph > images 932 and 1009 of 2698; Massachusetts State Archives, Boston (accessed March 19, 2024).

[26] *Vital Records of Newbury, Vol. 1*, 322. https://archive.org/details/vitalrecordsofne01newb_0/page/n647/mode/2up (accessed March 12, 2024). I have an outstanding inquiry with archivists at the Presbyterian Historical Society, which holds the original baptism records for a specific Newbury church where Norton and Mary might have baptized their five sons. One of the unanswered questions is whether Minors baptized any of these sons at the same church that the Marquand family attended. Linking Minors and Daniel Marquand, who died in 1789, through a church after Minors returned from St. Croix would raise a series of questions about their possible contacts.

[27] *Vital Records of Newbury, Vol. 2*, 329. https://archive.org/details/vitalrecordsofnew02newb/page/328/mode/2up (accessed March 16, 2024).

[28] The National Archives in Washington, DC; Washington, DC; *First Census of the United States, 1790.*; Year: *1790*; Census Place: *Newbury, Essex, Massachusetts*; Series: *M637*; Roll: *4*; Page: *433*; Family History Library Film: *0568144,* Ancestry.com. *1790 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010). Original data: First Census of the United States, 1790 (NARA microfilm publication M637, 12 rolls), Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (National Archives, Washington, D.C.).



Feb. 17, 1756.

RUN away from the Ship PLEASANT, of London, Capt. Iſaac Yotinghuſband, on the 12th Inſtant, a Negroe Slave, call'd James Williams, otherwiſe Lithgow, a likely Fellow, about five Feet ſix Inches high, twenty-one Years of Age, has lately had the Small Pox, remarkably thick under the Chin, had on when he went away a brown Cloth Sailor's Jacket, white Shirt, and yellow Breeches (but perhaps has chang'd his Apparel) he was lately a Drummer in Sir Robert Riche's Dragoons, but was diſcharg'd on Account of his being a Slave the 10th of this Month: He was at St. Allan's laſt Friday, intending as he ſaid to go for Ireland, to enliſt in a Regiment there. This is to deſire all recruiting Officers not to enliſt him, and whoever will ſecure him in any Gaol, ſhall receive Two Guineas Reward, on giving Notice to William Montgomery and Son, Merchants, in St. Mary Axe, London.

N. B. As he is a very cunning and deſigning Fellow, it is deſir'd he may be well ſecur'd.

Figure 2. Advertisement for the capture of the runaway slave James Williams. Source: London Evening Post (London), February 17, 1756.

The Story of James Williams (February 1756)

Morgan Byerley

Transcription: RUN away from the Ship P L E A S A N T, of London, Capt. Isaac Younghusband, on the 12th Instant, a Negroe Slave, call'd James Williams, otherwise Lithgow, a likely Fellow, about five Feet six Inches high, twenty-one Years of Age, has lately had the Small Pox, remarkably thick under the Chin, had on when he went away a brown Cloth Sailor's Jacket, white Shirt, and yellow Breeches (but perhaps has chang'd his Apparel) he was lately a Drummer in Sir Robert Riche's Dragoons, but was discharg'd on Account of his being a Slave the 10th of this Month: He was at St. Alban's last Friday, intending as he said to go for Ireland, to enlist in a Regiment there. This is to desire all Recruiting Officers not to enlist him, and whoever will secure him in any Gaol, shall receive Two Guineas Reward, on giving Notice to William Montgomery and Son, Merchants, in St. Mary Axe, London. N.B. As he is a very cunning and designing Fellow, it is desired he may well be secur'd.

London Evening Post (London), 17 February 1756.

It is a misty morning, and the clouds roll over the hilly battlefield. James Williams rides upon a gray horse carrying a brass drum engraved with the silver emblem of the British 4th Dragoons.[1] Besides Williams, his fellow Black drummers ride in strict formation on gray horses, clutching their drums with cold hands. In the distance, the outline of the enemy can be seen through the heavy fog. Commander Sir Robert Riche stares through the haze and signals the drummers to await his command.[2] All is silent: one, two, three…The signal comes, and Williams brings his drumsticks down, beating out a powerful march. The battle has begun.[3]

This was the life that James Williams, also known as Lithgow, hoped to achieve: a life of freedom and independence alongside his fellow black drummers. Unlike John Blanke, a seventeenth-century trumpeter who appeared to be a lone Black musician in a mostly white Tudor court, Williams would not have been an isolated Black musician but belonged to a predominantly Black drumming unit.[4] But before he attempted to join up, James Williams had been enslaved, most recently as a sailor under Isaac Younghusband. However, this "cunning and designing individual" had

[1] Richard Cannon, *Historical Record of the Third, or the King's Own Regiment of Light Dragoons* (London: Parker, Furnivall, & Parker, 1847), https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/50421 [accessed March 12, 2025].

[2] Cannon, *Historical Record of the Third*, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/50421 [accessed March 12, 2025].

[3] As this essay will show, James Williams likely served in the 4th Dragoons for a very short time before being re-enslaved, and so it is very unlikely he ever participated in military action with this regiment. But it is very possible that he did see service with a different regiment.

[4] Miranda Kaufmann, "John Blanke," in *Black Tudors: The Untold Story* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2017), 7.

escaped and planned a whole new life for himself, joining the British 4th Dragoons at the beginning of the Seven Years' War.[5]

Isaac Younghusband was probably born in Virginia, and he had married Mary Pleasant (after whom he likely named his ship the *Pleasant)*.[6] The name Isaac Younghusband appears numerous times in Virginian records, including Thomas Jefferson's Memorandum Book entry in March 1775 recording his stop at "Mrs. Younghusband's" tavern in Richmond.[7] It is likely that James Williams was born into slavery in North America. He may have been owned by more than one person, but by 1756 he was the property of Isaac Younghusband, and like other enslaved mariners he worked aboard ship and served his enslaver both aboard and on shore. Younghusband knew him as Lithgow, and James Williams was probably the name he took when he escaped from the *Pleasant* and joined the army as a free man.

What kind of life did James Williams hope to lead as a drummer in Sir Robert Riche's 4th Dragoons? James Williams was likely in the army for only a matter of days or weeks before being re-enslaved under Younghusband. Despite his short time in the army, Williams would most likely have talked with other Black drummers in the regiment and learned about life as a drummer in the 4th Dragoons. The 4th Dragoons, founded in 1685 after the Monmouth rebellion, fought in critical battles across Europe including the 1715 Jacobite uprising, the Flanders campaign and the Seven Years' War.[8] As a drummer, Williams would have worn a standard uniform that included a striped coat, a tassel hat, and engraved brass drums.[9] Although one might expect that a drummer was only responsible for music, Williams' daily routine would have included stoking the fire, cleaning camp, assisting the wounded, and even carrying arms if needed.[10] Drummers were also tasked with carrying out corporal punishment upon disobedient soldiers. Of course, a drummer's most critical role was drumming since the drumbeats could determine the fate of a battle. Williams' fellow soldiers were responsible for understanding and responding to every drumbeat. One drummer stated that the drum "was the very tongue and voice of the Commander" and that "Drums and their players were vital in carrying messages to and from the enemy camp, a role that gave them a special and ambiguous status." Williams' position as drummer would have allowed him independence and according to another drummer "a feeling that his percussive expertise had made a vital contribution to the day's events." Drumming gave a sense of purpose and community but most importantly it gave a Black man freedom and pay.[11]

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[5] "RUN away from the Ship PLEASANT… a Negroe Slave, call'd James Williams, otherwise Lithgow," *London Evening Post* (London), 17 February 1756.

[6] "Isaac Younghusband." *WikiTree*, 30 Mar. 2021, www.wikitree.com/wiki/Younghusband-132 [accessed March 12, 2025].

[7] Thomas Jefferson, entry for March 20, 1775, "Memorandum Books, 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/02-01-02-0009. [accessed March 12, 2025].

[8] "4th Queen's Own Hussars," *National Army Museum*, https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/4th-queens-own-hussars [accessed March 12, 2025].

[9] Cannon, *Historical Record of the Third*.

[10] Steven M. Baule, "Drummers in the British Army during the American Revolution," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, No. 345, 86 (2008): 20-33.

[11] Christopher Marsh, "'The Pride of Noise': Drums and Their Repercussions in Early Modern England," *Early Music* 39, no. 2 (April 21, 2011): 3, 5, 6.

The 4th Dragoons was unique since it had more Black drummers than any other regiment. A 1715 Scottish observer and a 1748 regiment inspection noted that "The Drummers are all Black." What is even more significant is that pay sheets and records show that Black soldiers were trained and paid in the same way as other soldiers. Drummer John Brigade, "A Black of Riches Dragoons" served during the same time as Williams and was discharged in 1753 with rheumatism. Although Brigade and his family then disappeared from the records, he likely received a pension as a freeman like other discharged soldiers. In this way, Williams wouldn't have been an isolated Black individual, but rather one member of a community of free Black drummers—some of whom, like him, had achieved freedom in Britain.[12]

Somehow Younghusband discovered that Williams had joined the 4th Dragoons, and this led to Williams' re-enslavement aboard Younghusband's ship. However, Williams' enslavement did not last long since he fled two days after being enslaved aboard the *Pleasant*. Although Williams' exact relationship with Younghusband is unknown, it is clear that Williams was highly motivated to escape the Virginian captain and seek freedom elsewhere. Having enjoyed a brief period of freedom and discovered a possible new life and career in the military, Williams was not to be held back. He escaped again, prompting Younghusband's advertisement in the *London Evening Post* on February 17, which was repeated on February 23. Younghusband recounted how Williams had escaped before and joined the 4th Dragoons, had then been recovered by Younghusband and brought back aboard the *Pleasant*, but then two days later had escaped once again. The advertisement states that on February 10th, 1756, Williams was "discharged on account of his being a Slave" from the 4th Dragoons. The advertisement also states that two days later on February 12th Williams ran "away from the Ship *Pleasant* of London, Capt. Isaac Younghusband."[13]

Within a matter of days or perhaps a couple of weeks, James Williams went from being an enslaved man from Virginia to a free man serving in the army, to being re-enslaved, and then being free once again. Perhaps he was recaptured and sailed back to Virginia on the *Pleasant*. But Younghusband's advertisement suggests that Williams may have remained free this time. According to Younghusband, Williams had been seen "lurking about St. Alban's," some twenty-five miles from London, and "was intending to go for Ireland, and enlist in a Regiment there."[14] If this information was correct, then perhaps Williams had seen the potential of an exciting life in the army as a free man, and this time was venturing further away before he joined up, so as to avoid recapture. The year 1756 was significant as the start of the Seven Years' War, a turbulent conflict that engaged European powers like Britain, Austria and France. If he made it to Ireland, Williams may have been able to join another British regiment to join the fight as a drummer. We may never know Williams' fate, but this resourceful and determined young man had already proved he had the courage and determination to secure his freedom.[15]

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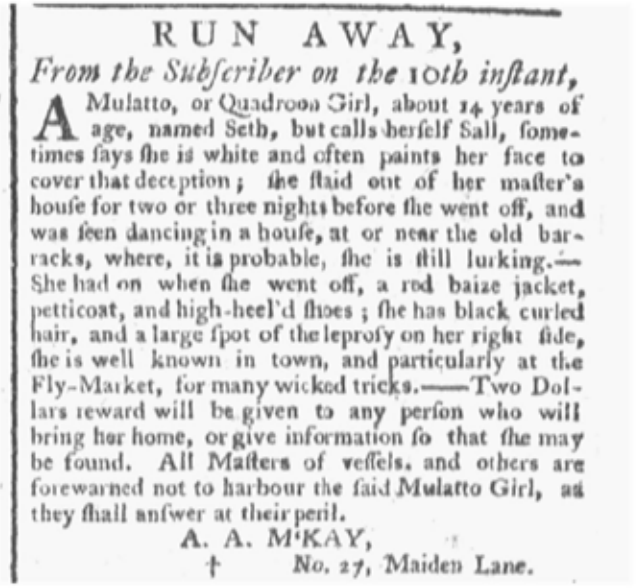
[12] Cannon, *Historical Record of the Third*.

[13] "RUN away from the Ship PLEASAN," *London Evening Post*, 17 February 1756.

[14] "RUN away from the Ship PLEASAN," *London Evening Post*, 17 February 1756.

[15] Richard Hayes, "Irishmen in the Seven Years War," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 32, no. 127 (September 1943), 4, 8.



RUN AWAY,

From the Subſcriber on the 10th inſtant,

A Mulatto, or Quadroon Girl, about 14 years of age, named Seth, but calls herſelf Sall, ſometimes ſays ſhe is white and often paints her face to cover that deception; ſhe ſtaid out of her maſter's houſe for two or three nights before ſhe went off, and was ſeen dancing in a houſe, at or near the old barracks, where, it is probable, ſhe is ſtill lurking.—She had on when ſhe went off, a red baize jacket, petticoat, and high-heel'd ſhoes; ſhe has black curled hair, and a large ſpot of the leproſy on her right ſide, ſhe is well known in town, and particularly at the Fly-Market, for many wicked tricks.——Two Dollars reward will be given to any perſon who will bring her home, or give information ſo that ſhe may be found. All Maſters of veſſels, and others are forewarned not to harbour the ſaid Mulatto Girl, as they ſhall anſwer at their peril.

A. A. M'KAY,

† *No. 27, Maiden Lane.*

Figure 3. Advertisement for the capture of the runaway slave Sall. Source: Royal Gazette (New York City), March 15, 1783.

The Story of Sall (March 1783)

Olivia Barnard

Transcription: RUN AWAY,

From the Subscriber on the 10th instant,

A Mulatto, or Quadroon Girl, about 14 years of age, named Seth, but calls herself Sall, sometimes says she is white and often paints her face to cover that deception; she staid out of her master's house for two or three nights before she went off, and was seen dancing in a house, at or near the old bar-racks, where it is probable, she is still lurking.---She had on when she went off, a red baize jacket, petticoat, and high-heel'd shoes; she has black curled hair, and a large spot of leprosy on her right side, she is well known in town, and particularly at the Fly-Market, for many wicked tricks.--- Two Dol-lars reward will be given to any person who will bring her home, or give information so that she may be found. All Masters of vessels, and others are forewarned not to harbour the said Mulatto Girl, as they shall answer at their peril.

A. McKay,

+ No. 27, Maiden Lane.

Royal Gazette (New York City), March 15, 1783

After dressing for the evening in her heeled shoes and red jacket, Sall slipped out of the house of her enslaver on Maiden Lane. "Well known in town," the fourteen-year-old moved through the streets of New York recognizable and undeterred.[1] That night and the following evening when she disappeared again, Sall walked through paths adorned with names like King, Crown, and Queen, each referencing a monarch far, far away. Sall understood how her enslaver's support kept her or perhaps led her to New York City when the British began their seven-year occupation of the city from 1776 to 1783.

During one of these nights in early March of 1783, Sall walked to a home close to the old barracks. There, she felt the pleasure of good company. She danced in her heels as her enslaver searched the neighborhood for her. Eventually, he'd learn of the joy she experienced that night dancing amongst friends. Spotting her, someone reported her presence to McCay. Yet Sall continued to outmaneuver him.

A few days later, on March tenth, Sall walked out of the Maiden Lane home once again. This time, however, Sall did not return after a night spent elsewhere. Her enslaver feared what might come next. Realizing she might outsmart ship captains, market goers, and anyone else she met, he visited James Rivington's printing office and reported her missing. By the fifteenth of March, a runaway advertisement in the *Royal Gazette* featured the story he crafted of her escape five days earlier.

[1] As described by her enslaver in the newspaper advertisement. "RUN AWAY," *Royal* Gazette, March 15, 1783.

Circumventing her enslaver and his allies throughout New York, Sall charted a path through the streets of New York according to her own geographies.[2] She subverted white surveillance networks, "lurking" throughout town.[3] Sall formed relationships with people who protected her. She deceived those not invested in her safety, sometimes by "painting her face white."[4] Her enslaver himself struggled to fit Sall into the hardening racial categorizations of the day, describing her simultaneously as "mulatto" and "quadroon." Sall capitalized on these slippages, dancing between personas and white gazes to keep herself safe. She called herself Sall, rejecting her enslaver's attempt to misname her Seth. Sall played "many wicked tricks" when she ventured down Maiden Lane towards the water to the popular Fly Market. There, she learned how to earn some money or trade goods for meat, produce, and fish. Deception paid. Near the wharf, time at the Fly Market undoubtedly introduced her to sailors and seamen whose ships docked in today's East River. Her enslaver feared these connections and threatened punishment to maritime workers who "shall answer at their peril" if found guilty of helping Sall escape.[5]

Sall's residence on Maiden Lane held significance not only for its proximity to the water. Nearly seventy-one years before fourteen-year-old Sall traversed the neighborhood, a group of at least twenty Africans set fire to an outhouse on the same street to signal the beginning of an armed struggle to end slavery. Met by local militias, the revolutionaries who participated that night risked their lives to overthrow the institution in New York.[6] Two generations later, survivors and their descendants passed down stories to children like Sall as another revolutionary struggle swept through the same streets. In Sall's lifetime, whispers of freedom for men of African descent echoed throughout New York when leaders like Lord Dunmore or General Sir Henry Clinton promised manumission to those enslaved men who fought for the British cause.[7] Unable to enlist on either side of the cause, Sall took to her feet to seek liberation. Whether at the house near the barracks, in the marketplace, or wherever she may have left Maiden Lane for on March 10, 1783, Sall's story demonstrates the ways that enslaved girls shaped and navigated the Revolutionary era.

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2 Stephanie Camp first posited that enslaved people created their own "rival geographies" that existed simultaneous to the geographies of containment built by enslavers. Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

3 "RUN AWAY," *Royal* Gazette, March 15, 1783.

4 For the long history of passing, see Allyson Hobbs, *A Chosen Exile: A History of Racial Passing in American Life* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2014).

5 All the quotes in this paragraph are from "RUN AWAY," *Royal* Gazette, March 15, 1783.

6 Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).

7 Sylvia R. Frey, *Water From The Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (London: Verso, 2018).

In her "red baize jacket, petticoat, and high-heel'd shoes," Sall dressed fashionably before she left the Maiden Lane home.[8] Her self-fashioning potentially reveals how Sall practiced freedom. It is emblematic of the long history of passing, especially for understanding how enslaved women and girls pursued freedom through dress. Nearly fifty years after Sall readied for that evening in March 1783, Harriet Jacobs escaped from her enslaver in North Carolina. The advertisement published to encourage her capture noted how Jacobs "a good seamstress… will probably appear, if abroad, tricked out in gay and fashionable finery."[9] For Sall, her choice in dress perhaps allowed her to navigate the streets of New York as someone racialized as white. That, coupled with "painting her face white," allowed Sall some protection as she navigated life as a young girl in New York.[10]

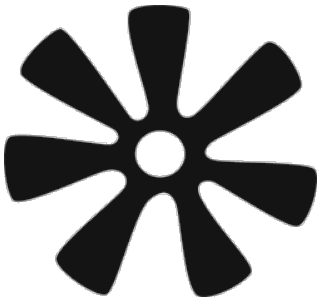
Beyond survival, the self-fashioning of enslaved girls and women reflected their rich and varied tastes as they adorned clothing and accessories that made them feel beautiful. Enslavers designed the institution of slavery to limit individual expression amongst the enslaved. Dress offers one window into understanding how enslaved girls like Sall chose to express themselves.[11] Maybe Sall cherished her heels. Maybe the redness of her jacket helped her feel lighter and happier in the colder and darker winter months as she skipped through the Fly Market surrounded by redcoats. As the War for Independence neared its end, the color red signaled an identification with the British rather than the revolutionaries. While we may not have exact answers, imagining the possibilities for Sall's self-fashioning as she took back her days and nights in revolutionary New York offers windows into thinking about the worlds of enslaved girls and women during the revolutionary era.

[8] "RUN AWAY," *Royal* Gazette, March 15, 1783.

[9] "$100 Reward," *American Beacon*, July 4, 1835.

[10] "RUN AWAY," *Royal* Gazette, March 15, 1783.

[11] Jonathan Michael Square founded the digital project, "Fashioning the Self in Slavery and Freedom," to highlight and interrogate how enslaved people related to fashion, both in their daily lives and through the development of the fashion industry. Fashioning the Self in Slavery and Freedom, https://www.fashioningtheself.com/ (accessed December 30, 2024). For an exploration of African American style from slavery through the 1940s, see Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture from Its Beginning to the Zoot Suit* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998).



In West Africa and in communities throughout the Atlantic world, Anansi is celebrated as the Giver of the story and of the arts of history and storytelling. He is also the personification of wisdom, knowledge, and duplicity. In the African Diaspora, the Spider God of Ghanian origins outsmarts his more powerful adversaries, using creativity and guile. In Europe, Africa, and in the Americas, Anansi has come to embody resistance, agency, and the indomitable spirit of people of African descent.

Taking inspiration from this history, the Anansi Prize is an international writing contest. A collaboration between California State University, Sacramento, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the Freedom Seekers Project, and the Shattuck Endowment, it examines the intersection of history, memory, biography, and authorship.

The goal of the Prize is to support original research and writing, with a preference toward graduate students. Each author will draw on a newspaper advertisement for a fugitive from slavery to write a short history (approximately 1,000 words) about the subject of the public notice, using the information contained in the advertisement and additional research. All submissions for the Anansi Prize must adhere to the requirements for stories submitted for publication on the *Freedom Seeeker* website. For more details, including prize application and specifications, visit our submission page.

A committee of historians will peer-review submissions. Their decision in all cases will be final.

The Anansi Prize will award three winners $1,000 dollars each. The winning stories will be published in the June issue in the *Clio* journal at California State University, Sacramento.

Stories are now being accepted for consideration. All submissions for the 2025 prize must be submitted no later than December 31, 2025. The Freedom Seekers Project Team expects to announce the winners in the Spring 2026.

California
History Day

National History Day – California
2025

National History Day is an opportunity for K-12 students to display their passion for social studies in a competitive space at the county, state, and national level. Student projects showcase their ability to formulate and prove a historical argument and engage with primary and secondary sources. This year, the competition's theme was "rights and responsibilities." Students can choose to present their projects as posters, exhibits, performances, documentaries, websites, podcasts, or historical essays.

The following essays are the senior division winners at the National History Day 2025 state competition held at California State University, Sacramento. The articles are printed here just as they were entered into the competition, without further editing.

Opening Remarks at the Junior/Senior Awards Ceremony May 4, 2025

Nancy Herota

Welcome everyone! I am Dr. Nancy Herota, Deputy Superintendent at the Sacramento County Office of Education, and it's a pleasure to be here with all of you for the 2025 California History Day Awards Ceremony.

On behalf of the Sacramento County Office of Education and our Board of Education, it is an honor to celebrate the exceptional historical research and creative presentations brought to life by more than 1,500 students from 25 counties throughout California. This event is a cornerstone of our commitment to promoting a deep understanding of history. It's a platform where the past meets the present, encouraging a dialogue that stretches the boundaries of our understanding and appreciation of history.

As we gather to celebrate presentations ranging from exhibits to documentaries, and from performances to websites, we are reminded of the incredible talent, dedication, and passion that our students possess. Their work not only demonstrates research skills, critical thinking, and communication, but also the ability to connect historical events to current issues, making history relevant to our times. It's clear that these young historians are not just learning about history; they are learning from it, using their insights to contribute to a more informed, thoughtful, and compassionate society.

A big thank you to Sacramento State University for being the host once again. Their ongoing partnership and support play a crucial role in the success of this event.

To our students, families, educators, and all who have traveled to be here today, your presence enriches this experience for everyone involved. Your engagement and enthusiasm inspire us to continue fostering these important learning opportunities.

This year's theme—reflecting on Rights and Responsibilities in History—is a broad theme that emphasizes the fundamental link between rights and responsibilities. This theme highlights that with every right comes a duty for civic engagement, a concept that has shaped societies throughout history and advanced human rights. Understanding the balance between rights and responsibilities inspire students to become more informed and active citizens, recognizing their role in shaping a just and equitable society.

In closing, I would like to extend my deep appreciation to everyone who has made this event possible: our Sacramento County Office of Education team, led by Craig Irish; our judges and volunteers, whose dedication ensures the success of this competition; and, most importantly, our students, whose curiosity and scholarship bring history to life.

Thank you all for joining us at this year's California History Day. Let's celebrate the achievements of our young historians and the promising future they represent.

Daughters of the Pyre: Sati Abolition – Rights, Responsibilities, and a Reluctant Reform in Colonial India

Ryka C. Chopra

My family hails from Deshnoke, a sleepy hamlet in Rajasthan, India. During a summer 2022 visit, my octogenarian grandmother took me to Deorala, a place missing from tourist maps. Arriving at a nondescript mound covered in floral tributes, she explained that it was a shrine dedicated to Roop Kanwar, India's last Sati – a Hindu widow who self-immolates on her husband's funeral pyre as an extreme act of marital fidelity. Her implicit message was unmistakable: women need to use education to challenge patriarchy. Fast forward to 2025. National History Day announced its theme, "Rights & Responsibilities in History" – a perfect invitation to explore my grandmother's core lesson: rights endure only when the subalterns – those silenced by the systems of power – assume responsibility of safeguarding them. In this project, I use Sati and its abolition in 1829 in colonial India to critically explore this lesson through two questions: who decides individual rights and how do governments and civil societies negotiate shared responsibilities to safeguard them.

My quest began by researching parliamentary papers and correspondences of Lord William Cavendish-Bentick, Governor-General of India from 1828-1835 and the chief architect of Sati abolition. I searched Serampore Baptist mission archives for statistical data. Additionally, I read contemporary newspapers and pamphlets published by Bramho Sabha, Indian reformer Raja Rammohun Roy's organization fighting to abolish Sati and Dharma Sabha, its religious foil. I also referenced memoirs, speech transcripts, and legal documents of the time.

A historical paper is my trusted canvas. Dividing it into sections, I first traced the evolution of Sati, linking it to the ascendency of patriarchy in Hinduism. Next, I documented various efforts to abolish it and the backlash, before exploring its legacy. Finally, evaluating Sati abolition critically, I showed why the initial 1829 ban was an unfinished reform that only came to fruition a century-and-a-half later in 1987. A major challenge was capturing the various nuances within 2500 words. However, doing so helped refine my argument that rights and responsibilities are two sides of the same coin.

My historical argument is that reforms endure only when the protection of rights is inseparable from the acceptance of shared responsibilities. Examining Sati abolition critically, I unearth a deeper truth - the trajectory of human rights is seldom linear, evolving instead through fluid negotiations between disparate actors with divergent ideological and practical goals. Ultimately, any true reform remains elusive as long as the "agents requiring change" remain divorced from the "agency of change."

Throughout history, as subalterns – women, economically disadvantaged societies, physically challenged individuals – continue fighting for their rights, the story of Sati abolition offers a powerful lesson. The fight for rights cannot be outsourced. While Sati abolition set a critical precedent for women's rights, it also paved the way

for deeper debates on human agency and governmental responsibility in protecting these rights. It is through this enduring legacy that Sati abolition of 1829 in colonial India becomes a historical inflection point, inspiring future generations to serve as responsible guarantors of their own rights.

The red pile blazes—let the bride ascend,
And lay her head upon her husband's heart,
Now in a perfect unison to blend—
No more to part.

—Letitia E. Landon[1]

The 1829 Sati abolition marks a watershed moment in colonial Indian history, illuminating the interplay of women's rights, government responsibilities, and the underlying power dynamics shaping them. The central argument is succinct: abolishing Sati was not merely philanthropic, but a complex negotiation involving moral obligation, realpolitik, and the persistent marginalization of subaltern voices—an interplay still pertinent in contemporary human rights debates. Sati—the practice of self-immolation of Hindu widows on their husbands' funeral pyre—was venerated in traditional segments of Indian society as a sacred conjugal duty of a loyal consort.[2] Yet, to the reformers in a rapidly transforming colonial India, it epitomized entrenched patriarchy that consigned women to a subaltern status by stripping them of their fundamental right to life under the guise of marital fidelity.[3] Consequently, its abolition, codified under The Bengal Sati Regulation, 1829, was hailed as a landmark for women's rights, casting the British colonial regime as a progressive and responsible agent of change.[4]

A closer look, however, reveals less than purely altruistic motives. Instead, Sati abolition emerged from a tangled interplay of conflicting objectives—a reluctant reform balancing the Crown's responsibility to uphold human rights with its strategic aim for political consolidation.[5] Using Sati abolition as a lens, this paper critically examines two questions: who decides individual rights and how do governments and civil societies negotiate the parameters of shared responsibilities to protect them. Its central thesis suggests that agencies responsible for upholding human rights rarely develop along straightforward trajectories. Instead, they arise through dynamic and nuanced interactions between the ruler and the ruled—a principal evident in modern social struggles. Therefore, rather than framing Sati abolition as an unambiguous exercise in philanthropic statecraft, it must be interpreted as a historical inflection point when moral obligation and realpolitik converged to address a grievous social

[1] Letitia A. Landon. "Immolation of a Hindoo Widow," Poetry.com. STANDS4 LLC, 2025. Web. 15 Jan. 2025. <https://www.poetry.com/poem/52465/immolation-of-a-hindoo-widow>.

[2] Monier Williams. Indian Wisdom (London: H Allen and Co, 1875), 258.

[3] Mulk Raj Anand. Sati: A Writeup of Raja Ram Mohan Roy About Burning of Widows Alive. (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1989), 65.

[4] Bengal Regulation 17 (1829). In The correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck , Governor-General of India 1828-1835. Edited by C.H. Phillips (Oxford, 1977): 1, 360-362.

[5] Meenakshi Jain. Sati: Evangelicals, Baptist Missionaries and the Changing Colonial Discourse (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2016), 205.

injustice.[6] While undeniably advancing women's rights, it exposed the inherent tensions of a politically-led reform—balancing the responsibility for human rights enforcement against preserving political stability.

Ultimately, examining Sati abolition through this critical lens unearths a deeper truth: true reform remains elusive until the subaltern—those silenced by systems of power—assume responsibility of reclaiming their own rights. Though momentous, Sati abolition remained unfinished until the Indian women themselves spoke, owning the responsibility of completing their own narrative – a powerful and enduring lesson for ongoing struggles for gender equality and social justice.

Sati Through Times: A Game of Thrones

Despite its grim association with self-immolation, Sati, in Sanskrit, means the "Chaste One."[7] Yet, its contemporary (mis)understanding results from distorted interpretations of Indo-Vedic texts. Scholars have erroneously attributed Sati to self-immolation based on the Rigveda verse: ud *īrṣ*va nāry abhi jīvaloka*ṃ* gatāsum etam upa *śeṣ*a ehi||.[8] Translated, it reads: "Rise, woman, (and go) from the world of living beings; come, this man near whom you sleep is lifeless." This metaphorical invitation to "come" to the lifeless husband—intended as a final farewell—was misconstrued by some as an exhortation to join him in death, thus providing a tragically flawed justification of the practice.[9]

The earliest known record of Sati comes from 14th-century Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta (1333-1347) (Appendix A).[10] Over time, Sati became emblematic of the ascendancy of patriarchal ideology within Hinduism, intertwined with the fraught politics of inter-family inheritance.[11] While widows had maintenance rights under Hindu Mitakshara inheritance laws, family patriarchs and religious leaders weaponized Sati to deny widows their legitimate financial claims, effectively seizing agency over their life for personal gains.[12] Despite sporadic attempts at prohibition, Sati persisted into the early colonial era largely unchallenged–fueled by society's purposeful deification of women for socioeconomic control, evidenced by its growing popularity among the landed gentry, and the political pragmatism of successive governments prioritizing political stability over right to life.[13]

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[6] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader, edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman. Columbia University Press, NY, 1988, Chapter 4, 92.

[7] Peter J Cain and Mark Harrison. Imperialism: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies. (Routledge, 2001), 209.

[8] "Rigveda 10.18.8," Translation and Commentary by H.H. Wilson (Parimal Publications: 1866).

[9] O.P. Gupta, "The Rigveda: Widows Don't Have to Burn," The Asian Age, 23 October 2002.

[10] Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Battuta, Rihala (1304-1377); Reproduction by Al-Ihsan Printing Press, 1904, Library of Congress Control Number: 2021666192, https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.wdl/wdl.7470.

[11] Rammohun Roy. Translation of a conference between an advocate for, and an opponent of the practice of burning widows alive. Bangla (Calcutta, 1818), in Rammohun Roy, The English works. Edited by Kalidas Nag and Debajyoti Burman, 3 (Calcutta, 1947), 88-97.

[12] McKenny Mihow, "Out of Sheer Love: The Abolition of Widow Burning in British India," Madison Historical Review, 20, no. 7 (2023): 7.

[13] Paul Stevens and Rahul Sapra, "Akbar's Dream: Moghul Toleration and English/British Orientalism," Modern Philology, 104, no. 3 (2007): 379-411.

Early British observers regarded Sati with an academic detachment.[14] William Hawkins (1608-1613) described it as an unparalleled, though misplaced, act of marital fidelity, while Nicholas Withington (1612-1616) saw it as an act to be "admired."[15] Capturing this ambiguity, British playwright John Dryden noted that he could not "wholly condemn" Sati as he could not "vindicate" the practice.[16] The British reluctance to act is partly explained by this moral dilemma resulting from Christianity's abhorrence for deliberate loss of life colliding with Victorian society's subtle reverence for female chastity and subservience—qualities that Sati ostensibly epitomized.[17]

The pivotal shift in British Sati policy occurred in mid-1820s, coinciding with a policy transition from East India Company's mercantile engagement with colonies to direct governance sought by the Crown. To consolidate control, British administrators sought alliances with emergent native reformers who regarded Sati abolition as central to their advocacy for gender equality.[18] Thus, Sati abolition became a trial-run in orchestrated social engineering–a quid-pro-quo to secure local support in exchange for a benevolent reform.

Path to Abolition: Morality meets Pragmatism

Individual voices to abolish Sati emerged within the British administration as early as 1816 when E. Watson, a superior court judge in Calcutta proposed reforms.[19] However, the Royal Enquiry Commission narrowly defeated the proposal 6:5, reflecting British reticence.[20] The Crown justified its decision as a way to avert "evils greater than those arising from the existence of the practice"– in other words, the specter of public rebellion jeopardizing political control trumped moral imperatives to uphold life.[21]

By1824, abolition efforts intensified, propelled by two disparate factions claiming agency to protect a Hindu widow's right to life–native reformers determined to eradicate a religious vice and Baptist missionaries aiming to eliminate "pagan transgressions".[22] Together, these forces forged an unlikely coalition propelling Sati

[14] Jorg Fisch, "Humanitarian Achievement or Administrative Necessity? Lord William Bentick and the Abolition of Sati in 1829," Journal of Asian History 34, no. 2 (2000): 47.

[15] Ram Chandra Prasad, Early English Travelers in India (PhD diss, University of Edinburgh, 1965): 118 - 268.

[16] Andrea Major. Pious Flames: European Encounters with Sati. (New Delhi: Oxford UP, 2006): 43-45.

[17] William Johns, "A collection of facts and opinions relative to the burning of widows with the dead bodies of their husbands , and to other destructive customs prevalent in British India: respectfully submitted to the consideration of Government, as soliciting a further extension of their humane interference," (Birmingham, 1816); Reproduced and available in Jorg Fisch, "Humanitarian Achievement or Administrative Necessity? Lord William Bentick and the Abolition of Sati in 1829." Journal of Asian History 34, no. 2 (2000):120.

[18] Iqbal Singh. Rammohun Roy: A Biographical Inquiry Into the Making of Modern India. (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1958), 75.

[19] 16 April 1816: Parliamentary Papers, Great Britain and Ireland, House of Commons (PP) 1821/18, Paper No 749: 232 – 241.

[20] Minute of 14 Nov 1829. 14 IOR E/4/920; Excerpted from Fisch, Humanitarian Achievement, 116.

[21] Resolution of 3 Dec 1824. PP 1825/24, No 518: 6-8.

[22] Brian Stanley, The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Leicester: Apollos, 1990); Excerpted from Rania Lateef, "Abolition of Sati," The Concord Review, 34(4), Summer 2024:10.

abolition to the forefront of colonial reforms.[23]

While British administrators treaded cautiously, Baptist missionaries saw Sati abolition as a crucial first step for Hindu emancipation.[24] Led by William Ward, William Carey, and Joshua Marshman, they initiated a dialogue with the local populace.[25] Publications like the Missionary Register contrasted the Hindu women's plight with that of their European counterparts to stir British conscience: "Let every Christian woman …pity the wretched thousands of her sex who are sacrificed every year in India to a cruel superstition."[26] Mission-funded newspapers like The Friend of India and Samachar Darpan began gathering and publishing Sati statistics.[27] The Bengal Presidency (modern-day West Bengal in India and Bangladesh) became the epicenter of this effort. In 1815, Carey recorded 378 self-immolations, which climbed to 463 by 1828.[28] Nation-wide data indicated 5,099 cases in Calcutta Subdivision, 1,165 in central United Provinces, and 709 in Patna Division.[29]

This initiative connected the missionaries with local reformers led by Raja Rammohun Roy, a Bengali aristocrat who had witnessed Sati in his family in 1805.[30] Deeply traumatized, Roy formed the Bramho Sabha (Society of one Brahman) to reform Hinduism by challenging the flawed scriptural interpretations responsible for its vices and denounced Sati in local dailies like Sambad Koumudi, calling it "abhorrent to nature, repugnant to reason."[31] Together, these actors pressured the colonial government to uphold its ethical responsibility to protect universal right to life, despite political constraints.

Tasked with initial adjudication, Governor-General Lord William Cavendish-Bentick (1828-1835), a James Mill-inspired liberal yet pragmatic administrator, confronted a profound moral and administrative quandary:[32]

> Whether the question be to continue or to discontinue the practice of suttee, the decision is equally surrounded by an awful responsibility. To consent to the consignment…is a predicament which no conscience can contemplate without horror. But on the other hand, …to put to hazard, by a contrary course, the

[23] Lata Mani. Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998):132-136.

[24] Amrita Singh, "The Role of Missionaries in the abolition of Sati custom in India with special reference to Serampore Missionary." IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 20, no.10 (2015), 22-36.

[25] 1813 CMS Missionary Register, Church Missionary Society, 298, https://archive.org/details/1813CMSMissionaryRegister/page/298/mode/2up.

[26] Missionary Register: Hindu superstations of cruelties, July 1819.

[27] Ibid, pp. 54.

[28] Ibid pg. 115

[29] Rishabh Chauhan, "From royal rituals to grim reality: The rise of Sati practice in mediaeval India," India Today, 5 December 2024.

[30] Benoy Bhusan Roy. Socioeconomic Impact of Sati in Bengal and the Role of Raja Rammohan Roy (New Delhi: Naya Prokash, 1987): 3-4

[31] Lateef, "Abolition of Sati," 14.

[32] John Rosselli. Lord William Bentinck. The Making of a Liberal Imperialist 1774-1839 (London: Thomson Press, 1974): 62-65.

> very safety of the British empire in India…is an alternative which, even in the light of humanity itself, may be considered as a still greater evil[33].

To mitigate backlash, the matter was referred to the Nizamat Adalat (Supreme Court). During deliberations, Superintendent of Police Walter Ewer assured the court that Sati could indeed be prohibited "without exciting any serious dissatisfaction" in society. Assured of politico-social stability, Judge Courtney Smith tipped the scale, declaring that "the toleration of the practice of suttee is a reproach to our government," recommending absolute prohibition.[34] Using this court directive, Lord Bentick issued the landmark law abolishing Sati on 4th December 1829 (Appendix B), noting:[35]

> When we had powerful neighbours and had greater reason to doubt our own security, expediency might recommend an indirect and more cautious proceeding, but now that we are supreme, my opinion is decidedly in favour of an open, avowed and general prohibition[36].

Thus, Sati was formally outlawed, culminating in a landmark for women's rights wherein moral responsibility and imperial strategy melded into a single stroke of legislation to preserve the sanctity of life.

Evaluating Abolition: Rights, Responsibilities, & Silence of the Subaltern

From its inception to legal culmination, Sati abolition raised critical questions about who defines rights and how governments and civil societies share enforcement responsibility. Agency-formation was an intricate tap-dance of pragmatism versus ideology. For the British, feasibility triumphed moral absolutes; for certain Hindu segments, it centered on the (un)desirability of foreign interference in indigenous customs.[37]

British critics decried Sati as a "blight" on human rights, yet acquiesced to colonial compulsions tolerating it.[38] Political imperatives led the government to limit itself to token "scriptural sanctions"– prohibiting it for pregnant or underage widows but permitting it for women with underage children if "adequate maintenance" was assured.[39] Framed as "responsible governance," these half-measures preserved order while offering concessionary human rights until complete political consolidation

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[33] Bentick's Minutes on Sati, 8 November 1829, Sati: Official Documents of Lord William Cavendish Bentick, Women in World History Archives, https://chnm.gmu.edu/wwh/p/103.html

[34] T. S. Grimshawe, An earnest appeal to British humanity in behalf of Hindoo widows; in which the abolition of the barbarous rite of burning alive , is proved to be both safe and practicable (London, 1825).

[35] Fisch, "Humanitarian Achievement," 126.

[36] Sati Regulation XVII, A. D. 1829 of the Bengal Code: 4 December 1829.

[37] Ibid

[38] William Johns, A collection of facts and opinions relative to the burning of widows with the dead bodies of their husbands , and to other destructive customs prevalent in British India: respectfully submitted to the consideration of Government , as soliciting a further extension of their humane interference (Birmingham, 1816)

[39] Mani, Contentious Traditions, pp. 19, reproduced in Latif, Abolition of Sati, pp. 16.

allowed decisive action.[40]

Within Hindu society, Sati abolition became a cause célèbre, splitting along ideological lines. Traditionalists resented missionary assaults on Sati as an existential threat to religious autonomy, amassing over 75,000 signatures to block abolition.[41] In a bid to incite revolt, they also sought nationalist support, portraying abolition as colonial overreach. Fearing backlash, a minority of reformers urged the administration to suppress Sati "quietly by increasing the difficulties."[42]

Unsurprisingly, these fractures persisted even after abolition. Elated reformers lauded the British for "rescuing us forever from the gross stigma hitherto attached to our character as willful murderers of females."[43] Meanwhile, conservatives under Radhakanta Deb, founder of Dharma Sabha (Society of Righteousness), deemed it a triumph of evangelism over Hinduism.[44] Fearing religious and cultural erosion, traditionalists rallied to reinstate Sati as a clarion call to reclaim socio-religious autonomy.[45] They appealed to the Privy Council to overturn the ban, citing the Victorian ideal of "theoretical relativism," or tolerance of local customs.[46] The Council, however, upheld the ban on 11th July, 1832.[47]

In the short-term, Sati abolition appeared successful as cases plummeted to 24 by 1840.[48] Yet, sporadic incidents persisted due to colonial reluctance to enforce the ban stringently, fueling its perception as a reluctant reform.

This "dichotomy of deception" raises the question whether the ban, while advancing women's rights, primarily served British imperial interests by leveraging a "sanctioned transgression" of theoretical relativism to consolidate power.[49] Although its moral worth is indisputable, the colonial government's portrayal of "women as an object of protection" also functioned as a strategic bid to assert itself as a harbinger of social change, entrenching itself in subcontinental politics.[50]

Nonetheless, the abolition of Sati laid the groundwork for additional female emancipation laws–most notably widow-remarriage–challenging traditional Hindu belief in marital bonds beyond death. Post-abolition, the Bengal census counted 7.5

[40] Parliamentary Papers, 1821, pp. 38-39.

[41] Fisch, "Humanitarian Achievement," 133.

[42] "Lord William Bentinck on the Suppression of Sati, 8 November 1829," in Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 17501921, ed. Arthur B. Keith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), vol. 1, pp. 208226.

[43] Amiya P. Sen. Raja Rammohun Roy: A Critical Biography (New Delhi: Penguin India: 2012), 95.

[44] Bengal Regulation (1829), Printed in The Correspondences of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor General of India, ed. C.H. Philips, Oxford, 1977.

[45] Ashis Nandy, "Sati: a nineteenth-century tale of women, violence and protest," in Rammohun Roy and the Process of Modernization in India, Edited by V.C. Joshi, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House,1975): 68.

[46] Vasudha Dalmia-Lüderitz, "'Sati' as a Religious Rite: Parliamentary Papers on Widow Immolation, 1821-30," Economic and Political Weekly, 27 no. 4 (Jan. 1992):58 – 61.

[47] Benoy Bhusan Roy, Socioeconomic Impact, 101-119.

[48] Sakuntala Narasimhan, Sati: Widow Burning in India (India: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1992), 42-43.

[49] Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak," 69.

[50] Ibid, 94.

million widows (21% of the female population).[51] Subject to lives of penury guised as chastity that stripped them of their inheritance, their conditions were so dire that "suttee itself was not much worse than her present lot."[52] Responding to reform demands, Governor-General Lord James Andrew Dalhousie (1848-1856) invoked Sati abolition to enact the Hindu Widows Remarriage Act of 1856, citing the plight of widows as " a demoralizing and cruel wickedness…of the same character as Suttee."[53] This was followed by the 1891 Age of Consent Act, raising the marriageable-age from ten to twelve. In these efforts, Sati abolition served as a precedent of British "duty" to intervene in the "immoral and atrocious customs" of its colonies to ensure rights of all citizens.[54] These developments illustrate how Sati abolition transcended its origins as mere political expediency, enabling an emboldened colonial government to assume its role as a responsible custodian of universal human rights.

However, to grasp the true essence of Sati abolition, one needs to measure the silence of the subaltern–the very women Sati victimized. In this saga of their quest for life, the women themselves remained conspicuously absent from the centerstage, reduced to patronymic role. It is this Marxian reality of vertretung–where the "agency of change" remains divorced from the "agents requiring change"– that would craft the final chapter of this historical narrative, reminding us that reforms, past and present, remain incomplete until the marginalized reclaim their voices.

Conclusion: The Subaltern Speaks

Sati and its abolition sparked fervent debates across diverse socio-political lines, with reformers, traditionalists, and colonial authorities colliding over idealism versus pragmatism. Yet, no contemporary record provides the feminist viewpoint, handicapping researchers. In reality, women's fates were decided without their input as they became "masculine-imperialist Freudian scapegoat" used for reaction-formation within the politico-ideological struggle between imperialism and traditionalism.[55] Sati thus became "ideologically cathected": a token of moral purity of traditionalists and a politically-expedient emblem of colonial reformers, even while the very women at its core remained voiceless.[56]

The irony, then, is that between patriarchy and imperialism, between modernity and tradition, and between establishing female rights and assuming the responsibility to safeguard them, the subaltern vanished, leaving a void that would birth the next chapter in this enduring saga.

Following Indian independence on 15th August 1947, historian J.D.M Derrett queried if the British had truly fostered a "colonially established good society" that

[51] Henry Beverley, 'Census of Bengal, 1881', Journal of the Statistical Society of London, 46, no. 4, (December, 1883), 687.

[52] The Times, Monday 7 May, 1888, 7.

[53] The Royal Cornwall Gazette, Friday 18 January, 1856.

[54] The Times, Friday 13 November, 1885, 9.

[55] Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak," 92.

[56] Ibid, 97.

Sati abolition was meant to secure.[57] Fast-forward to 1987 when the Sati debate resurfaced in Deorala, a sleepy hamlet in Rajasthan. There, an eighteen-year-old widow, Roop Kanwar joined her husband Maal Singh's pyre, once again fueling a volatile conflict between reformers and religious conservatives.[58]

But this time, it was different. Freed from the shackle of ensuring her husband's salvation through her ashes, the educationally-emancipated modern Indian women recognized that rights endure only when the subaltern assume responsibility for their enforcement. Their relentless advocacy through signature campaigns, sit-ins, and demonstrations galvanized public opinion. Acting together, various women's rights groups petitioned the Rajasthan High Court, demanding stern punitive actions against Sati perpetrators. Additionally, they partnered with various social organizations in an united effort to raise awareness about the patriarchy endemic to this custom.[59]

These collective actions compelled the Indian government to enact the revised Sati Prevention Act of 1987, imposing strict federal oversight and redefining the state's responsibility to safeguard universal life. A century-and-half after its colonial precursor, this subaltern-led ban finally extinguished the lingering embers of an oppressive custom.[60] At last, the daughters of the pyre rose from their fiery graves, proving that reforms endure only when the oppressed pen the epilogue of their own destiny.

[57] J. D. M. Derrett, Hindu Law Past and Present: Being an account of the controversy which preceded the enactment of the Hindu code, and text of the code as enacted, and some comments thereon. (Calcutta: A. Mukherjee & Co,1957), 46. Reproduced in Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak," 94.

[58] "Roop Kanwar's sati greeted with shock across India, Deorala became a place of worship". India Today. 15 October 1987.

[59] Veena Talwar Oldenburg, "The Roop Kanwar Case: Feminist Responses," in Sati, the Blessing and the Curse: The Burning of Wives in India. Edited by John Stratton Hawley (New York, NY, 1994),105-120.

[60] "The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987" (No. 3 of 1988), Ministry of Women and Child Development. Archived from the original on 21 November 2006, http://www.wcd.nic.in/commissionofsatiprevention.htm.

Figure 1. Artist's rendering of sati (artist unknown). Source: Andrea Major, Pious Flames: European Encounters with Sati, 1500–1830 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

The Bengal Sati Regulation, 1829

UTTAR PRADESH
India

The Bengal Sati Regulation, 1829

Act 17 of 1829

Published on 4 December 1829
Commenced on 4 December 1829

[This is the version of this document from 4 December 1829.]

[Note: The original publication document is not available and this content could not be verified.]

The Bengal Sati Regulation, 1829

(Bengal Regulation No. 17 of 1829)

[Passed by the Governor-General in Council on the 4th December, 1829]

A Regulation for declaring the practice of sati, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts

1.

The practice of sati, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindus as an imperative duty; on the contrary, a life of purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated and by a vast majority of that people throughout India the practice is not kept up nor observed, in some extensive Districts it does not exist, in those in which it has been most frequent it is notorious that, in many instances, acts of atrocity have been perpetrated which have been shocking to the Hindu themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked.

The measures hitherto adopted to discourage and prevent such acts have failed of success, and the Governor-General in Council is deeply impressed with the conviction that the abuses in question cannot be effectually put an end to without abolishing the practice altogether.

Actuated by these considerations, the Governor-General in Council, without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the system of Government in India, that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount duties of justice and humanity, has deemed it right to establish the following rules, which are hereby enacted immediately subject to the Presidency of Fort William.

2. **Sati declared illegal and punishable.**

- The practice of sati, or burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, is hereby declared illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Court.

3.

First : Zamindars, etc. responsible for immediate communication to police of intended suttees. - All zemindars, talookdars or other proprietors of land, whether malguzars or lakhiraj, all sole farmers and undertenures of land of every description, all dependent talookdars, all naibs and other local agents, all others employed in the collection of the revenue and rents of lands on the part of Government or the Court of Wards, and all mundals or other headmen of villages, are hereby declared especially accountable for the immediate communications to the officers of the nearest police-station of any intended suttee of the nature described in the foregoing section, and any zemindar or other description of persons above-noticed, to whom such responsibility is declared to attach, who may be convicted of wilfully neglecting or delaying to furnish the information above required, shall be liable to be fined by the Magistrate or Joint Magistrate in any sum not exceeding two hundred rupees, and in default of payment to be confined for any period of imprisonment not exceeding six months.

Second : Police how to act on receiving intelligence of intended suttee. - Immediately on receiving intelligence that the suttee declared illegal by this Regulation is likely to occur, the police-daroghah shall either appear in person to the spot, or depute his mohurrir or jemadar, accompanied by one or more barkandazes and it shall be the duty of the police officers to announce to the persons assembled for the performance of the ceremony that it is illegal, and to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse, explaining to them that, in the event of their persisting in it, they will involve themselves in a crime, and become subject to punishment by the Criminal Courts.

Should the parties assembled proceed in defiance of these remonstrances to carry the ceremony into effect, it shall be the duty of the police officers to use all lawful means in their power to prevent the suttee from taking place, and to apprehend the principal persons aiding and abetting in the performance of it; and, in the event of the police officers being unable to apprehend them, they shall endeavour to ascertain their names and places of abode, and shall immediately communicate the whole of the particulars to the Magistrate or Joint Magistrate for his order.

Third : How to act when intelligence of suttee does not reach them until after it has taken place. - Should intelligence of a suttee declared illegal by this Regulation not reach the police-officers until after it shall have actually taken place, or should the suttee have been carried into effect before their arrival at the spot, they will nevertheless institute a full inquiry into the circumstances of the case, in like manner as on all other occasions of unnatural death, and report them for the information and orders of the Magistrate or Joint Magistrate to whom

Figure 2. The Bengal Sati Regulation, 1829 (Act XVII of 1829), Uttar Pradesh. Originally enacted in Bengal Presidency and later applied to regions including present-day Uttar Pradesh. Date of publication and commencement: 4 December 1829. Source: "The Bengal Sati Regulation, 1829," Indian Kanoon, https://indiankanoon.org/doc/87172614/.

Left Behind by the Greatest Generation: How the GI Bill Widened the Racial Gap in America

Luke Kwak

I was watching the news this past summer, and I was surprised to see a Republican and Democrat working together, especially in the current politically polarized environment. They were discussing the struggles of returning veterans and advocating for a new law to help veterans. I had assumed that veterans received benefits that allowed them to live comfortable lives so I was taken aback to hear that 25% of veterans experienced food insecurity. An internet search led me to the GI Bill, a law that was created during World War II to aid veterans in their readjustment to civilian life.

The GI Bill was a game changer because it provided veterans opportunities in higher education and homeownership that they might not have had otherwise. Considered one of the most successful pieces of legislation in US history, the bill created "The Greatest Generation." However, my research soon led me to an African American veteran named Monte Posey who struggled to receive his GI Bill benefits. Did other African American veterans face discrimination when trying to receive benefits? Did veterans of other minority groups also face racial discrimination?

My paper fits the theme Rights and Responsibilities in History because it examines the rights of returning World War II veterans and analyzes how the U.S. government failed in its responsibility to treat all veterans equally under the GI Bill. Early in my research, I focused on how the Southern Democrats shaped the bill to prevent African Americans from receiving their full rights under the bill. At the time Southern Democrats held considerable power and influenced legislation in order to maintain racial hierarchy in the South. As I continued to research, I learned that African Americans were not the only veterans unable to benefit from the GI Bill and that Native American veterans were also left behind.

I started my research by reading the book When Affirmative Action Was White by historian Ira Katznelson. This book gave me a baseline understanding on how past legislation, like the GI Bill, was crafted to exclude people of color from their rights. I also read a compelling letter from an employee at the Veterans Administration who was concerned that African Americans would not receive the same benefits as white veterans. I consulted articles written from 1945-1949 in the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education to understand the difficulties faced by African Americans when trying to access the GI Bill to attend college.

The U.S. government failed to meet its fundamental responsibilities and protect the rights of all veterans equally under the GI Bill which led to long term racial gaps in wealth, higher education, and homeownership. Today, descendants of white veterans have significantly more wealth, attend college at higher rates, and are more likely to own a home than descendants of African American veterans. While the GI Bill is frequently portrayed in a positive light, one tragic consequence of the bill's

flawed design is a racial gap that continues to this day.

Introduction

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 ("GI Bill" or the "bill") is widely considered one of the most successful pieces of legislation in US history.[1] The bill is credited with promoting long term economic growth, educational opportunity for millions of Americans, and the creation of the American middle class that powered the prosperity of post-World War II America. The bill granted veterans who had served 90 days of active duty low-cost mortgages, low-interest loans to start a business or a farm, one year of unemployment compensation, and payments to attend college or vocational school.[2] The main goal of the GI Bill was to aid veterans in their readjustment to civilian life, however this transformative bill did much more. It opened previously closed doors in education, job training, business, agriculture, and home ownership. In essence, the GI Bill provided a way for veterans to enter the middle class and accumulate wealth, creating what has become known as the "Greatest Generation."[3] However, not all veterans benefited equally.

In 1943, young Stanley Karnow joined the Army Air Corp. While in the Army Air Corp, Karnow took a unique military journey that led him to breaking codes in the China-Burma-India Theater. Following the conclusion of World War II, Karnow attended Harvard University on the GI Bill and became a journalist, covering Asia and ultimately winning a Pulitzer Prize for his work.[4]

After being injured in World War II, Sergeant Joseph Maddox was also accepted to Harvard and expected to attend under the education provisions of the GI Bill. However, Maddox's financial aid for college was rejected by his local Veteran Affairs office because the office wanted to "avoid creating a precedent."[5] The precedent was that Maddox was black. Without college assistance funds from the GI Bill, Maddox could not afford to attend Harvard.

Through deliberate design, the U.S. government failed to meet its fundamental responsibilities and protect the rights of all veterans equally under the GI Bill. The bill represented potential significant economic and educational opportunities for returning World War II veterans. However, the tragic consequence of the bill is a racial gap that is profoundly evident to this day.

Lead Up to the Bill: Not Another Bonus Army

The chaotic structure of benefits for World War I veterans was one of the key drivers

[1] "75 Years of the GI Bill: How Transformative It's Been." U.S. Department of Defense, January 9, 2019, https://www.defense.gov/News/Feature-Stories/story/Article/1727086/75-years-of-the-gi-bill-how-transformative-its-been/.

[2] Glenn Altschuler and Stuart Blumin, The GI Bill: The New Deal for Veterans (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 118.

[3] Suzanne Mettler, Soldiers to Citizens: The GI Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2.

[4] James S Doyle, Washington Storytellers Theatre, Barbara Matusow, and Stanley Karnow, Stanley Karnow Collection (Personal Narrative, 1943), https://www.loc.gov/item/afc2001001.23996/.

[5] Jim Clyburn, "What America Owes Black Veterans," Time, December 7, 2021, https://time.com/6126195/black-veterans-gi-bill-world-war-two/.

for creating an organized bill to care for returning veterans of World War II. In 1924, the United States government promised World War I veterans a monetary bonus for their service, however, veterans would have to wait until 1945 to receive their "Tombstone Bonus."[6] By 1932, driven by their dire financial state due to the Great Depression, these veterans, known as the "Bonus Army," marched to Washington to demand their bonus.[7]

Two weeks after the first veterans arrived in Washington, the House of Representatives voted to give the veterans their bonus. However, the Senate quickly rejected the proposal leading to a tense standoff. The Bonus Army grew to 20,000 veterans. When President Herbet Hoover ordered the police and army to remove the protesters, the veterans refused to leave which led the army to use tear gas and bayonets.[8] Not wanting a repeat of events, President Roosevelt worked to create a bill that would care for returning World War II veterans.

Racial Segregation in America: "Separate but Equal"

In the 1940s, the African American experience continued to be characterized by segregation and institutional discrimination. The Supreme Court's ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) had established the legal principle of "separate but equal" which allowed segregation as long as different races were treated equally.[9] In the South, Jim Crow laws mandated segregation in daily life and African Americans faced limited educational and economic opportunities.[10] Even in the North, housing discrimination continued to divide cities by race.[11] Against this political backdrop, federal policies also continued to increase the racial disparities in the nation.

Responsibilities Unmet: Conceding the Bill's Design to the South

President Roosevelt created a series of policy initiatives called the New Deal to rescue America from the Great Depression. However, the Southern bloc of the Democratic Party, through its constant threat to splinter the Democratic Party, controlled the details and execution of many policy initiatives during this time. These policies included social security, key labor legislation, and other monumental laws that were altered to meet the preferences of Southern politicians and ultimately Jim Crow.[12] During the creation of the GI Bill, the Southern wing was concerned that the bill would disrupt the racial order of the South by providing opportunities to

[6] Paul Dickson, "The Bonus Army," Bill of Rights Institute, accessed December 30, 2024, https://billofrightsinstitute.org/essays/the-bonus-army.

[7] "The 1932 Bonus Army," National Parks Service, July 25, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-1932-bonus-army.htm.

[8] Alexandra Boelhouwer, "Object 21: Bonus Army," U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, April 6, 2022, https://department.va.gov/history/100-objects/object-21-bonus-army/.

[9] Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

[10] "The American Experience: Jim Crow Laws," PBS, accessed April 5, 2025, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience.

[11] "Systemic Inequality: Displacement, Exclusion, and Segregation," Center for American Progress, accessed April 5, 2025, https://www.americanprogress.org/article/systemic-inequality-displacement.

[12] Ira Katznelson, When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006), 123.

African Americans.[13]

Initially, the GI Bill was to be monitored and run by the federal government. Roosevelt's National Resources Planning Board intended that post war demobilization and benefits for veterans be managed by "a strong central directive agency."[14] Federal control of the bill was a nightmare for Southern politicians. If the federal government was in command of the bill, the fragile Jim Crow order of the South that had been in place since the end of Reconstruction was at risk of collapse. Furthermore, the subjugation of African Americans relied on limiting their opportunities in higher education and homeownership, which are two pillars of generational wealth. Federal administration of the bill would provide African Americans a way to achieve both pillars.

The GI Bill was mainly crafted in the Committee of World War Legislation in the House of Representatives, led by John Rankin of Mississippi as chair. Rankin, who had a deep-rooted history of racism and white supremacy, insisted that the states control the distribution of the bill benefits. In his first term in Congress, Rankin introduced a bill that would ban whites from intermarrying with blacks and "Mongolians."[15] Rankin was also one of the main proponents of the Japanese internment camps and proposed labeling African American and Japanese American blood donations to the Red Cross to prevent contaminating white blood recipients.[16]

In the Senate, Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri was in charge of protecting the South's interests. His main goal was to prevent Elbert Thomas of Utah, who chaired the Senate Education Committee, from gaining control of the education provisions of the GI Bill.[17] Thomas intended to place the provision under federal control in the Office of Education. Clark was successful, which then enabled Congress to craft a bill that decentralized its application and oversight to state and local officials.

The American Legion and the Veterans Administration ("VA"), two powerful veterans organizations, were also instrumental in passing the GI Bill. Both were willing to do what was necessary to make it happen, aware that Southern support was necessary for the bill to pass. The American Legion and the VA opposed proposals for a federally controlled GI Bill and accepted the South's goal of state-run benefits. Notably, the VA at this time was led by General Omar Bradley who would later attempt to defy President Truman's executive order to desegregate the military.[18]

The Legion successfully lobbied Congress to give full responsibility for the entire legislation to Rankin's committee. In return for the VA's support, Rankin made certain that the organization had complete command over the GI Bill budget. By

[13] Edward Humes, "How the GI Bill Shunted Blacks into Vocational Training," The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, no. 53 (2006): 95. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25073543.

[14] Bureau of Budget Memorandum, September 2, 1943; cited in Kathleen J. Frydl, The G.I. Bill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 132.

[15] Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftis, The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of the Japanese-Americans During World War II (London: MacMillan, 1969), 462.

[16] Girdner and Loftis, 254.

[17] Katznelson, 125.

[18] Humes, 96.

1947, the VA controlled 15 percent of the US government's federal budget.[19]

The GI Bill's flawed design, however, did not go unnoticed and it was soon clear that African American veterans in the South would not receive their benefits. Joseph Albright, Special Assistant for Negro Affairs in the VA, informed General Bradley that it was unlikely African Americans would receive the same opportunities as white veterans under the bill.[20] Emphasizing that local control would result in discrimination, he stated that there was no reason to believe that states who enforced segregation would abandon their racism when distributing GI Bill benefits.[21] Albright's concern soon became reality as further evidenced by newspaper reporting at the time.[22] Despite having this awareness, the US government failed to take action and Southern politicians were empowered to continue their discriminatory practices.

Rights Denied: Educational, Vocational, and Home Loan Assistance

While the bill made no mention of race, its decentralized structure and lack of federal oversight led to disparate impacts based on race and location. Even with their invaluable contributions to the US war effort, African American and Native American veterans struggled to obtain the benefits they were entitled to under the bill. Over one million African Americans fought with distinction for a country that treated them as second class citizens.[23] Similarly, around 45,000 Native Americans served in the United States military during World War II, including the famed Navajo code talkers who were instrumental in winning the war in the Pacific.[24] However, low-cost mortgages and free college tuition under the GI bill were only available to those that were willing to leave their homes on the reservations.[25]

Japanese Americans had a different post-war experience despite also experiencing significant racial discrimination. President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 forcibly relocated 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry into internment camps.[26] While in the camps, internees' careers and education were disrupted, and they were also stripped of

[19] Humes, 96.

[20] Katznelson, 128.

[21] Katznelson, 128.

[22] See, e.g., Richard Dier, "Vets of Minority Groups Not Receiving Full Benefits of GI Bill, Delegates Find," The Afro American, April 13, 1946, https://books.google.com/books?id=xpU8AAAAIBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false. "White America Asked to Let Down Bars to Negro Veterans' Jobs," The Sunday Morning Star, April 13, 1947, https://books.google.com/books?id=9t0mAAAAIBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false. Theodore Jones, letter to the editor, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, October 20, 1949, https://books.google.com/books?id=S9QMAAAAIBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[23] Bamford, Tyler. "African Americans Fought for Freedom at Home and Abroad during World War II: The National WWII Museum: New Orleans." The National WWII Museum | New Orleans, February 1, 2020, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/african-americans-fought-freedom-home-and-abroad-during-world-war-ii.

[24] "American Indian War Effort in WW2 is Remarkable", National Institute of Health: Native Voices, accessed May 7, 2025, https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/461.html. "The Battle of Iwo Jima and the Unbreakable Navajo Code," VA News, February 19, 2020, https://news.va.gov/71737/the-battle-of-iwo-jima-and-the-unbreakable-code/.

[25] Ed Gilbert, Native American Code Talker in World War II (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012), 60.

[26] "Executive Order 9066: Resulting in Japanese-American Incarceration (1942)," National Archives and Records Administration, accessed December 20, 2024, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/executive-order-9066.

their homes, businesses, and properties.[27] Despite these circumstances, many Japanese American veterans were able to benefit from the GI Bill due to a combination of factors. A significant proportion of Japanese Americans settled in California, a state that offered tuition free college for any resident with a high school diploma.[28] And unlike African Americans, Japanese Americans did not have to go through the poor "separate but equal" educational system of the South. Prewar, Japanese Americans had high numbers of high school diplomas and very high literacy rates preparing them well for college. [29]

While the same was true for a small fraction of African American veterans, the vast majority of African Americans veterans oftentimes lacked the required educational levels to qualify for financial assistance to go to college. Inequalities in higher education were pronounced: 28 percent of white veterans attended college on the GI Bill compared to only 12 percent of black veterans (and a majority of these college-bound black veterans were concentrated in the Northern states).[30] In 1946, 100,000 black veterans applied to college under the GI Bill, but only 20 percent were able to attend college.[31] Furthermore, when black veterans were accepted into college under the GI Bill, they would likely be funneled into an all-black college. Ninety percent of black veterans who attended college on the GI Bill attended an all-black college.[32] These colleges were set up on the premise of separate but equal, however auditors soon discovered that the schools were, "small, chronically underfunded, unprepared for the large influx of veterans."[33] In fact, an estimated 20,000 to 50,000 black veterans were denied entry into black colleges due to lack of space, resulting in placements into vocational training programs.[34]

Local administration of the bill benefits also strongly discouraged black participation in vocational programs. For example, in 1946, six out of 246 of Atlanta's job training programs had black enrollment, much lower than the proportion of black veterans in the Atlanta area.[35] In 12 Southern states, only 7,700 black veterans out of 102,200 total veterans (7.5 percent) participated in job training programs under the GI Bill despite black veterans making up one-third of the total veteran population in the South.[36]

For job assistance, local VA counselors also directed black veterans away from highly skilled paid labor and towards job training for "black jobs."[37] A survey of 6,000 Mississippi job placements by the VA in the fall of 1946 found that 86 percent

[27] "Enemy Alien Curfew Friday: German, Japs, Italians in New Restrictions," The San Francisco News, March 24, 1942, https://www.sfmuseum.org/hist8/intern1.html.

[28] Taunya Banks, Minority Relations: Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017), 113.

[29] Banks, 113.

[30] Humes, 97.

[31] Hilary Herbold, "Never a Level Playing Field: Blacks and the GI Bill," The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, no. 6 (1994): https://doi.org/10.2307/2962479, 107.

[32] Humes, 97.

[33] Humes, 97.

[34] Humes, 97.

[35] Katznelson, 135.

[36] Katznelson, 135.

[37] Katznelson, 138.

of skilled, professional, and semi-skilled jobs went to white veterans, while 92 percent of unskilled and service positions went to black veterans.[38]

Millions of white veterans were also able to secure loans through the GI Bill to purchase homes, but a majority of black veterans were denied the same assistance. In 1947, an Ebony magazine survey discovered that only two out of the 3,000 VA home loans in Mississippi were given to black veterans.[39] Even in Northern states New York and New Jersey, less than 100 African American veterans were able to secure loans, out of the 67,000 loans insured by the GI Bill.[40] Local control of the benefits allowed those in power to ruthlessly deny black veterans their rights under the bill.

Generational Consequences and Long-Term Impact

The disparate treatment of veterans under the GI Bill led to long-term consequences of racial inequality. More specifically, the educational provisions in the bill widened the racial gap in higher education. In 2020, 12.8 percent of African Americans had a bachelor's degree in contrast to 41.8 percent of White Americans.[41] In a 2010 study, young African Americans were eight percent less likely than their white classmates to be admitted to a selective college.[42] This disparity in higher education directly affects future wages, where white men make seven percent more than black men.[43] These inequalities will only become more pronounced over time without targeted action to decrease inequality.

A 2020 census by Poverty USA discovered that Native Americans had the highest poverty rate of any racial group in America: 25.4 percent compared to 20.8 percent for African Americans and 17.6 percent for white Americans.[44] In addition, Harvard professor Mariko Chang estimates Native Americans have a median wealth of $5,700 compared to $65,000 national average.[45] These great discrepancies reflect the exclusion of Native Americans from government initiatives, like the GI Bill, that laid the bedrock of the middle class.

The multi-generational impact of homeownership cannot be overstated. The GI Bill greatly widened an already significant wealth gap between races. The Institute of Economic and Racial Equity estimates that the GI Bill's housing benefits increased the

[38] Humes, 98.

[39] Humes, 96.

[40] Lizabeth Cohen, Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America (New York: Random House, 2008), 171.

[41] Natalie Schwartz, "'Unacceptable Gaps Persist': A New Report Details Higher Ed's Racial and Ethnic Disparities," Higher Ed Dive, May 21, 2024, https://www.highereddive.com/news/racial-ethnicity-higher-education-college-2024/716665/.

[42] Byeongdon Oh, Ned Tilbrook, and Dara Shifrer, "Shifting Tides: The Evolution of Racial Inequality in Higher Education from the 1980s through the 2010s," Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World, February 12, 2024, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/23780231231225578.

[43] Julian Kozlowski, "Racial Disparities Within College Education," Forbes, March 15, 2024, https://www.forbes.com/sites/quora/2024/03/15/racial-disparities-within-college-education/.

[44] "The Population of Poverty USA," Poverty Facts, accessed December 30, 2024, https://www.povertyusa.org/facts.

[45] Mariko Chang, "Lifting as We Climb: Women of Color, and America's Future" (Insight Center for Community Economic Development, 2010), 14.

racial wealth gap by 60 percent.[46] It further found that the adjusted median household wealth of a descendent of a white veteran was 32 times greater than a descendent of a black veteran, $391,904 compared to $12,193.[47] Currently, 17.1 percent of African Americans are living in poverty in contrast to 7.7 percent of the white population.[48] The GI Bill created a painful legacy. If fairly applied, the bill could have helped African Americans enter the middle class and build wealth, but instead it kept many black veterans and their descendants in a cycle of impoverishment.

Conclusion

On its surface, the GI Bill promised unparalleled opportunities for veterans returning from World War II. The US government had a clear responsibility to care for these veterans, which included over one million African Americans. The bill had the potential to be a powerful force in reducing racial inequality in America; however, the Southern Democrats were determined to tailor the bill to preserve the racial status quo. As a result, the bill greatly widened the racial gap in homeownership, higher education, and wealth as black veterans and Native American veterans were denied their fair share of benefits. Today, the GI Bill is recognized for having created America's modern middle class, however the US government must reckon with its legacy as having missed a historic opportunity to promote equality for all veterans.

[46] Tatjana Meschede et al., "IERE Research Brief: Final Report from Our GI Bill Study," The Heller School of Public Policy and Management, December 2022, 13. https://heller.brandeis.edu/iere/pdfs/racial-wealth-equity/racial-wealth-gap/gi-bill-final-report.pdf.

[47] Meschede, 11.

[48] Em Shrider, "Poverty Rate for the Black Population Fell Below Pre-Pandemic Levels," United States Census Bureau, September 12, 2023, https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2023/09/black-poverty-rate.html.

A Match Struck, A Light Snuffed: Workers' Rights and Corporate Responsibility in the Matchgirls' Strike of 1888

Suzuko Ohshima

"In closing our account with the public for the Match Girls Strike Fund, we ask you to allow us to thank in your columns those to whose aid is due the successful ending of the struggle…"[1] Just weeks after the match-women employed at Bryant & May in the East End of London put down their tools and walked out, self-proclaimed strike leader Annie Besant declared that the 1888 Matchgirls' Strike had been won. Sparked by low wages and hazardous workspaces, female workers utilized their right to strike in order to force Bryant & May to improve the company's treatment of their employees, winning legislative and corporate changes[2] and inaugurating an innovative women-only trade union.[3] However, Bryant & May and other match companies would face criticism for their treatment of their employees into the 1890s, as numerous cover-ups of the occupational disease "phossy jaw" were discovered.[4] Although unskilled female laborers in the Matchgirls' Strike used their right to strike to force new responsibilities onto corporate employers, these responsibilities were repeatedly violated due to the matchmakers' lack of social and financial capital, ultimately weakening the strike's impact.

The Industrial Revolution and Matchmaking

The Industrial Revolution dramatically changed British society during the 18th and 19th centuries. The match industry was one of many to be born during this time, with British storekeeper John Walker selling the first matches in 1827; soon after, others found that adding white phosphorus to match heads increased their chemical reactivity.[5] Although white phosphorus caused severe necrosis in matchmakers, a debilitating condition colloquially known as "phossy jaw" (see Appendix A),[6] the match industry chose profit over social responsibility and prospered off of the use of white phosphorus for six decades. Despite a continual decrease in match prices (at the height of London match production, 1,200 matches cost the same as one postage stamp)[7], industry leader Bryant & May reported consistent profits of over 10% per

[1] "The Match-Girls' Strike Fund," Pall Mall Gazette, July 27, 1888. https://basic.newspapers.com/image/392678239/.

[2] Factory and Workshop Act Notice, Lucifer Match Factories, 1893, poster, The Match Workers Strike Fund Register Scrapbook, https://jstor.org/stable/community.30607268.

[3] "The Matchmakers' Union," Daily News, July 28, 1888.

[4] "Phossy Jaw," Daily Chronicle, June 2, 1898. https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/HO-45.9849.B12393D-s3a.jpg.

[5] John Emsley, The Shocking History of Phosphorus: A Biography of the Devil's Element (London: Pan Books, 2001), 69-73.

[6] Elise Lehmann, "Match-Making in Britain from 1827 to 1910: The Dangers of White Phosphorus in Lucifer Match Production," USURJ: University of Saskatchewan Undergraduate Research Journal 3, no. 2 (March 31, 2017): 4, https://doi.org/10.32396/usurj.v3i2.231.

[7] Emsley, The Shocking History of Phosphorus, 66.

year by the 1880s.[8]

These profits were enabled by a shift towards underpaid labor caused by the Industrial Revolution. The introduction of modern factories shifted the labor force from skilled artisans to unskilled workers, with women and children entering unsafe, low-wage jobs.[9] The matchmaking industry exemplified this shift towards unskilled female labor, attracting "some of the poorest in London…usually young and uneducated".[10] Of 4,152 workers employed at 25 United Kingdom match factories, 3,082—almost three-quarters—were women.[11] These women, like their counterparts in manufacturing globally, were paid significantly less than their male counterparts.[12] Some matchmakers were paid just over 2 shillings a week—not nearly enough to cover their weekly living expenses of 6 shillings.[13] The "sweating system", where each woman handled only a portion of the manufacturing process, also contributed to low wages and lack of economic mobility.[14]

Although companies avoided the responsibility to pay their employees a livable wage, employees and unions gained substantial rights in the 1870s due to government concerns about overpowerful corporations. The Trade Union Act, enacted in 1871, granted unions the right to strike, stating that "the purposes of any trade union shall not…render any member of such trade union liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy".[15] Two 1875 laws also protected organized labor, with the Employers and Workmen Act placing employers and employees on even footing in civil court[16] and the Conspiracy, and Protection of Property Act guarding groups of workers from conspiracy convictions.[17] By strengthening the rights of workers to fight for better treatment, these laws set the stage for the 1888 Matchgirls' Strike.

London's Soul Aflame: The Strike Begins

On July 2, 1888, a matchmaker at the London Bryant & May factory was dismissed after refusing to sign a paper attesting to good factory conditions and acceptable wages. A week earlier, socialist Annie Besant had published "White Slavery in London" in her newspaper The Link, blasting Bryant & May for its high shareholder dividends at the expense of worker wages; this had caused turmoil within Bryant &

[8] A. J. Arnold, "'Out of Light a Little Profit'? Returns to Capital at Bryant and May, 1884–1927," Business History 53, no. 4 (July 2011): 622. https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2011.578129.

[9] Mark Cartwright, "British Industrial Revolution," World History Encyclopedia, May 2, 2023. https://www.worldhistory.org/British_Industrial_Revolution/.

[10] Lehmann, "Match-Making in Britain from 1827 to 1910," 3.

[11] Thomas Edward Thorpe, Thomas Oliver, and George Cunningham, Reports to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the Use of Phosphorus in the Manufacture of Lucifer Matches (London: HMSO, 1899), vi.

[12] Carroll D. Wright, "Why Women are Paid Less than Men," The Forum, July 1892, 632-3, https://www.unz.com/print/Forum-1892jul-00629.

[13] "The Match Girls' Strike," Birmingham Evening Mail, July 14, 1888.

[14] United Kingdom. Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, February 28, 1888, 322 (Earl of Dunraven).

[15] Trade Union Act, 1871 to 1974, c. 31 (United Kingdom). https://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1871/act/31/enacted/en/print.

[16] Employers and Workmen Act, 1875 to 1975, c. 90 (United Kingdom). https://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1875/act/90/enacted/en/print.

[17] Conspiracy, and Protection of Property Act, 1875 to 2008, c. 86 (United Kingdom). https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/38-39/86/contents/enacted.

May management.[18] Following this, all of the women exercised their right to strike.[19] By July 8, there were around 1,400 female strikers, and a 2,000-person meeting was held in connection to the strike. Increasingly worried, Bryant & May tried several strategies to break the strike: they took on "new hands," threatened to remove the factory to Norway,[20] and called 20 policemen to protect strikebreakers from angry strikers.[21] On July 12, the local social reform organization Toynbee Hall offered to mediate the dispute, but failed to reach any compromise.[22]

Publicly, Frederick Bryant (of Bryant & May) blamed the strike on "the interference of professional agitators" who influenced his employees to make "impractical" demands for higher pay.[23] Annie Besant's autobiography similarly gives credit to outside figures like herself, presenting her and her fellow socialists as leaders of the matchmakers, whom she portrayed as helpless "girls".[24] Historian Louise Raw challenges this view, as these women were capable enough to have "organized a picket line and mass meetings"; they also had a history of collective action, as demonstrated by an 1871 protest against an unfair match tax.[25] Despite this, we must consider the role that middle-class socialists like Besant played in maintaining the strike. By creating a Strike Fund, pressuring prominent shareholders of Bryant & May to donate, and publishing a list of those who had contributed,[26] Besant created a new social responsibility to financially support the strike or face public shame. By July 27, the Strike Fund had raised "over £40…for the relief of boxmakers thrown out of work".[27] Using her social influence as a middle-class journalist, Besant kept the matchwomen paid during the strike; without her, the strike would likely have collapsed earlier.

Middle-class activists like Besant were likewise instrumental in the creation of the Union of Women Matchmakers (also known as the Matchmakers' Union). On July 24, a small meeting including Besant, socialist writer Clementine Black, and members of the London Trades Council was held to draft the rules of the new Matchmakers' Union; the draft created by these non-strikers was then approved by a group of matchmakers on July 27.[28] This new union had Besant as its secretary and fellow socialist Herbert Burrows as its treasurer: even as working women exercised their rights and continued the strike, people like Besant were responsible for organizing

[18] Annie Wood Besant, "White Slavery in London," The Link, June 23, 1888.

[19] Louise Raw, Striking a Light: The Bryant and May Matchwomen and Their Place in History (New York: Continuum, 2011), 130-1.

[20] "Bryant and May's Match Girls," Huddersfield Daily Examiner, July 14, 1888.

[21] "The Match-Girls' Strike," Evening Star, July 10, 1888.

[22] "Match Girls' Strike," Hull Evening News, July 13, 1888; Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "Toynbee Hall," (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2023), https://www.britannica.com/topic/Toynbee-Hall.

[23] "Bryant and May's Match Girls"; "The Match-Girls' Strike," Shields Daily News, August 4, 1888.

[24] Annie Wood Besant, Annie Besant: An Autobiography (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893), 336.

[25] Raw, Striking a Light, 134; William Douglas Almond, Procession of Matchmakers to Westminster, 1871, in Cassell's Illustrated History of England, Vol. 6, 601, London: Cassell & Company, 1899, gutenberg.org/cache/epub/61502/pg61502-images.html.

[26] "The Match-Girls' Strike," Pall Mall Gazette, July 25, 1888.

[27] "The Match-Girls' Strike Fund."

[28] "The Matchmakers' Union," Pall Mall Gazette, July 25, 1888; "The Matchmakers' Union," Daily News, July 28, 1888.

the matchmakers.

The Fire Burns Out: Concessions and Changes

> "The women's victory was a touchstone—a landmark in the history of the labour movement…"
>
> —Lyn Brown, MP, 2013[29]

On July 19, the Evening Telegram reported that, after two weeks of mounting pressure, the employers had folded: "Bryant & May have made a number of concessions to the match girls who…have accepted the terms offered and returned to work."[30] These terms included the abolition of all fines and deductions and direct communication between workers and the managing director; additionally, a "breakfast room" was constructed so that the workers could eat in a room free of phosphorus contamination.[31]

Legal changes were instituted as well. Using the 1878 Factory and Workshop Act, posters with "Special Rules" were posted on match factory walls, placing new responsibility on factory owners to protect their employees from phossy jaw. Under these rules, employers were required to provide separate rooms for the dangerous processes of "mixing, dipping, and drying" and to provide a dentist to any worker reporting "toothache" or "a swelling of a jaw." In addition, employers were responsible for notifying government investigators of any cases of necrosis that were found.[32] Mr. Talbot, the Bow Medical Officer of Health, expressed that these "structural alterations" sufficiently reduced cases of phosphorus necrosis.[33]

The Matchmakers' Union was another lasting change, continuing to fight for workers' rights in the years following 1888. During and immediately after the strike, the union grew rapidly: from 600 in mid-August to 700 in October to almost 800 by early 1889.[34] By November 1888, the Union presided over representatives from over 9 districts and 8 unions in London and called for a reduction of the workday to 8 hours.[35] In 1893, Annie Besant asserted that the union was "still the strongest woman's Trades Union in England".[36] In 1894, the Matchmakers' Union accused Bell and Co., another matchmaking company, of using sweated labour; in response, a company lawyer took the union to court for libel.[37]

Although the Matchmaker's Union ceased to exist in 1903, it had long-lasting effects

[29] United Kingdom, Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, October 8, 2013, 568 (Lyn Brown).

[30] "The Parnell Inquiry," Evening Telegram, July 19, 1888.

[31] Raw, Striking a Light, 139.

[32] Factory and Workshop Act Notice, Lucifer Match Factories.

[33] "The Prevention Of 'Phossy Jaw' In Match Makers" The British Medical Journal 2, no. 2019 (1899): 669, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20261743.

[34] "The Labour Struggle," Commonweal, August 18, 1888; "Labor Notes," Custer Chronicle, October 27, 1888; "The Matchmakers' Union," Sunday Dispatch, March 3, 1889.

[35] "Labour and Wages," Reynolds's Newspaper Sun, November 4, 1888.

[36] Besant, Annie Besant: An Autobiography, 336.

[37] "The Match-Girls Strike," Echo, March 16, 1894.

through its influence on other organized labor movements.[38] The matchgirl-derived rise in public concern for poor laborers led to a 1889 strike of male dockworkers and the beginning of "New Unionism".[39] Inspired by the Matchmaker's Union, unskilled women in other industries formed unions, such as the Upholstresses' Society (200 women), the Shirt- and Collarmakers (300 women), and a 4,000-woman union in the Londonderry linen industry.[40] The Matchmaker's Union also changed how unskilled male workers saw their female peers. Previously, ideology about women had created "unbridgable distances between male and female workers".[41] However, the Matchmaker's Union caused some male unionists to "adopt a new attitude towards women workers," making a workforce that was more unified than ever.[42] The union legacy remained strong in Bryant & May workers as well: even 40 years later, Geoffrey West asserted that "every person employed there is a Trade Unionist".[43]

Case Study: "Lights in Darkest England"

Following the publicity generated by Annie Besant's social pressure-based reporting strategy, the Salvation Army entered the matchmaking business seeking to be a new, responsible type of employer. In 1891, the humanitarian organization opened its Darkest England Match Factory near the Bryant & May factory; unlike Bryant & May, however, the Salvation Army sold only "safety matches" made using red phosphorus, which unlike white phosphorus did not cause phosphorus necrosis.[44] In addition, this factory took upon the responsibility of paying its workers better: "25 per cent. at least" higher compared to other companies. A consequence of these ethical choices were higher costs for consumers. To make up for these higher prices, the Salvation Army used the Darkest England Gazette to push these matches, appealing to the emotional sensibilities of the "Mothers & Daughters" of London and urging them to pay just "one penny a dozen more" to help protect "your sisters, the poor match-girls".[45]

Despite these marketing tactics, low sales temporarily closed the factory in 1894; a permanent closure followed in 1901, as the Salvation Army's lower-income base could not afford the extra cost of Darkest England matches,[46] their lack of financial capital limiting their ability to enact change. Today, the Salvation Army maintains that the Darkest England Match Factory was a success, arguing that it "paved the

[38] Sarah Boston, Women Workers and the Trade Unions (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1987), 51.

[39] Joan Ballhatchet, "The Police and the London Dock Strike of 1889," History Workshop Journal 32, no. 1 (October 1, 1991): 55, https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/32.1.54.

[40] "Labor Notes"; "The Matchmakers' Union," Sunday Dispatch, March 3, 1889.

[41] Lois Rita Helmbold and Ann Schofield, "Women's Labor History, 1790-1945," Reviews in American History 17, no. 4 (1989): 503, https://doi.org/10.2307/2703424.

[42] Boston, Women Workers and the Trade Unions, 51.

[43] Geoffrey West, The Life Of Annie Besant (London: Gerald Howe Limited, 1929), 132.

[44] Flore Janssen, "'Buy Cheap, Buy Dear!': Selling Consumer Activism in the Salvation Army c. 1885–1905," Journal of Victorian Culture 27, no. 4 (December 31, 2022): 679, https://doi.org/10.1093/jvcult/vcac051.

[45] Lights in Darkest England, "Mothers & Daughters," advertisement, Woman's Herald, 12 November 1892.

[46] Janssen, "'Buy Cheap, Buy Dear!'" 683.

way for universal adoption of safer red phosphorous" by demonstrating its viability.[47] However, other matchmaking factories continued to use underpaid labor and white phosphorus for several years to follow, discrediting this assertion.[48] Although the Darkest England Match Factory attempted to deliver on their social responsibility to protect matchmakers, its failure mirrors the failures of the 1888 Matchgirls' Strike to drastically improve matchmakers' standard of living.

Failures of the Matchgirls' Strike

"MESSRS. BRYANT AND MAY AT WORSHIP STREET—SEVENTEEN CASES OF PHOSPHORUS POISONING NOT REPORTED—THE FULL PENALTY INFLICTED"

—The Daily Chronicle, 1898

On June 1, 1898, ten years after the Matchgirls' Strike, Bryant & May were taken to court for violating their responsibility under the Special Rules by failing to report cases of phosphorus necrosis.[49] This ruling occurred after a month-long campaign by the Star uncovered several deaths due to phossy jaw, the most notable being 22-year old match dipper Cornelius Lean, whose death had been wrongly attributed by company doctors to acute cellulitis.[50] After saying they were "extremely sorry" for covering up these cases, Bryant & May were fined 25 pounds and 9 shillings for their breach of public trust.[51] The discovery of hidden cases of phossy jaw reflected a continued post-strike defiance of corporate responsibility to workers, who continued to face dangerous working conditions for very low pay.

Wages, despite being the crux of the 1888 strike, did not meaningfully change in the ensuing years. Records show that the proportion of expenses at Bryant & May spent on worker pay did not increase from 1888 to 1889. Total wages accounted for £30,000 of costs, less than half of net profits (around £70,000)—showing how Bryant & May prioritized profits over their workers.[52] Matchmaking companies continued to use the sweating system into 1894, causing the matchmakers to again exercise their right to strike in an ineffective action in May of that year.[53] In fact, safety restrictions on phosphorus usage prevented women from entering the highest-paying parts of the trade, further exacerbating wage disparities.[54]

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[47] "Transforming Lives since 1865 – The Story of The Salvation Army so Far," The Salvation Army's International Headquarters, accessed February 1, 2025, https://story.salvationarmy.org.

[48] Janssen, "'Buy Cheap, Buy Dear!'" 683.

[49] "Phossy Jaw."

[50] Lowell J. Satre, "After the Match Girls' Strike: Bryant and May in the 1890s," Victorian Studies 26, no. 1 (1982): 20, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3827491.

[51] A. J. Arnold, "'Ex Luce Lucellum'? Innovation, Class Interests and Economic Returns in the Nineteenth Century Match Trade" (2004), 10, https://web.archive.org/web/20221023140752/https://business-school.exeter.ac.uk/documents/papers/accounting/2004/0406.pdf.

[52] Arnold, "'Out of Light a Little Profit?'" 621.

[53] "The Match-Girls Strike," Echo, March 16, 1894; "May Day Demonstrations," Reynolds's Newspaper Sun, May 6, 1894.

[54] Carolyn Malone, "Sensational Stories, Endangered Bodies: Women's Work and the New Journalism in England in the 1890s," Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies 31, no. 1 (1999): 71, https://doi.org/10.2307/4052816.

Workplace safety also remained poor in spite of the 1888 strike. Although the phossy jaw coverups were only publicly revealed in 1898, the matchmaking industry continued to be associated with danger: in his 1893 book Dangerous Trades for Women, George Mallet described the "peril" caused by the sale of phosphorus matches, dooming matchmakers "to agonising sufferings and to death by slow torture." Just as employers violated their responsibility to report cases of phosphorus necrosis, they also failed to provide adequate dental care: funding "ineffectual" medicines instead of desperately-needed surgery, a policy that Prof. Watson Smith called "a sham and a snare".[55] Even after the 1898 controversy, British match manufacturers utilized white phosphorus for another decade. Britain hesitated to participate in the 1906 Berne Convention, where countries like France, Germany and the Netherlands moved to ban white phosphorus.[56] After adopting the Berne treaty late, Britain finally instituted the White Phosphorus Matches Prohibition Act in 1908, a full 20 years after the Matchgirls' Strike.[57] Only then did match companies stop using white phosphorus.

Why did the 1888 Matchgirls' Strike ultimately fail? It came down to the matchmakers' lack of influence. Just as the success of the 1888 strike was in great part due to middle-class journalists and shareholders, who had the social and financial power to force Bryant & May to concede, the 1898 controversy only erupted due to the reporting of the Star, which—like Annie Besant—used "appeals to the shareholders" to place financial pressure on Bryant & May.[58] Although the majority-Irish matchmakers did have "a network of cultural, religious and political organisations keeping identity and contact alive",[59] their status as poor women meant that they lacked the social capital to enforce corporate responsibility. Instead, companies prioritized profit. Despite the negative press, it was more profitable for corporations to continue to endanger employees, to "pay the fines and continue the poisoning".[60] Violating social responsibility paid, so companies did so—making millions of pounds off of the blood, sweat, and tears of the matchgirls.

Conclusion

Major strike actions increased 280% in 2023; over a century after the matchmakers walked out, low pay moved workers across industries to strike for better treatment.[61] Women continue to face wage discrimination, earning 82¢ per dollar earned by men.[62] This continuation of unfair employer practices shows the modern-day relevance of the landmark 1888 Matchgirls' Strike. However, an examination of the strike beyond

[55] Charles Mallet, Dangerous Trades for Women (London: Reeves, 1893), 19-20, https://jstor.org/stable/60218929.

[56] United Kingdom, Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, October 25, 1906, 163.

[57] Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "Match Girls' Strike" (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2023), https://www.britannica.com/event/Match-Girls-Strike.

[58] Satre, "After the Match Girls' Strike," 17.

[59] John Charlton, "It Just Went like Tinder": The Mass Movement and New Unionism in Britain, 1889: A Socialist History (London: Redwords, 1999).

[60] "More About Phossy Jaw," Tocsin, June 23, 1898.

[61] Margaret Poydock and Jennifer Sherer, "Major Strike Activity Increased by 280% in 2023: Many Workers Still Need Policies That Protect Their Right to Strike," Economic Policy Institute, February 21, 2024, https://www.epi.org/publication/major-strike-activity-in-2023/.

[62] Carolina Aragão, "Gender Pay Gap in U.S. Hasn't Changed Much in Two Decades," March 1, 2023, https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/03/01/gender-pay-gap-facts/.

its surface-level success reveals a greater significance. The Matchgirls' Strike's failure to maintain direct change ultimately demonstrates the limitations of working-class action outside of existing socioeconomic power systems, illustrating the nuanced intersection between class, gender, workers' rights, and corporate responsibility.

Figure 1. Photograph of a match-factory worker showing swelling of the jaw and a pus-filled abscess, 1899.

Rights vs. Responsibilities: The Irish Nationalists of the RIC in the War for Independence

Rahul Sundaresan

The majority of the inspiration for this research paper is drawn from the memoir A Beleaguered Station by former RIC Head Constable John McKenna, which I have been reading recently. In his work, McKenna offers a unique perspective on the experiences of a police officer during some of the most troubling times in Ireland's history. As a man sworn to uphold the law, he was forced to face the actions of the RIC's less disciplined cousins: the Auxiliary Division. Intrigued by the insight McKenna provides, I began to read further.

Digging deeper into the topic, I began to think about how it might fit into the theme of rights and responsibilities. During my initial research, I discovered that astonishingly, the majority of officers of the RIC, the organization that was exploiting the Catholic population of Ireland, were themselves Catholic. Interested, I decided to select the nationalists of the RIC for my paper.

During my research, I had the goal in mind to seek out as much information from the rank-and-file as I could. Situations like the Listowel mutiny made me question just how deep the nationalist sympathies of the common RIC ran. While researching the mutiny, I came across an interview with J. Anthony Gaughan, who is perhaps the most knowledgeable man alive on Listowel. In that interview, he stated that the disillusionment of the RIC that caused events like the strike in 1907 and the Listowel mutiny began much earlier, almost immediately after the RIC was established. I checked McKenna's memoir and discovered that the majority of RIC men held at least moderate nationalist sympathies, and their participation in the British security forces came mostly from a desire for employment, not political conviction.

After I settled on my main argument to be that most Royal Irish Constabulary officers held stronger ties to their native Ireland than to their adopted employer, I came across the Committee of Enquiry into Resignations and Dismissals from the Royal Irish Constabulary. The statements within the committee's reports not only fit with my desire to seek the perspective of the common officer, but also worked perfectly with my argument. From those reports, I gained a deeper understanding of the extent of the republican tendencies RIC men had.

The topic is significant because of its impact on the subsequent Irish police. The RIC, by the end of its life, was so ridden with nationalism that the British had to completely restart for their Northern Irish security force. All that remained of the revolutionary-era police were the Ulster Special Constabulary, a force so faithfully Protestant that the only substantial Catholic group within it was unemployed RIC veterans. The RIC's resistance, which aided in the independence of most of Ireland, also forced the British to stack their future police forces with loyalists, making it impossible for Northern Ireland to be independent using the same violence of the revolutionary period. Thus, the RIC's nationalism forced the modern republican to

swap the rifle for the ballot box and play politics.

Introduction

By late 1919, the Royal Irish Constabulary, the Crown-run police force of British-controlled Ireland, was trapped in an embattled post. Countless Irish Republican Army (IRA) attacks had shattered morale, and isolated RIC stations in a sea of hostile natives were target practice for nationalist riflemen.[1] As two sergeants told their commanding officer, Lt. Gen Henry Tudor, in autumn 1919, the "'men [of the RIC] would become cock-shies [targets] for Sinn Féin'" if the RIC continued to deploy reluctant men against their own people.[2] Rank-and-file RIC officers, drawn from the local Irish population and mostly Catholic,[3] were seen as traitors by many Irishmen for working with a foreign power to oppress their native land.[4] In early 1919, this ostracism became official republican program when the secretary of Dáil Éireann, the breakaway nationalist government, wrote in a policy description that the RIC should "receive no social recognition from the people," and that even "intermarriage with them [should] be discouraged."[5] Whether the tactic of antagonizing the RIC aided or hindered the republican cause holds some contention, but as South Roscommon IRA man Martin Fallon alleges, "[nationalists] forgot they [the RIC men] were Irishmen."[6] Many RIC officers, however, cognizant of their Irish roots, their status as prime targets for the IRA, and the fact that their mostly-British senior officers were ordering them to uphold foreign rule of their homeland, did not forget that they were Irishmen.[7] Instead, they resisted British control. Unable to carry out their responsibility to suppress the rights of their fellow Irishmen, RIC constables resigned, rebelled, and spied, risking imprisonment or execution for their nationalist sympathies.

Establishment

The Royal Irish Constabulary was established in 1822 under the auspices of Home

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1 Michael Hopkinson, The Irish War of Independence (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 47.

2 "'The Unremembered Man' of British, Irish and Newfoundland History," Tinteán Magazine, August 7, 2019, 1, accessed February 8, 2025, https://tintean.org.au/2019/08/07/the-unremembered-man-of-british-irish-and-newfoundland-history/; Hopkinson, The Irish, 47.

3 UK National Archives, "Royal Irish Constabulary, 1836-1922," The National Archives, accessed February 8, 2025, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/royal-irish-constabulary/#5-service-records-1816-1922.

4 Peter Cottrell, The Anglo-Irish War : the Troubles of 1913-1922 (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2014), 20; Lee J. Morrissey, "(A century and a half of) Police Reform in Ireland," Clemson University Humanities Hub (blog), January 11, 2021, accessed February 8, 2025, https://blogs.clemson.edu/humanitieshub/2021/01/11/a-century-and-a-half-of-police-reform-in-ireland/; Brian Hughes, "The forgotten men of the War of Independence," RTÉ Brainstorm, Raidió Teilifís Éireann, last modified March 22, 2019, accessed February 8, 2025, https://www.rte.ie/brainstorm/2019/0306/1034656-the-ric-the-forgotten-men-of-the-war-of-independence.

5 Brian Hughes, "Intimidating the Crown," in Defying the IRA? (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2016), 25, JSTOR.

6 Martin Fallon, interview by Ernie O'Malley, Roscommon, Ireland, 194-?.

7 Fergus J. M. Campbell, The Irish Establishment, 1879-1914 (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 107-108.

Secretary Sir Robert Peel following the Peace Preservation Act 1814.[8] From its founding, the RIC, which was roughly representative of the religious composition of Ireland (about 70% Catholic and 30% Protestant), struggled with problems stemming from underpaid officers.[9] The domination of the upper ranks by harshly disciplinarian Protestant senior officers, however, meant the force was still ruthlessly efficient, even when carrying out tasks that individual constables may have disagreed with. Notably, in December 1834, during the Tithe War, a national campaign against the policy of collecting duties from the Catholic majority to support the Protestant Church of Ireland, Catholic RIC officers fired upon a crowd of protesting Cork farmers, killing twelve in what would later be known as the Rathcormac massacre.[10] The brutal competency of the RIC continued throughout the 1867 Fenian Rising, an insurrection caused by suppression of the press, which was quelled with the aid of spies within the rebel ranks, and the renting disputes of the 1870s and '80s, which saw the RIC evict thousands of tenant farmers.[11] However, the loyalty of the RIC to the Crown was tested during the 1907 Belfast Dock Strike.[12] Angered by low wages and orders to violently break up the congregating dockworkers, two-thirds of the Belfast RIC mutinied.[13] The defectors, numbering about 600, seized the Musgrave RIC station, held negotiations with strikers,[14] and began a concurrent strike for higher pay. A 6000-strong British army detachment was deployed, and over half of the insubordinate RIC officers were reassigned away from Belfast.[15] However, the resentment towards the government that had driven the RIC to open rebellion remained, and would shape the way that RIC officers from the lockout, who had risen to senior non-commissioned positions by 1919, would treat the war

[8] J.J Tobias, "Police and Public in the United Kingdom," Journal of Contemporary History 7, no. 1 (1972): 219, https://doi.org/10.1177/002200947200700112; UK Parliament, "IRISH PEACE PRESERVATION BILL," Historic Hansard, accessed February 8, 2025, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1817/mar/11/irish-peace-preservation-bill; "Preserving the Peace," National Museum of Ireland, accessed February 8, 2025, https://www.museum.ie/en-IE/Museums/Country-Life/Exhibitions/Previous-Exhibitions/Preserving-the-Peace.

[9] UK National Archives, "Pensions, etc and expense accounts," The National Archives, accessed February 8, 2025, https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C2473675; Dorothy Macardle, The Irish Republic: a Documented Chronicle of the Anglo-Irish Conflict and the Partitioning of Ireland, with a Detailed Account of the Period 1916-1923, 3rd ed. (Dublin, Ireland: Wolfhound Press, 2005), 359.

[10] "Ireland," Spectator 8 (1835): 58, accessed February 8, 2025, https://books.google.com/books?id=62I_AQAAIAAJ&pg=PA58#v=onepage&q&f=false; Des O'Sullivan, "Cork silhouettes, a massacre and a landmark of Irish printing," The Irish Examiner, last modified July 11, 2020, accessed February 8, 2025, https://www.irishexaminer.com/property/homeandgardens/arid-40013579.html; UK Parliament, "The Rathcormac Inquest," Historic Hansard, accessed February 13, 2025, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1835/mar/03/the-rathcormac-inquest.

[11] Edward C. Hamilton, The Woodford evictions (Dublin, Ireland, 1886), 5-6, accessed February 8, 2025, https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ivrla:49088; "The scene at an eviction at Woodford, Co. Galway in the late 19th century," photograph, in The National Archives of Ireland (An Chartlann Náisiúnta), accessed February 8, 2025, https://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/exhibition/galway/government_politics_institutions/lroy02483_eviction_Woodford.html.

[12] John Gray, City in Revolt : James Larkin and the Belfast Dock Strike of 1907 (Dundonald, Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1985), 105, 115.

[13] Gray, City in Revolt, 130; Macardle, The Irish, 359.

[14] Gray, City in Revolt, 95.

[15] Donal Nevin, James Larkin, Lion of the Fold (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan in association with RTE and SIPTU, 1998), 25; John McHugh, "The Belfast Labour Dispute and Riots of 1907," International Review of Social History 22, no. 1 (1977): 10, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020859000005393; Peter Hadden, "Northern Ireland — 1907 Dockers and Carters' Strike," International Socialist Alternative, last modified May 11, 2007, accessed February 12, 2025, https://internationalsocialist.net/en/2007/05/history.

for independence. During the Belfast Lockout, the right of the RIC men to a living and fair wage came into direct conflict with their responsibility to uphold the law and ensure the continuance of British rule in Ireland.

Crises of the 1910s

At the time of the major nationalist actions of the 1910s, the RIC's grievances had not been forgotten. On the 31st of August, 1913, during the Dublin Lockout, a trade unionist meeting was held on Sackville Street, and security forces believed that socialist leader Jim Larkin, who had played a central role in the 1907 strike, would incite the crowd to rebellion. Under increasing pressure from Protestant senior officers to produce results against the unions, members of the RIC and Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) attacked a crowd in Sackville Street, killing two and injuring up to 600.[16] British Labour MP Handel Booth, who had witnessed the events of the charge, later stated that the security forces "behaved like men possessed… wildly striking with their truncheons at everyone within reach," and even alleged that "[k]icking victims while prostrate was a settled part of police programme," reflecting the frenzied nature of action by the widely-hated police forces at the time.[17] Larkin was subsequently charged with sedition and sentenced to seven months prison time.[18] In this way, with the reluctant aid of the harried RIC, the British government and Protestant overseers further alienated the majority-Catholic trade unionists, and turned the people of Ireland against their brethren in the security forces. In April 1916, the nationalist fervor of Ireland was again stirred, and members of various rebel organizations, including the Irish Volunteers, the Irish Citizen Army,[19] and the Irish Republican Brotherhood, seized several RIC stations as a part of the Easter Rising.[20] The RIC, undermanned due to many officers attending horse races in Dublin and Cork, mounted a feeble defense.[21] By 29 April, fourteen RIC officers had been killed, [22] and the lukewarm response of the police forces to the insurrection contributed significantly to lowered support for the authorities at the time of the war for independence.[23]

[16] Raidió Teilifís Éireann, "Witness To Bloody Sunday 1913," RTÉ Archives, last modified August 30, 2013, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.rte.ie/archives/2013/0830/471181-eyewitnesses-describe-the-events-of-bloody-sunday-1913/; Alan MacSimoin, "The Dublin Lock-out of 1913," Anarkismo, last modified March 8, 2005, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.anarkismo.net/article/470.

[17] Kevin P. McCarthy, "DMP took the side of the rich when they attacked working class people," Irish Examiner, last modified May 5, 2016, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.irishexaminer.com/opinion/columnists/arid-20397610.html.

[18] Raidió Teilifís Éireann, "Jim Larkin found guilty of seditious utterances," Century Ireland, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/articles/jim-larkin-sentenced-to-seven-months-in-jail.

[19] Charles Townshend, Easter 1916: the Irish Rebellion Charles Townshend (London: Penguin, 2006), 41.

[20] Paul Maguire, "The Fingal Battalion: A Blueprint for the Future?," The Irish Sword, 2011, 9-13, accessed February 12, 2025, https://militaryheritage.ie/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/The_Fingal_Battalion.pdf; John F. Boyle, The Irish Rebellion of 1916: A Brief History of the Revolt and its Suppression (Legare Street Press`, 2022), 127-152; Townshend, Easter 1916, 224.

[21] UK Parliament, "The Disturbances in Ireland," Historic Hansard, accessed February 12, 2025, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1916/apr/26/the-disturbances-in-ireland.

[22] 1916 Necrology: 485 (Dublin, Ireland: Glasnevin Trust, n.d.), accessed February 12, 2025,

[23] John Dorney, "The Easter Rising in Galway, 1916," The Irish Story, last modified March 4, 2016, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.theirishstory.com/2016/03/04/the-easter-rising-in-galway-1916/.

In the 1918 UK general election, the Irish people elected 73 Sinn Féin MPs out of 105 Irish seats,[24] voicing a challenge with their votes to the new British dual policy of conscription and home rule. Under the policy, Irish citizens were eligible for conscription for service in World War I, while the Irish would be allowed to form their own, severely limited government.[25] Brigadier General Joseph Byrne, Inspector-General of the RIC, recorded his disagreement with the policy in a letter from the General Office Irish Command to Chief Secretary Herbert Duke: "conscription can be enforced, but with great difficulty. It will be bitterly opposed by the united Nationalists and the clergy."[26] Byrne also commented that "the cry [would] be: England down, Ireland's opportunity."[27] The opinion of its leader reflects the wide belief within the RIC that it would be impossible to force conscription upon an unwilling and resentful people, and in fact, they were correct, as no Irishmen were conscripted or arrested for refusal to serve. In contrast to other colonies like Australia, where most of the citizens were of British descent and did not identify themselves as indigenous,[28] the majority of Irish Catholics in 1914 descended directly from the native Irish,[29] who had been resisting the British occupation for nearly a millennium. Due to the differences in ancestry and beliefs between natives of Australia and those of Ireland, the British government's call to arms during World War I was met differently. In Australia, the government decided to deploy 20,000 soldiers, and 420,000 Australians, nearly 40% of the eligible population of the continent, enlisted.[30] In Ireland, however, which had a similar population to Australia, of the 130,000 men who volunteered for service, 50,000 were already members of loyalist paramilitary organizations such as the Ulster Volunteers, and most were Protestant Unionists. [31] Irishmen, because of their difficult history with British rule, did not feel the same responsibility to defend the empire as citizens of those colonies that did not experience the same level of repression. Also, many Irish veterans of the First World War faced intimidation and violence at home for their perceived betrayal of their

[24] Mark Duncan, "Election 1918 – what you need to know about how Ireland voted," RTÉ, Raidió Teilifís Éireann, last modified December 11, 2018, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.rte.ie/eile/election-1918/2018/1211/1016473-election-1918-what-you-need-to-know-about-how-ireland-voted/.

[25] John Dorney, "A Declaration of War on the Irish People' The Conscription Crisis of 1918," The Irish Story, last modified April 24, 2018, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.theirishstory.com/2018/04/24/a-declaration-of-war-on-the-irish-people-the-conscription-crisis-of-1918/.

[26] Dave Hennessy, "The Hay Plan & Conscription In Ireland During WW1," Waterford County Museum, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.waterfordmuseum.ie/exhibit/web/Display/article/283/1/The_Hay_Plan__Conscription_In_Ireland_During_ WW1_Introduction.html.

[27] Hennessy, "The Hay Plan," Waterford County Museum.

[28] Commonwealth of Australia, "Census of the Commonwealth of Australia Part V: Race," Australian Bureau of Statistics, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/F65B524F2216AE95CA25783900159EBE/$File/1921%20Census%20-%20Volume%20I%20-%20Part%20V%20Race.pdf.

[29] An Chartlann Náisiúnta, "Census," National Archives of Ireland, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/search/.

[30] David Ellery, "The paper trail that led to Australia's involvement in WWI," The Canberra Times, last modified August 5, 2014, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.canberratimes.com.au/story/6137708/the-paper-trail-that-led-to-australias-involvement-in-wwi/; Joseph Cook, The Great War: 1914-1919, 1919, illustration, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.naa.gov.au/students-and-teachers/student-research-portal/learning-resource-themes/war/world-war-i/australian-recruitment-statistics-first-world-war.

[31] David Fitzpatrick, "Militarism in Ireland, 1900–1922," in A Military History of Ireland, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 397; Marie Coleman, The Irish Revolution, 1916-1923 (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 10.

homeland, and dozens were tracked down and killed by the IRA. [32]

War for Independence

On the 21st of January, 1919, the Irish War for Independence began with the Soloheadbeg Ambush.[33] On the day of the convention of the First Dáil, militants from the Third Tipperary Brigade of the Irish Republican Army (new name for the Irish Volunteers) attacked a convoy carrying explosives near Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary, killing two RIC officers.[34] As participating IRA volunteer Dan Breen recalls, although "[t]he Dáil didn't know anything of [the attack]" and the volunteers "carried [their action] out independent of the Dáil,"[35] the Crown outlawed the Dáil and the RIC began carrying out raids on suspected locations of Teachtaí Dála (members of parliament), particularly targeting Sinn Féin offices.[36] The raids triggered an escalation in tensions, as nationalists believed the British government was suppressing their right to free assembly without just cause. The RIC, however, being a civil police force, was not equipped to handle insurrection on such a large scale.[37] Since the majority of rural and provincial security forces, which were most vulnerable to IRA attacks, were RIC, constables received the brunt of the IRA onslaught. During the War for Independence, over 500 RIC officers (over 70% Catholic) were killed by the IRA.[38] After the imposition of martial law across the island, the RIC, bolstered by Auxiliaries and Black and Tans (both composed of British army veterans), raided Sinn Féin Bank in Dublin multiple times in order to disrupt the Dáil's financial operations.[39] By June 1920, though, with the establishment of the Dáil Courts, the power of the RIC to control law on the island had been shattered.[40] The RIC were forced to abandon most of their barracks in rural areas, where the IRA rampaged unchecked, and constables

[32] Peter Hart, The I.R.A. and Its Enemies : Violence and Community in Cork, 1916-1923. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 303-304; Marie Coleman, County Longford and the Irish Revolution, 1910-1923 (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006), 154.

[33] Dan Breen, "Two Killed In Soloheadbeg Ambush," interview, RTE Archives, Raidió Teilifís Éireann, last modified 1969, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.rte.ie/archives/category/war-and-conflict/2019/0115/1023373-dan-breen-soloheadbeg-raid/.

[34] UK Parliament, "The Tragedy At Soloheadbeg," Historic Hansard, accessed February 12, 2025, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1919-03-20/debates/ba05d18c-898c-4b1d-8369-52f682de4bd4/TheTragedyAtSoloheadbeg.

[35] Breen, "Two Killed," interview, RTE Archives.

[36] Mícheál Mac Donncha, «British Government bans Dáil Éireann,» An Phoblacht, Sinn Féin, last modified September 7, 2019, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.anphoblacht.com/contents/27666; Raid on Sinn Féin Bank, September 1919, September 1919, photograph, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.museum.ie/en-IE/Collections-Research/Collection/Raids-and-Reprisals-The-IRA-and-the-Crown-Forces/Artefact/Raid-on-Sinn-Fein-Bank,-1919/28d7d183-0349-48ec-9d29-c4ccf3450a6d.

[37] Cottrell, The Anglo-Irish, 49-52.

[38] Cottrell, The Anglo-Irish, 20.

[39] "Sinn Fein Bank Raided by Authorities," Ashburton Guardian (Ashburton, New Zealand), December 1, 1920, accessed February 12, 2025, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AG19201201.2.22.5; Alan Bell, "Irish Banks and Sinn Fein: Dublin Castle Action," Cork Examiner (Cork, Ireland), March 8, 1920, 5, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.irishnewsarchive.com/ina_wp/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Irish-Examiner-1841-current-Monday-March-08-1920-page-5.pdf.

[40] Heather Laird, Subversive Law in Ireland, 1879-1920 : from 'Unwritten Law' to Dáil Courts (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005), 124.

resigned en masse.[41] The unwilling police force had lost the last of its authority, and with nearly 160 RIC members killed by October 1920, morale was near zero.[42]

In Conflict with Orders

According to the Committee of Enquiry into Resignations and Dismissals from the Royal Irish Constabulary's report of 28 November 1922, of the 1,215 men who submitted application forms,[43] nearly all cited nationalist sympathies or British atrocities as reasons for resignation.[44] The attitude of the RIC resignees are reflected in the statement made by Sgt. Bernard Finegan, who had served for 28 years before retiring in 1920. Sgt. Finegan cited "[s]ympathy with the National Movement, and detestation of offences committed by the Crown Forces"[45] as his reason for resignation. The nationalist tendencies nd strong Irish identity of RIC officers are perhaps best summarized by Constable James Horkan's reason for resignation. Horkan asserted after his retirement in April 1920 that "the duties [he] was called on to perform were distasteful to [him], and could not be carried out by any man who called himself an Irishman,"[46] following in the footsteps of those like Constable Patrick Kelly, who in late 1916 "resigned in sympathy with the men who fought and died for Ireland."[47] Constable Benis Deevy, who resigned in May 1920 and had enlisted before the Dublin Lockout, "left the R.I.C on purely patriotic grounds… and advocated the same to [his comrades]," three of whom ended their commissions shortly thereafter.[48] Hundreds more RIC men, enraged at the abhorrent actions of the Anglo-Protestant Auxiliaries and Black and Tans, resigned or joined the IRA. Constable Daniel Crowley, who resigned in July 1920, "refused to do business with the Black and Tans"[49] due to their murderous activities. The religious leanings of RIC men were also a factor in mass resignations: Senior Constable Patrick Quinn, who had served since November of 1892 and resigned in November of 1920, cited that he "could not conscientiously…perform a duty which was so distasteful to [him] as a Catholic, and as an Irishman."[50] Quinn's resignation reflects the opinions of many devout RIC men, who were Catholics before policemen.

Many senior constables, who had long held nationalist sympathies, resigned and joined the IRA. Senior constable Patrick Reynolds, who had joined the RIC in

[41] Macardle, The Irish, 359; John McKenna, A Beleaguered Station : the Memoir of Head Constable John McKenna, 1891-1921 : a Catholic RIC Officer's Experience of Violence and Partition in Ulster (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2021), xv.

[42] Richard Abbott, Police Casualties in Ireland, 1919-1922 (Cork: Mercier Press, 2000), 11.

[43] "Resigned R.I.C. Men," Freeman's Journal (Dublin, Ireland), November 6, 1924, 7, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/.

[44] Irish Defence Forces, "R.I.C. Dismissals and Resignations during the Revolutionary Period," The Military Archives, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.militaryarchives.ie/en/resources/online-exhibitions/r-i-c-dismissals-and-resignations-during-the-revolutionary-period#.

[45] Committee of Enquiry into Resignations and Dismissals from the Royal Irish Constabulary., 5, April 20, 1923, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.militaryarchives.ie/fileadmin/user_upload/Documents_2/2020/IE_MA_MIPR_03_13_Committee_of_Enquiry_RIC_resignations_and_dismissals.pdf.

[46] Committee of Enquiry, 102.

[47] Committee of Enquiry, 28.

[48] Committee of Enquiry, 80.

[49] Committee of Enquiry, 84.

[50] Committee of Enquiry, 87.

1894, "resigned in response to [his] country's call," and "was all [his] life in favour of self government for Ireland."[51] He later served in the North Louth Battalion, 4th Northern Division of the IRA until his death in 1924.[52] RIC officers also outright mutinied against their British commanders. According to the statement of resignee John Synnott, in June 1920, the officers of the Listowel, Co. Kerry RIC station, led by County Inspector O'Shea[53] and District Inspector Thomas Flanagan,[54] mutinied against orders by British Lt. Col. Gerald Smyth to shoot suspects on sight. The Listowel mutiny was an enormous propaganda victory for the republican side. The republican Freeman's Journal, a widely-distributed nationalist newspaper, published the full story in its 10 July, 1920 edition.[55] The dissenters were later forced to flee the county to avoid further persecution.[56]

Men on the Inside

Perhaps the action most deleterious to the Crown carried out by RIC men was the passing of information to the IRA. With hatred intensifying between the RIC and Auxiliary division due to accidental killings of RIC men by the Auxiliaries,[57] RIC men at all levels became impromptu operatives for IRA Director of Intelligence Michael Collins' spy network.[58] J.P. Kavanagh, a former RIC man[59] and member of the DMP, passed information to Collins until his September 1920 death. David Neligan, a DMP officer who had joined from the RIC, wrote in his memoir The Spy in the Castle that he had been persuaded by his brother, an IRA man, to inform to Collins on the goings-on inside of Dublin Castle,[60] the intelligence center for the whole of Ireland. Neligan had previously resigned from the DMP with the intention of joining the IRA in Limerick,[61] but re-enlisted at the behest of Collins and eventually rose to the rank of Detective,[62] in which capacity he leaked the identities of MI5 agents[63] and passed information regarding planned RIC and British Army raids to the IRA.

[51] Committee of Enquiry, 85.

[52] Irish Defence Forces, "Military Service Pensions Collection," The Military Archives, accessed February 12, 2025, http://mspcsearch.militaryarchives.ie/brief.aspx.

[53] J. Anthony Gaughan, "Rev Fr J Anthony Gaughan on the Listowel Mutiny," interview, Kerry Writers' Museum, accessed February 12, 2025, https://kerrywritersmuseum.com/online-exhibitions/listowel-police-mutiny-1920/listowel-1920-archive/.

[54] Committee of Enquiry, 2.

[55] "Force Is the Remedy," Freeman's Journal (Dublin, Ireland), July 10, 1920, 4-5, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results/1920-07-10; J. Anthony Gaughan, "Listowel Police Mutiny," Irish Police History, Garda Síochána Historical Society, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.policehistory.com/listowel.html.

[56] "Listowel Police Mutiny 1920," Kerry Writers' Museum, accessed February 12, 2025, https://kerrywritersmuseum.com/online-exhibitions/listowel-police-mutiny-1920/listowel-1920-archive/.

[57] Hopkinson, The Irish, 94; Chris Ryder, The RUC: A Force under Fire, rev. and updated ed. (London: Mandarin, 1997), 32.

[58] Michael Foy, Michael Collins's Intelligence War: The Struggle between the British and the IRA, 1919-1921 (Thrupp, Stroud: Sutton Pub., 2006), 12.

[59] Dublin Metropolitan Police General Register (raw data, University College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland, n.d.), 212, https://doi.org/10.7925/drs1.ucdlib_53467.

[60] David Neligan, The Spy in the Castle (London: Prendeville, 1968), 75.

[61] Neligan, The Spy in the Castle, 68; "Neligan," British Intelligence in Ireland, last modified April 8, 2018, accessed February 12, 2025, https://www.bloodysunday.co.uk/ira-men/MOLES/neligan.html.

[62] Lawrence William Wright, "Neligan, David," Dictionary of Irish Biography, Royal Irish Academy, https://www.dib.ie/biography/neligan-david-a6150.

[63] Tim Pat Coogan, Michael Collins: a Biography (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 132.

Senior Constable James McVeigh of Co. Tyrone, who had joined the RIC immediately after the Belfast Lockout, stated this reason for his August 1920 resignation: "As the struggle for national freedom continued to grow and the English Government's policy became more repressive I knew that I should have to take an active part in carrying out that policy. This I could not, nor would not do for the 'rebels' aims were my aims, and their sentiments were mine, and being in the enemy's camp the only thing I could do was to resign, which I did."[64] RIC men, enraged by atrocities against their countrymen, and torn by the conflict between their status as Irishmen and their duties as policemen, demonstrated clearly their views on the Irish question. Trapped in a beleaguered station[65] by a combination of foreign oppression and duty, the men of the Royal Irish Constabulary felt they had no recourse. Reluctant to suppress the rights of their fellow Irishmen, RIC officers chose to resign and defect rather than act as enforcers of the British security establishment. Furthermore, the subjugation of the Catholic majority of Ireland for the benefit of the Anglo-Protestant minority was unthinkable to the Catholics of the RIC, and they faced this challenge through active resistance[66] and religious activism.[67] When rights were threatened by responsibilities, the men of the RIC did their duty not to the King, but to their country.

[64] Committee of Enquiry, 15.

[65] McKenna, A Beleaguered Station.

[66] McKenna, A Beleaguered, 83.

[67] Jeremiah Mee, Statement of Jeremiah Mee, report no. 0379, 16, April 18, 1950, accessed February 13, 2025, https://bmh.militaryarchives.ie/reels/bmh/BMH.WS0379.pdf.

Clios
from the Multiverse

Clios from the Multiverse

Arranged here are Clio covers from years that have not been and may never be. Still through miraculous means they did make their way into the hands of the editing team, to be featured as part of our special section on potential covers for the Clio edition you hold in your hands.

Figure 1. Cover design by Devon E. Hayes, featuring a photo taken from one of Sac State's popular photo spots during the fall. Though it is not explicitly named, the *Ginkgo Hallway* is a popular backdrop for Sac State students about to graduate.

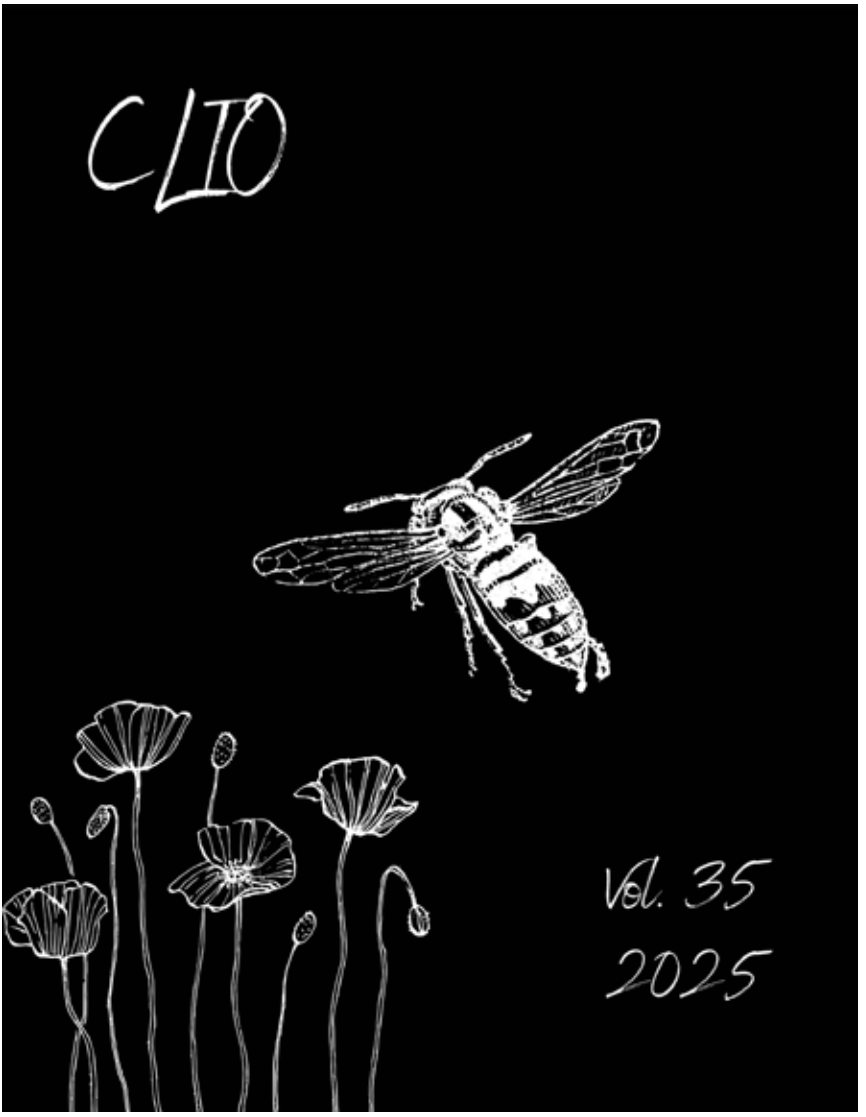

Figure 2. Cover design by Devon E. Hayes.

Figure 3. Cover design by Stephanie de Anda, featuring a rendering of Sacramento State alumnus Stone Singh's sculpture *In God We Trust*. This cover accompanies a volume of *Clio* focused on monuments and sculptures in history and modern society..

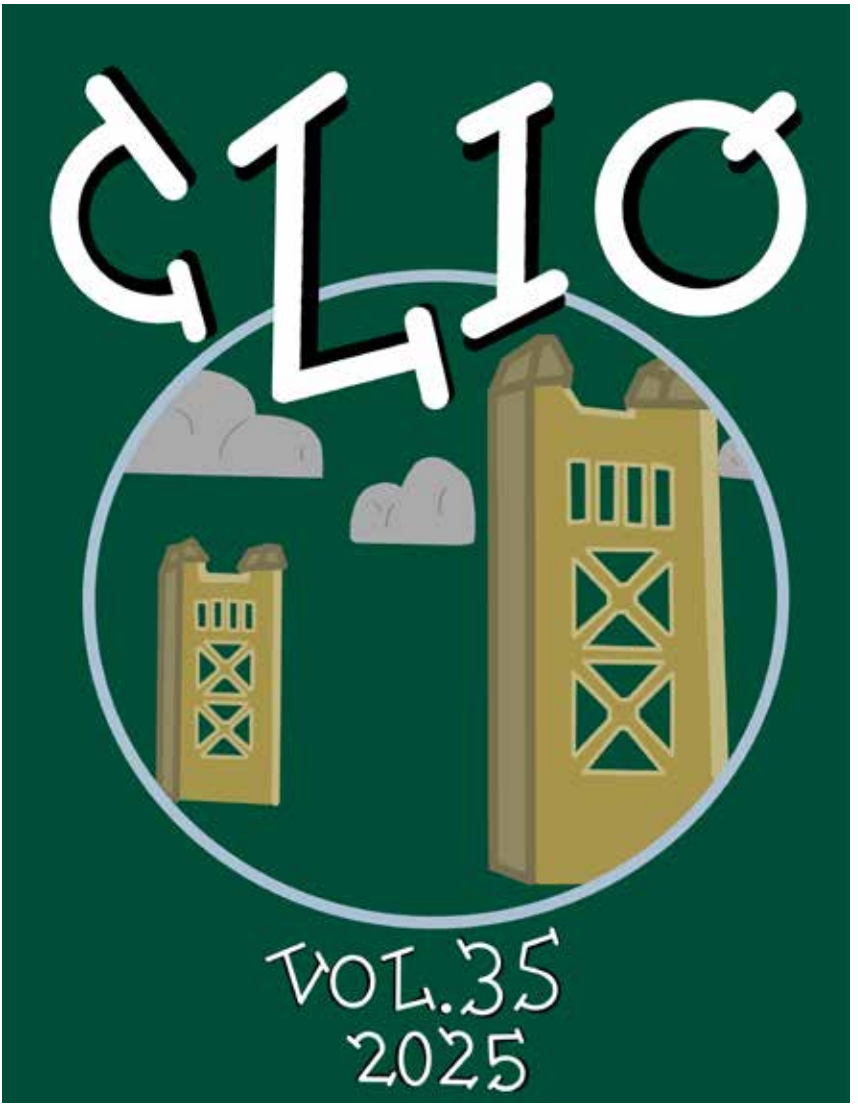

Figure 4. Cover design by Mikayla Gonzales. Inspired by Sacramento State's school colors, green, gold, and white, the cover features Tower Bridge, a prominent symbol of Sacramento.

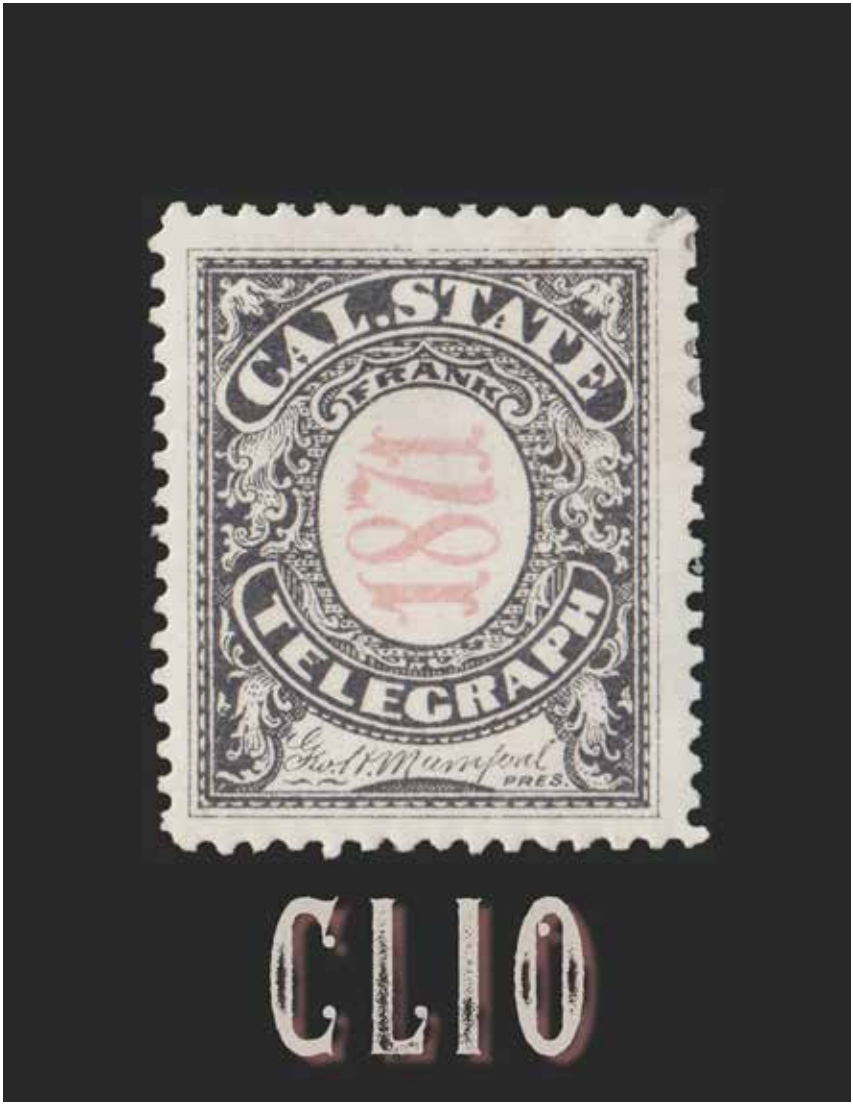

Figure 5. Cover design by Nandini Bhalla, featuring a California State Telegraph stamp dated 1871.

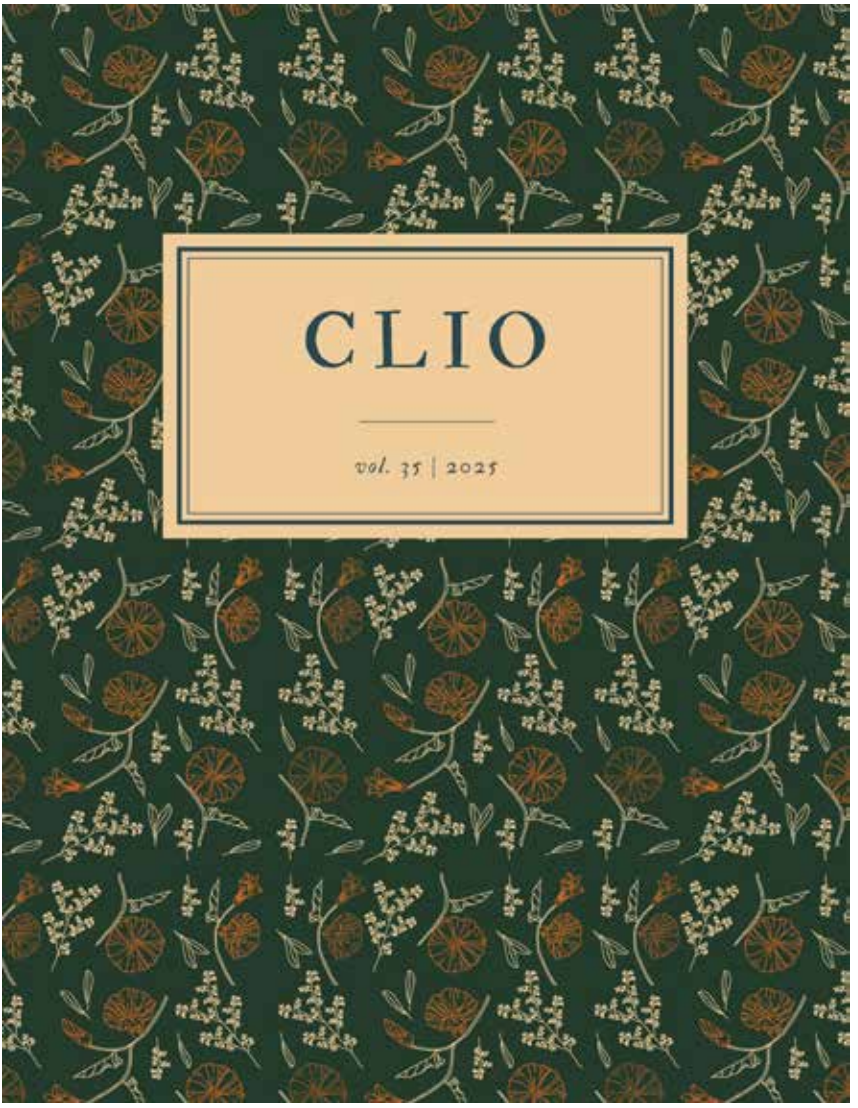

Figure 6. Cover design by Jordan Tatreau.

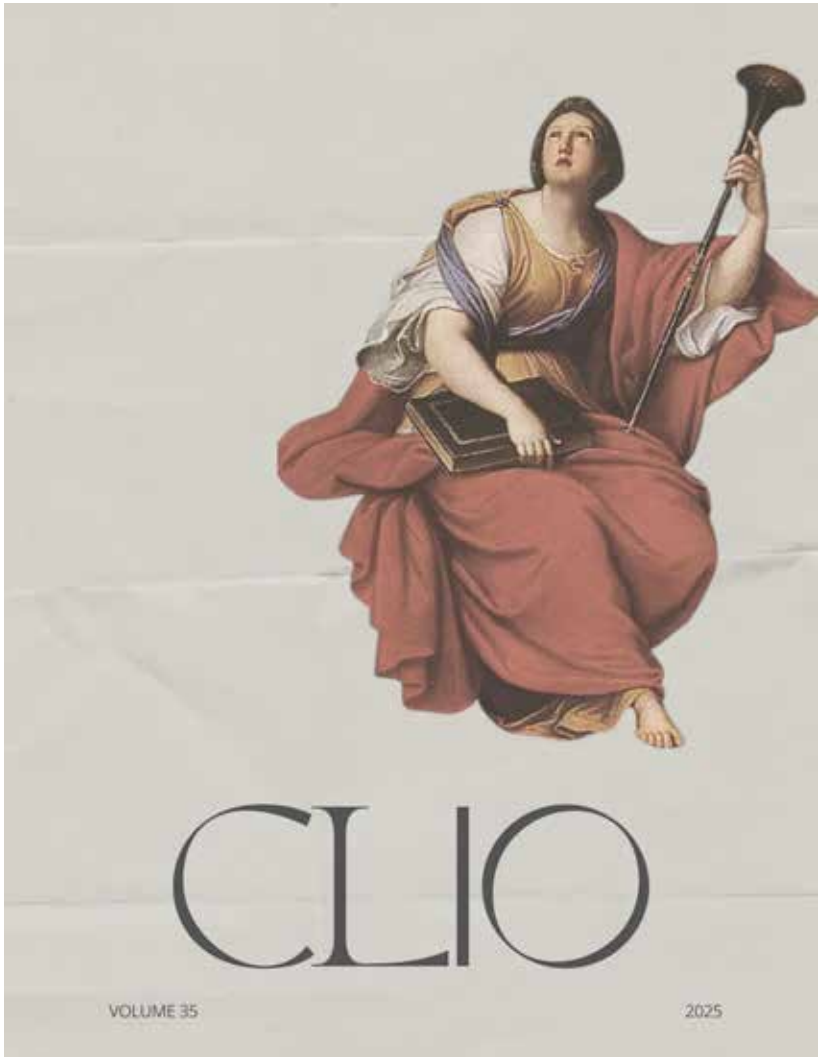

Figure 7. Cover design by Jordan Tatreau, highlighting *Clio's* namesake, the Greek Muse of History. The cover presents a minimalistic paper background to center focus on Pierre Mignard's 1689 painting *The Musse Clio*.

Special Features

&

Book Reviews

An Evening with *Clio*

On April 10, 2025, *Clio* celebrated its 2025 edition at An Evening with Clio. The editorial staff gathered with this year's authors, as well as friends, family, and faculty. *Clio* editors had multiple educational activities prepared, presenting academic posters showcasing each of the articles featured in the journal this year and discussing the process of publishing the journal. Authors unanimously expressed delight at the professional and erudite translation of their work into the visual medium, and all present were universally edified. After taking in these presentations, attendees helped themselves to a smorgasbord of fine Italian and Chinese-American cuisine while a troupe of balloon folders provided lively entertainment. In recognition of the futility of attempting to maintain his curmudgeonly persona in the face of such merriment, Dr. Aaron Cohen bravely volunteered to round out the festivities by getting pied. In a subsequent moment of weakness he tried to sub in Dr. Jeffrey Wilson, but the latter fled the scene, leaving Dr. Cohen with no human shield. The five stages of grief played out in quick succession (with a slight delay at the bargaining stage), and upon reaching a state of acceptance the condemned man surrendered himself to the authorities. One of the co-editors-in-chief delivered swift and impartial justice.

Figure 1. Image of staff and authors from Clio. Photograph by Amy Davey. April 10, 2025.

Figure 2. Image of staff and authors from Clio. Photograph by Amy Davey. April 10, 2025.

Figure 3. Image of a well pied Dr. Aaron Cohen. Photograph by Amy Davey. April 10, 2025.

2025 Phi Alpha Theta Research Presentations

Figure 1. Presenters at the Phi Alpha Theta Presentation. From left to right: Tracy Miller, Alyssa Garcia, Chris Bolland. Photograph by Amy Davey

The 2025 Phi Alpha Theta conference was held at California State University, Sacramento this year. This conference brought many students from across the CSU system, along with professors and writers to discuss their written work, their findings, and to hold presentations. The conference hosted over forty-five presenters from across twelve different universities. Different topics this year included sections within slavery, identity and resistance, mythology, totalitarianism, different historical figures, challenges facing Latin America, and urban commentary. This included a large diversity of topics that helped exemplify the diversity of California, but also how expansive history is in the CSU system. I was most overjoyed to see my colleagues presenting on their papers, some of which are included in this year's edition of *Clio*. Later in the day, the awards were handed out. Sean Duncan and Siena Geach, two of our authors who have their works published in this edition of *Clio*, won awards based on their presented papers for the Phi Alpha Theta conference. I am proud of our university and how expansive our department has become. The conference was a success, and we are excited to attend next year's conference.

Mikayla Gonzales
Clio Editorial Staff

Super Clio Edifies a Citizen

Citizen: Gee, I have this awesome paper about the lack of accountability in the LAPD, where can I get people to read this paper?

Super Clio: Fear not citizen, for it's Super Clio! (Super Clio!)

Citizen: Whoa, it's Super Clio! What are you doing here?

Super Clio: Don't worry, smart one, I have a solution. Sac State's student-run history journal, *Clio*, is the place to go. *Clio* is an award-winning journal that offers many opportunities for those looking to get their history papers published, as well as those interested in editing a chance to learn the behind the scenes of what it's like editing a historic journal. The call for papers is every spring so keep your eyes out. Reach out to chair of the History department for more information.

Citizen: Sweet! Thank you, Super Clio.

Super Clio: You're welcome, Citizen!

Figure 1. "Super Clio Commercial" featured on KSSU. Recorded by KSSU featuring Mikayla Gonzalez and Sean Duncan.

Men Think about the Roman Empire and *Clio*

Lisa: Hey Steven, they say guys think about the Roman Empire all the time. Is that true?

Steven: It is for me! I've had the Roman Empire on my mind nonstop since I wrote this original research paper about amazon sausage vendors at the Ravenna vomitorium!

Lisa: Wow, that sounds fascinating! I think people would love to read that paper. You should submit it to *Clio*.

Steven: What's Clio?

Lisa: Why, it's Sac State's student's run, award-winning history journal published every year. Submissions are usually open in early February. Check it out – just stop by the History Department office or contact the department chair for more information.

Steven: Well, who's reviewing my essay?

Lisa: Your fellow History students! Both undergraduate and graduate students are able to sign up for History 190/290 in the spring semester to be a part of the editing team!

Steven: What if I've never edited before?

Lisa: That's no problem! Clio is a perfect introduction to editing and a fantastic opportunity to put on your resume!

Steven: Gosh Lisa that sounds great!

Lisa: See you at the vomitorium!

Figure 2. Clio "Roman Empire" commercial. Recorded by KSSU featuring Mikayla Gonzalez and Julian Quinn."

Art by Sacramento State University Students

Tiffany Dang is currently a junior at Sacramento State University pursuing a bachelor's in Fine Arts. She has plans to earn a minor in Art Education. One of her primary goals after completing her education is to build a career in set design and prop making. She is deeply passionate about the arts and is driven by a desire to create immersive environments that transport audiences in the worlds she envisions.

Figure 1. *Untitled.* 12x36 Acrylic on Canvas.

Figure 2. *Untitled.* 11x14 Acrylic on Canvas.

Book Reviews

Defectives in the Land: Disability and Immigration in the Age of Eugenics. By Douglas C. Baynton. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Defectives in the Land is a short but effective read that uses disability as a lens to analyze the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries immigration history of the U.S. This book will interest those who are curious about eugenics and disability history and its interaction with turn-of-the-century immigration policy within U.S history. Baynton argues in his thesis that "while it is certain that immigration restriction rested in part on a fear of 'strangers in the land,' in John Higham's phrase, it was also fueled by a deeper, more potent fear of defectives in the land" (10). At the heart of Baynton's argument is the insistence that while disability has been largely ignored or given very little attention by historians in conversations about eugenics and early immigration restriction, it offers a profound and far-reaching understanding of the dynamics in late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States. Readers will particularly find his extensive use of images and figures engaging and helpful in understanding the societal context of the age. The book is divided into four chapters each entitled: *Defective, Handicapped, Dependent,* and *Ugly,* along with a short introduction and conclusion. *Defectives in the Land* discusses how terminology plays an important role in disability and eugenics history.

Within the first pages of the *introduction,* Douglas uses images of the medical certificates of two "freak-show performers," Miss Delphi the Orange Headed girl and Juggernaut the Armless and Legless Mite (3, 4). The medical certificates deem both Delphi and Juggernaut as "unable to take care" of themselves and as a result were detained until a person or organization took responsibility for their oversight despite their coming to the U.S on temporary business. These certificates and their images are taken from the National Archives Records of the INS, from reports of medical inspectors in Philadelphia and New York and are an example of how Baynton engages the reader with the prevalence of institutional fear of defectives becoming a burden to the US. In the next chapter, *Defectives* uses both an image of Uncle Sam weighing an immigrant woman crying with the Statue of Liberty in the background taken from a magazine of the time, and the medical certificate of German immigrant Ida Bottcher which diagnoses her with *neurasthenia*, nervousness, and declares her "unable to take of herself" (14, 16). Baynton engages with these types of media throughout the book to better convey how popular the idea of eugenics-based immigration policies was and how effective they were in practice. Furthermore, this usage of images and advertisements from the media at the time places emphasis on Baynton's argument that the fear of disability was just as prevalent as maintaining race purity was in the *age of eugenics.* Throughout this first chapter, Baynton engages with the ongoing historiographic debates among immigration historians, furthering his assertion that disability is often ignored in their arguments. Another instance where Baynton uses advertisements to back his arguments further is an advertisement for children's eyeglasses in chapter two.

In chapter two, *Handicapped*, Baynton explores how language and the changing

understanding of time have had a significant impact on ideas of immigrants and their relationship to disability. The intellectual shifts that occurred from moving from affliction to handicapped along with urbanization changed how American views of divine design towards evolution where everything is everchanging. This idea of being "handicapped in the race for life" in an increasingly competitive society was a direct consequence of the "evolutionary science" of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and the rise of the "market economy" (53). By the end of the nineteenth century, as progress continued to be discussed and assessed, "retarded" was a term developed to prescribe a person who was "both uncompetitive economically and a laggard in evolutionary development" (62). Baynton contends that as this term grew in popularity, it was pushed towards policymakers to further restrict the immigration of individuals with intellectual disabilities.

Chapter three, entitled *Dependent,* explores the idea of dependence on who is considered dependent or independent, noting that despite there being a "ubiquitous presence of working women," they were still regarded as dependent (81). This chapter focuses on official immigration documents, examines the lives of people with disabilities and how they were affected by immigration restrictions. The records taken from clinic studies from the era show how the potential concern of disabled individuals becoming "public charge" despite evidence and proof of the individual's potential for self-support or familial support led officials to act against them actively.

Fittingly, chapter four, entitled *Ugly,* discusses seeing ugly or the importance of seeing ugly and beauty. Baynton begins by describing how important visuality, first impressions, and the performativity of everyday life were in the nation's growing cities. He then explains within this context the eugenics worldview of ugliness and beauty and how their worldview of ugliness is intertwined with unfitness and beauty with genetic worth. Abnormal bodies continued to disgust the public, influencing immigration officials in their evaluations and power dynamics with incoming immigrants. Baynton argues that this worldview grew increasingly popular, entangling itself with immigration policymaking and inspections.

Defectives in the Land: Disability and Immigration in the Age of Eugenics is a compelling and well-researched book. Baynton proves his thesis that studying immigration history through the lens of disability is enlightening and helps his audience understand the broader implications of the development of immigration law and the eugenics movement within the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tackling the notion that immigration history has been primarily focused on restrictions based on race and ethnicity, Baynton approaches the material with care and respect, and the skill with which he maintains his argument throughout the material is commendable. At one hundred and seventy-five pages, the book may be short. Still, it effectively brings together disability and immigration history in ways that relate more broadly to U.S. history.

Stephanie Belen de Anda

***Culture, Ethnicity, and Migration After Communism: The Pontic Greeks.* By Anton Popov. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2020.**

Anton Popov's *Culture, Ethnicity, and Migration After Communism: The Pontic Greeks* is a monograph that explores the theoretical construction of ethnicity as it evolves through historical and cultural transformations. Given its theoretical orientation, *The Pontic Greeks* will be of particular value to scholars in sociology and cultural anthropology, though historians interested in intersectional and interdisciplinary approaches will also benefit from its insights. Popov employs a sociological and ethnographic framework to interrogate historical narratives, engaging critically with Foucauldian concepts of discourse and cultural hegemony. One of the more compelling aspects of the work is its critique of the Greek nation-state's pursuit of a more-homogenized Hellenic identity, which causes diasporic communities such as the Pontic Greeks difficulty when trying to integrate. Popov contrasts state-imposed definitions of identity with self-ascribed ethnic consciousness, emphasizing the dissonance between institutional narratives and lived experience. Furthermore, his use of fieldwork and interviews enhances the book's methodological depth, as it illuminates how collective memory shapes the Pontians' understanding of their own history. This ethnographic approach reinforces the book's challenge to hegemonic cultural narratives, urging the reader to reconsider concepts of "otherness" and communal identity. While the prose can be dense at times, the work offers a rich, nuanced account of a historically marginalized Greek ethnic group and their transnational migratory experience.

Popov opens his monograph by laying out his theoretical principles. These principles are rooted in ethnographical approaches which place the value of the human experience at the forefront. These principles also consider the critiques of Western academic traditions, and the domineering of the "other" as laid out by Edward Said in his own work Orientalism. (7) Taking these considerations as a factor, Popov sets out to conduct a more "holistic" ethnographical approach, including care for the interviewees. (9) This care for the process and the interviewees is also punctuated by their own attachment to the region. "Home" for Popov happens to be in the same region that the Pontians reside in. This, as Popov argues, places him closer to the interviewees and allows him to challenge the power imbalances of the interview process. As Popov constructs his narrative, alternating between historical and the theoretical analysis, he takes great care to exemplify the Pontians' experience as people in transition.

This transition is told over nine chapters, each pertaining to a different theme. Themes such as migration, transnationalism, repression, cultural assimilation, and revival are explored as interviews with several generations of Pontians are conducted. Migration, for example, reflects the change that the vast majority of Pontians experienced as they left their home in the Pontus to the southern republics of the then USSR. It is also represented in their "return" to Greece, as well as the migration some Pontians made back to southern Russia. This also highlights the transnational nature of the Pontians who according to Popov either repatriate or return "home" to Russia setting up a "transnational migrant circuit." (78) Repression, both from the Greeks in Greece and the Russian citizens of their home, is represented in the feelings

of the Pontians as to the nature of their ethnic and national attachments. (92) This led to either an attempt by the Pontians to quietly integrate or to develop themselves as a distinct ethnic group, separate from either Russia or Greece (172). Many of the Pontians chose the latter, and the revival of the Pontian culture as well as their entrenchment back in their "home," wherever they chose it to be.

The Pontic Greeks shines when it corroborates theoretical analysis with Pontian interviews. This comes after wading through some rather thick concepts that a student of history may find a bit obfuscating. Once one gets past this, however, they find a work worth reading in order to bolster their interdisciplinary practices. This ultimately means that, for an academic, *The Pontic Greeks* provides a nuanced, multifaceted study on ethnography and transnationalism that, if applied to a historical narrative, can give a more complete picture for the history of a people.

Devon E. Hayes

***A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over the Memory of Sand Creek.* By Ari Kelman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013. pp. xiii + 336. Hardcover.**

A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over the Memory of Sand Creek is a detailed analysis of the Sand Creek Massacre's historical site. The massacre occurred on November 29, 1864, by the United States Army and saw the death of the Cheyenne and Arapaho people. Many of these victims were women, children, and the elderly. While Ari Kelman details the massacre, the main focus of *A Misplaced Massacre* is the foundation for a national historic site. In the 2000s, The National Park Service was determined to find a definitive location for a memorial site.

Some readers may ask themselves the significance of getting a memorial site correct. When a tragedy occurs, people want the correct area to be memorialized. *A Misplaced Massacre* is an example of showing this in action. The Cheyenne and the Arapaho descendants from the massacre want a proper memorial, but there is tension between them and the National Park Service. The NPS is determined to find the correct site where the massacre had taken place, but in doing so find themselves at a crossroads with the indigenous tribes due to laws, differences in cultural beliefs, and the respect that is expected to those who have suffered.

Kelman writes this narrative as this topic and the research he first did while in college helped spark more interest into this matter. The idea of a massacre site being misplaced where historians, scientists, and anthropologists are convinced that the site is in a different area whereas indigenous tribes feel the massacre site is where it is currently due to cultural beliefs gives the reader the sides of a coin. Readers can feel moved by both sides, feel anger, or feel discontent with how the hunt for this historical site is portrayed in this book. Both sides have valid reasonings, but more importantly this book allows readers to understand how the United States government has treated indigenous massacres and genocides within their public history.

Kelman's different sources and materials really help the book become more accessible to general audiences. While academia and students will understand different information or may have more in-depth knowledge, general audiences can find this book very digestible and understanding. Kelman's use of maps and pictures helps paint a better understanding of the areas around Kiowa County, Colorado. Another driving factor of accessibility in this book is the different people that are interviewed and involved with the book. Rather than being an overall group or telling the historical stories of certain people, there are specific accounts and direct quotes from those involved with trying to find the correct historical site. This allows *A Misplaced Massacre* to be digestible to readers but also can hit emotionally with readers as the people involved in this book are real people. Descendants that are fighting for a historical site and for recognition from the United States government are real. They are named, quoted, and have background information into their lives, showing how connected they are to this fight for a national historical site.

In the end, the site is truly discovered, but its location will be kept a secret until the reader decides they want to read *A Misplaced Massacre*. Readers can respect Kelman's contribution to indigenous, environmental, and public history with this book. This book will have readers feel conflicted and allow people to look at both sides, the United States government and the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, and how they have gone about trying to bring awareness to the Sand Creek massacre.

Mikayla Gonzales

***The Great Divergence Reconsidered: Europe, India, and the Rise to Global Economic Power*. By Roman Studer. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.**

Roman Studer's *The Great Divergence Reconsidered: Europe, India, and the Rise to Global Economic Power* brings a fresh perspective to a classic issue in global economic history: why Europe industrialized before regions like South Asia. He studies how markets changed from the 1600s to the early 1900s, using extensive price data on key grains in Europe and the Indian subcontinent. Drawing on Adam Smith's idea that larger markets and greater labor division foster economic growth, Studer's main contribution is showing exactly how and when these developments diverged across different areas through detailed price analysis.

One highlight of the book is Studer's new dataset of historical prices and wages, collected from various archives. Armed with this, he looks at grain price swings, using measures like convergence, volatility, and correlation to assess how well markets were integrated. Wheat and rice are his focus because they were central to preindustrial economies, where local harvest changes caused big price shifts. In Europe, particularly in northwestern coastal and river regions, price volatility went down over time, thanks to better transport systems and stronger institutions that supported long-distance trade. Meanwhile, India had fragmented markets until well into the 1800s; major improvements in trade came only after rail lines were built and formal data collection began, which reduced price gaps over large distances.

Studer's comparative framework provides several major insights. First, he shows that European market integration did not suddenly appear in the nineteenth century but grew slowly over time. Although places like inland Switzerland lagged behind port-based regions, they were still more connected than the Western Ghats in India. Second, his data reveals that by the 1700s, Europe already held an edge in trade efficiency, challenging the view that Asia matched Europe until the colonial period. According to Studer, this moves the start of the "Great Divergence" to an earlier period, with Europe's industrial surge grounded in strong trade networks, navigable rivers, and evolving legal structures.

One of Studer's most striking comparisons is landlocked Switzerland versus India's Western Ghats near Pune. Both are mountainous, but they ended up with very different trade outcomes. In India, poor infrastructure and tough geography led to higher costs and risks for trading over long distances. By the late 1800s, railroads and government changes reduced some barriers, but Indian markets still never reached European levels of integration by the close of the 19th century. Studer shows that trade expansion alone may not spark wide economic growth if supporting institutions and technology are missing. Some readers may wish he had explored more about social or cultural factors shaping trade decisions. Nonetheless, his concentration on prices, correlations, and transport costs is clear, and he points out that local features, like navigable rivers or secure property rights, could boost or limit market integration. By linking his findings to the "Great Divergence" debate, he demonstrates how ongoing advances in trade efficiency helped some regions gain long-term economic momentum.

Besides emphasizing the role of infrastructure and institutions, Studer also highlights how new technology let regions balance supply and demand more smoothly. The rise of reliable transport networks and standardized systems for measuring and pricing allowed far-flung areas to align prices more closely. These changes led to deeper specialization and propelled growth, helping Europe solidify its global economic role.

Overall, *The Great Divergence Reconsidered* is a well-researched, data-driven book that offers valuable insights into patterns of global development. Through careful quantitative work and comparative study, Studer argues that Europe's success was a gradual process, built on specialization, infrastructure, and stable institutions. This will appeal to readers interested in economic history, comparative development, and understanding why Europe, rather than India, established global economic leadership at such an early stage. It also shows how early advantages in trade and markets can have lasting effects over centuries.

Yakov Mikhalchuk

Picturing the Proletariat: *Artists and Labor in Revolutionary Mexico, 1908-1940.* By John Lear. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017.

Picturing the Proletariat chronicles the relationship between artists and organized labor during Mexico's revolutionary decades. Author John Lear combines art analysis with detailed narratives of the prominent organizations and personalities active in the labor movement, showing how each impacted the other and both responded to

broader national and international events. Lear argues that radical artists placed an idealized figure of the worker at the center of their art from the outbreak of revolution to the end of the Cárdenas presidency, but that the nature of this idealized worker changed with the evolving political environment. On the eve of the revolution, artists portrayed workers as victims of the exploiting classes, an image that evolved to a worker in revolt—even leading the revolt—in the 1920s and 1930s. By 1940, however, nationalist and consumerist images began to replace the radical vision.

During the military phase of the revolution, artists did not depict Mexican workers as agents of social transformation. Workers in art generally fell into two categories, the dignified, fair-skinned artisans, who were ennobled by their work, and the *campesinos*, victims of the exploiters the revolution fought against. Central to this media, however, was the idealized, powerful masculinity of the Mexican worker, which, though it did not represent the largely female working class, would inform artists' portrayal of workers in the heyday of proletarian radicalism in the following decades.

Beginning in the 1920s, left-leaning artists began to commit to making print-based works, rather than the public murals whose audience was presumably more elite, that showed workers not merely victimized by emerging industrial society, but positioned to rebel against it. These works did not yet have "a complex iconography of labor," however, a development that would grow out of the influence of the Communist Party of Mexico (CPM) (83). Founded in 1919, the CPM went through dramatic swings in tactics and influence, but its journal *El Machete* became the centerpiece of radical art in the 1920s and 1930s. *El Machete* provided the visual language previously missing, with the titular machete replacing the sickle alongside the hammer as the symbol of the worker's tools and coming communist revolution. The journal also introduced foreign artistic influences—socialist realism and constructivism—that gave these prints a style similar to communist-affiliated art elsewhere, though still distinctly Mexican. In this art of heroic aspirations, *campesinos* tended to remain in the background, antiquated and exotic, while the industrial workers clad in blue overalls embodied "a shared universal modernity" (9). At the same time, the publication of Mexico's state-sponsored labor union used similar techniques to promote "harmony between the two important factors of human progress": labor and capital (113).

The high point of art celebrating the manual laborer as the protagonist of progress, and possibly socialism, was in the mid-1930s. The combination of a left-leaning president, fascism in Germany, Civil War in Spain, and the Communist Party's Popular Front strategy led to temporary alignment between artists and workers. Lear devotes a chapter to *Lux*, the publication of the Mexican Electricians' Union, to show how by the time of the Cárdenas administration even formerly conservative unions embraced the explicitly communist symbology foretelling the confrontation with fascism and capitalism. At the same time, Mexican artists and labor unions alike displayed "obsessive concern with events in Spain and concern for the Republic" (237). Some of this art, in a rare departure from the previously ultra-masculine tone, glorified the women who took up arms to defend the Spanish Republic. When the Cárdenas government moved rightward, art and artists followed suit, turning to themes of the class-collaborationist and consumerist work that had been drowned out by communist symbology.

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Among the many strengths of *Picturing the Proletariat* is that it tells the story of the Mexican labor movement and its representation in art without assuming that they were the same thing. "The pragmatic strongmen who won the Revolution on the battlefield," Lear writes, "needed the support of workers and artists to sustain and legitimize their rule" once the fighting was over (3). More pointedly, the radical intelligentsia that created the art in *Picturing the Proletariat* was trying to create a bond between the working class and national goals of the new state—politics that working people often did not trust. It is a mark of Lear's success that the book explores this dynamic from a unique perspective and provokes curiosity about an understudied aspect of Mexico's history.

Julian Quinn

A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany. By Ogilvie SC. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2003.

A Bitter Living: Women, Markets and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany by Sheilagh Ogilvie is an economic analyzation women's labor in Germany in the early modern period, focusing particularly on the area of the Black Forest Württemberg. In her introductory chapter the author explores the book's namesake. Where many women are recorded to have been earning "a bitter living" during their lives. Ogilvie thoroughly explains the thesis of her book in her introduction. She seeks to analyze the "sexual division of labor" to answer the question as to what factors contributed to women chose the work they did and why was it considered "a bitter living".

Ogilvie's second chapter establishes her approach to the definition of "labor" choosing to not separate household tasks from traditional work. Instead deciding that the how and why an induvial chooses to spend their time must be considered, and household tasks and work are two categories of the same process that influence each other. The chapter then serves to establish the historical context of the period in relevance to women and the household. Emphasizing how the familial and marital status of a woman was inseparable from her work.

In her four following chapters "Daughters and Maidservants", "Married Women", "Widows", and "Independent Unmarried Women" Ogilvie discusses the different social and economic contexts that a woman could find herself in. She discusses how a women's marital and familial status is tied directly her economic work. Exploring the answer to her thesis about the women's lives. She argued how women without the support of their families were forced to endure limited money-making options. Due to societal standards that were controlled by male-dominated values, single women and widowers were not open to work as men were. Although they were still responsible for their household. Married women however would often find their labor attached to household or in direct connection to their husband's industry. However, despite the challenges that women had to endure, their labor was essential to their household and the overall economy. Ogilvie seeks to showcase the diversity of positions and skills that women had in their industries. In her final chapter "A Bitter Living" in which Ogilvie seeks the answer to her original questions. In which she

admits that in many aspects the results are "predictable and unsurprising" in the sense that the historical oppression of women is a well-known fact. However, her book still contributes to the field by arguing that women have been uncredited as labors by historians for far too long. Her evidence introduces the

Ogilvie's book is a well-researched and in-depth analysis of the worth of women's work. She chooses to not only discuss the merits of women's work to the economy in the early modern period, but to address how women's work has been historically sidelined in its importance, allowing her to introduce a feminist perspective on women's lives to her field of research. The book is well organized and extremely clear in its presentation. The beginning of each chapter systematically breaks itself down into separate sections and then proceeds to explain itself articulately. Additionally, Ogilvie's use of evidence is clear and well supported. The most useful and interesting evidence she utilizes for her argument is several sets of data regarding familial information. These date sets are a gold mine of information for the household practices of both men and women in the early modern period, such as marital status, occupation and sex ratio of a household. Ogilvie's book is a wonderful and well researched example of feminist literature that sought and succeeded in showcasing the uncredited efforts of women in history.

Loren A. Willing

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